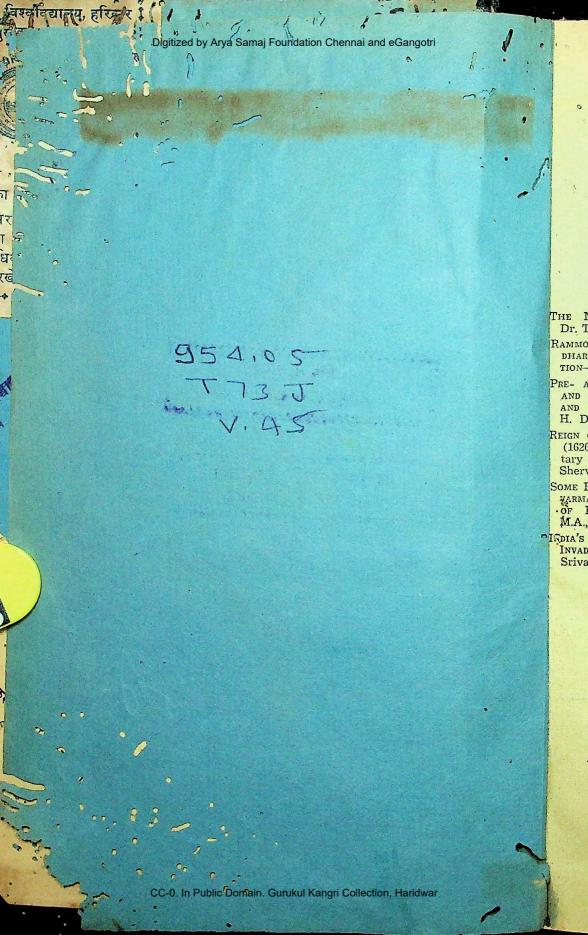


HOOM WALKERSONS

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय NOT TO BE ISSUED

स्तक म्याजीकस्य १६८१-१६८४

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



# JOURNAL

of



## INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XLV, Part I

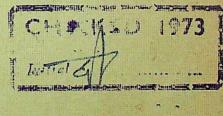
April 1967

Serial No. 133

#### CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
THE NAGESVARASVAMI TEMPLE—by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	1	KRSNA'S ROLE AS A NATION-BUILDER IN THE LITERATURE OF THE NINE-	
RAMMOHAN ROY AND BAL GANGA- DHAR TYLAK ON SOCIAL LEGISLA-		TEENTH CENTURY—by Dr. Biman- behari Majumdar	187
TION—by R. C. Majumdar	95	PROCEDURES IN ANALYSING THE	
PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN: NEW DISCOVERIES AND FRESH INTERPRETATIONS—by	00	Sources for the Life of Guru Nanak—by W. H. McLeod, M.A., Ph.D.	207
H. D. Sankalia  REIGN OF 'ABDU'L-LAH QUTB SHAH  (1626-1672) (Political and Military Aspects)—by Prof. H. K.	99	THE PUNISHMENT AND PARDON OF RAM SINGH—by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar	229
	115	THE LOT OF THE AGRICULTURIST IN	
Some Fresh Reflections on Yaso- yarma of Kanauj and Muktapida of Kasmir—by Jan Yun-hua, M.A., Ph.D.		AURANGZEE'S TIME (Based on a Study of the Jaipur Akhbarat) —by Dr. S. P. Sangar, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D.	
IRDIA'S RESISTANCE TO MEDIEVAL INVADERS: A REJOINDER—by A. L. Srivastava	181	A NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF 'FIVE INDIES' OF YUAN CHWANG -by Dr. Vishuddhanand Pathak	255
		[Continued on cover page	2 4





Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

## Journal of Indian History

#### CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

- 1. Dr. D. C. TRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., F.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.N.S., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.
- 2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandali, Poona.
- 3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.
- 4. Professor Muhammad Habib, B.A. (Oxon), Emeritus Professor of History, University of Aligarh.
- 5. Dr. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (Oxon), New Delhi.
- 6. A. N. Tampi, B.A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.
- 7. Suranad P. N. Kunjan Pillai, M.A., Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.
- 8. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., Emeritus Principal, University College, Trivandrum.
- 9. Dr. Yousuf Hussain Khan, D.Litt., (Paris), Osmania University.
- 10. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., University of Lucknow.
- 11. Dr. P. M. Joshi, M.A. (Bombay), Ph.D. (London). Professor of Medieval Indian History, Deccan College and Post-graduate Research Institute and Professor-in-charge, Department of History, University of Poona.
- 12. P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Principal, Government Victoria College, Palghat.

#### PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual Subscription:— Inland Rs. 20/-

Foreign Rs. 40/-

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to:—

P. K. K. MENON

Editor

Journal of Indian History

University of Kerala

Trivandrum

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vol. XLV, Part I

ty.

Uni-

Public

ndian r-in-

ence

n.

April 1967

Serial No. 133



# INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. K. K. MENON, M.A., M.LITI., L.T., Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A., (Oxon.),

Professor of History,

Catholicate College, Pathanamthitta

P. C. JOSEPH, M.A., Emeritus Principal, C.M.S. College, Kottayam

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A., D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (Oxon.), Professor of Social Sciences, University of Madras



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BAA Ch
Sulti
RC
RAA
Saa
VIRG
(F
A.
THE
IN
B
ar
Polli
K
MAA
V
TER

ON

# JOURNAL.

of

# INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XLV, Part II

August 1967

Serial No. 134

#### CONTENTS

Pac	OF	AND AND CHARLES IN A SHEET OF THE PARTY OF T	AGE
		MEWAT AFFAIRS DURING THE SULTA-	
ON HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN		NATE PERIOD-by B. S. Mathur	509
BALUCHISTAN—by B. D. Mir-	09	APPA SAHIB BHONSLE IN MARWAR	1
		(1828-1840 A.D.)—by Dr. G. H.	
SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH TUCHLUK:		Parihar, M.A., Ph.D	521
ROYAL PATRON OF A CONTEMPO-		A NOTE ON THE TERM 'ASUR-	
RARY SANSKRIT WORK-by Dr.	57	YAMPASYA' IN PANINI-by Dr.	
Sanachiva II. Italic, Illinia		Aparna Chattonadhyay, M.A.,	
VIRGIN AND THE DIVINE SEED-LAYER		Ph.D., F.R.A.S. CHANGE OF SUPERSCRIPTION ON COINS	535
(Rg. V. X. 61)—by Dr. Sadashiv,	369	CHANGE OF SUPERSCRIPTION ON COINS	
	,00	OF NATIVE STATES 1858-1872-DV	
THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN	399	Spriit Singh Randhawa	54
KINGS—DV E. Duike Illion	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	TRIAL OF PINDARI PRISORERS. A	
THE MODERNIZATION OF BRITISH	1	TECAT WRANGIE-by Dr. Tara-	
INDIAN FINANCE, 1859-62—by		cankar Baneriee	55
Bhupen Qanungo, Ph.D., (Indi-	139	EVELOPATION ALONG THE LUGICI	
ana)		BANK OF RIVER SUILEJ IN PUNJAB	
POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN		-by K. N. Dikshit	90
LYTTON'S TARIFF POLICY—by Ira Klein	465	TATOTANT STITUTES IN RUSSIA-DV	
Klein Mahitandhradesa—by Dr. (Mrs.)		Surondra Gonal	56
V. Yasodadevi, M.A., D.Litt.	481	WING MASIR IID DIN HAIDER UP	1234-122
TERRACOTTA FIGURINES AND OTHER		AWADH (1827-37)—by Dr. A.	
OBJECTS FROM KANCI EXCAVA-		Awadh (1827-37)—by Dr. A. Mukherjee	50
TIONS, 1962—by Dr. R. Subrah-			
manyam and K. V. Raman	501	by Dr. S. R. Bakshi	bl
manyam and is. v. Haman		by Dr. S. R. Bakshi [Continued on cover page	e 4



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

## Journal of Indian History

#### CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

- 1. DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., F.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.N.S., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.
- 2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandali, Poona.
- 3. Professor R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

0

- 4. Professor Muhammad Habib, B.A. (Oxon), Emeritus Professor of History, University of Aligarh.
- 5. Dr. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (Oxon), New Delhi.
- 6. A. N. Tampi, B.A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law, formerly Director of Publi Instruction, Kerala.
- 7. SURANAD P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.
- 8. V. NARAYANA FILLAI, M.A., B.L., Emeritus Principal, University College, Trivandrum.
- 9. Dr. Yousuf Hussain Khan, D.Litt., (Paris), Osmania University.
- 10. Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT., University of Lucknow.
- 11. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON). Professor of Medieval Indian History, Deccan College and Post-graduate Research Institute and Professor-incharge, Department of History, University of Poona.
- 12. P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Principal, Government Victoria College. Palghat.

#### PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual Subscription: — Inland Rs. 20/-

Foreign Rs. 40/-

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to:—

P. K. K. MENON

Editor

Journal of Indian History

University of Kerala

Trivandrum

#### CONTENTS

armirsity.

ry, Un

Publ

rum.

l Indian

ndence

ory

THE NAGESVARASVAMI TEMPLE—by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	1
RAMMOHAN ROY AND BAL GANGADHAR TILAK ON SOCIAL LEGISLATION—by R. C. Majumdar	95
Pre- and Proto-History in India and Pakistan: New Discoveries and Fresh Interpretations—by H. D. Sankalia	99
REIGN OF 'ABDU'L-LAH QUTB SHAH (1626-1672) (Political and Military Aspects)—by Prof. H. K. Sherwani	115
Some Fresh Reflections on Yasovarma of Kanauj and Muktapida of Kasmir—by Jan Yun-hua, M.A., Ph.D.	161
India's Resistance to Medieval Invaders: A Rejoinder —by A. L. Srivastava	181
Krsna's role as a Nation-Builder in the Literature of	
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY —by Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar	187
PROCEDURES IN ANALYSING THE SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF GURU NANAK—by W. H. McLeod, M.A. Ph.D.	207
THE PUNISHMENT AND PARDON OF RAM SINGH—by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar	229
THE LOT OF THE AGRICULTURIST IN AURANGZEB'S TIME (Based on a Study of the Jaipur Akhbarat)—by Dr. S. P. Sangar, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D.	245
A Note on the Identification of 'Five Indies' of Yuan Chwang—by Dr. Vishuddhanand Pathak	255
Reviews: (1) Kashmir — Retrospect and Prospect, by Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar; (2) India's Defence and Foreign Policies: Edited by A. B. Shah; (3) Ashmound Excavations at Kupgal: by G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajaguru: (4) Kerala Megaliths and their Builders: by L. A. Krishna Iyer; (5) Selections from Educational Records, Part I. 1781-1839: by H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E.; Part II, 1840-59; by J. A. Richey; (6) The Wahabi Movement in India: by Q. Ahmad; (7) The Mission of Wang Hiuen-Ts'e in India, written in French by M. Sylvain Levi, Translated by Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law; (8) Folklore Library: by Dr. Piyushkanti Mahapatra; (9) Studies in Medieval	
Dr. Flyushkanu Manapatra, (3) Studies in Medievar	

Indian History, by Kishori Saran Lal; (10) The Cycle of Civilisation by Charles Henderson Brough; (11) Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, by Dr. N. Subrahmanian; (12) A Eibliography of Indian Folklore and Related Subjects, by Sanker Sen Gupta and Shyam Parmar; (13) Perspectives on the Welfare State: Edited by S. P. Aiyar; (14) Islam by Fazlur Rahman; (15) Excavations at Dwarka, by Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate; (16) Pre-Literate Man, by P. Gisbert; (17) A Study of the Chinese Communist Movement, 1927-34, by Shanti Swarup; (18) Reflections on the 'Mutiny', by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.; (19) Kamaraj-A Study, by V. K. Narasimhan; (20) The Making of the Indian Republic - Some Aspects of India's Constitution in the Making, by Panchanand Misra; (21) The Introduction of English Law into India, by B. N. Pandey; (22) Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, an Indian Scholar and Revolutionary, 1903-1962: Edited by Horst Kruger

261

OUR EXCHANGES

307



### The Nageśvarasvami Temple

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

I

#### INTRODUCTORY

Kumbhakonam is a first class municipal town in the Tanjāvūr District, Madras State, with a population of about a lakh and is at a distance of 313 kilo metres from Madras on the Madras-Tirucirappalli main line of the Southern Railway. The place is of great antiquity and the region around it bears evidence of ancient habitation and culture. Nandanmēdu, a small village four miles to the West of the town and on the northern bank of the river Tirumalairājan, has yielded a good number of burial urns with human skulls and bones and grave goods in them, besides black-and-red ware pottery of the megalithic variety assignable to the period round about the commencement of the Christian era. The importance of Kumbhakonam during the period is also borne out by the evidence of the Sangam literature. A verse in the Ahanānūru mentions that the Cola Kings of the Sangam age had a guarded treasury at Kuḍamūkku,1 a Tamilised form of the word Kumbhakonam and the name by which the place was known in early Tamil literature and epigraphy. Reference is made in the Kalavalinārpadu to a prison at Kudavāyir-kōttam, in which the Cera ruler Kanaikkal Irumporai was kept as a captive by Koccenganan after the battle of Kalumalam near Karuvūr.2 The place Kudavāyir may be the same as Kumbhakōṇam or a place of the same name now known as Kudavāśal, not far from Kumbhakonam and on the way to Tiruvārūr in the Tanjā-

<sup>1.</sup> No. 60, 11.13-15. Korrac-colar Kudandai vaitta nädu taru nidiyamunjeriya-varun-gadi.

<sup>2. 36:2.</sup> See also Indian Antiquary, XVIII, pp. 259-65 for a translation and critical account of the work by V. Kanakasabhai.

8

vūr District. The yāpperungalavirutti, a late work composed in the tenth on eleventh century has two interesting verses, which give the names of the Cēra, Cōļa and Pāṇḍya capitals and mention Pūndūr Vaļavan and Pōrvēr Kiļļi as two Cōļa rulers who had their capital at Nalliśaikuḍandai. Thus Kuḍandai, by which name the western part of the modern town of Kumbhakōṇam appears to have been known in ancient times (though it is the name by which the whole of the present town is known now), seems to have served as a secondary capital of the Cōḷa Kings of the Sangam period, who had Uraiyūr (a part of the modern Tirucirappalli town) as their capital, even during the period of the Kaḷabhra interregnum and later. Later Paḷaiyārai, now a small village about four and a half miles to the West of Kumbhakōṇam, appears to have become a subsidiary capital of the Cōḷas from the days of Vijayālaya and Āditya.

Kumbhakōṇam and the area surrounding it played a considerable part in the wars between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas from about the middle of the eighth century. The Udayēndiram Plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla state that he was besieged in Nandipura by the Dramila Princes, and Udayacandra, his minister fought against enemies, released his master and bestowed the kingdom on him many times. Among the Dramila

5. Burnell thinks that it served as a capital as late as the seventh

century (South Indian Palaeography, p. 145, fn. 14).

<sup>3.</sup> See Kaļavaļi-mārpadu ed. by Anantarama Aiyar, p. 10. (Introduction). Kuḍavāyil literally means western gate. If Kuḍavāśal is identified with Kuḍavāyir-kōṭṭam it is possible that it formed the western gate of Kumbhakōṇam.

<sup>4.</sup> Aham, v. 55; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (second edition), p. 67.

<sup>6.</sup> The Western Cāļukya King Vikramāditya I (655-681) invaded the Pallava territory, and marching through it encamped at Uragapuri on the banks of the river Kāvērī but was defeated by the Pallava King Paramēśvaravarman I (669-691) at Peruvaļanallūr in the Tirucirappalli District. Uragapura has been sought to be identified with Tirunāgēśvaram near Kumbhakōṇam and the region in which it was situated with Pāmbūrnāḍu (See T. N. Subrahmanyan, 'A Note on Uragapura' in the Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, VII, pp. 597-63). But it is better to identify Uragapura where Vikramāditya I encamped with Uraiyūr, the old Cōļa capital.

<sup>7.</sup> SII, II, p. 372.

re

ve

on

ad

ne

ars

by

ms

he

ru-

the

iall

kō-

las

asi-

yas

ndi-

was

dra,

est-

nila

luc-

ified

e of

edi-

enth

the the mēśtrict.

Lum-

(See All-

entify Cōļa Princes who besieged Nandipura were probably the Pāṇḍya King Māṛavarman Rājasimha I (c. 730-765) and the Koḍumbālūr Chief. Udayacandra could have been helped by the Cōlas and the Muttaraiya Chieftain Suvaran Māran alias Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiya II who ruled from the Sēndalai area. Nandipuram is usually identified with the modern Nāthankōvil, three miles to the South of Kumbhakōñam, which according to tradition is the same as Nandipura Viṇṇagaram, on which the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai has sung a decad of verses, and which place, according to one verse, was embellished by Nandi. Nandipuram could have formed part of Palaiyāṛai.

The strained relations between the Pallavas and the Pandyas continued after the release of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Soon after the accession of Jatila Parantaka Varaguna I (765-815) to the Pandya throne, fight between the two powers was renewed, as may be gathered from the Vēļvikudi and Madras Museum plates. The Velvikudi Plates which are dated in the third year of the Pandya King record that he defeated the Kadava (Pallava) King (Nandivarman II) at Pennāgadam on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri.9 Pennāgadam has been identified with a place of the same name in the Tanjāvūr District. The fight appears to have taken place on account of the aggressive action of Nandivarman II who claims in the Pullur Plates of his thirty-third year (A.D. 764) to have made, among others, the Pāndyas obey his orders as a result of which "their reins slipped from their hands while in battle with him".10 This must have happened during the closing years of the reign of Māravarman Rājasimha I. Obviously it raised the anger of Jatila Parantaka Varaguna I and hence his invasion of the Pallava territory immediately after his accession and the battle of Pennagadam. But Nandivarman could not brook this defeat and hence he seems to have organised a

<sup>7</sup>a. He is said to have defeated the Pallava King and captured his elephants and horses in the battle of Kulumbūr. The name of the Pallava King begins with Se but is said to be hoplessly damaged in the impression. (EL, XVII, p. 294).

<sup>. 8.</sup> Nandi paņi śeida nagar Nandipura viņņagaram (Periya Tirumoli), v. 107, v. 1444.

<sup>9.</sup> El., XVII, pp. 291-309.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., XXXVI, No. 20, p. 152.

confederacy with the rulers of Kerala, Kongu and Adigaiman Chief of Tagadur aganist the Pandya King. Probably he was defeated this time also as may be gleaned from the evidence of the Madras Museum Plates, according to which Jatila Parantaka claims to have defeated Adigaiman at Pugaliyur and Ayiraveli Ariyur the latter on the northern bank of the river Kaveri and marched against the allied armies of the Pallavas and Kēralas and captured the Western Kongu country.11 The Dalavaypuram Plates of Pandya Parantaka Viranarayana (862-905) state that he defeated the Pallava King at Karuvūr.12 In spite of these reverses the hold of Nandivarman II over the Kumbhakonam area does not seem to have been affected very much. The Tandantottam13 and Pattattalmangalam14 Plates of the King (both places not far from Kumbhakonam) issued respectively in his fifty-eighth and sixty-first regnal years show that his sway over the region continued to the end of his reign.

But the area appears to have been pressed hard by the Pandya King Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-862), the son and successor of Jațila Parantaka Varaguna I. His contemporaries on the Pallava throne were Dantivarman (796-846), son of Nandivarman II and Nandivarman III (846-869), son of Dantivarman. The larger Sinnamanur Plates of Rajasimha (A.D. 900-920) state that \$rīmāra Srīvallabha defeated "the Colas along with the Pallavas, Gangas, Kalingas, Magadhas and other kings at Kuḍamūkkil..... and made them bathe in a river of blood."15 The account receives confirmation from the Dalavāypuram Plates which state that Srīmāra Śrīvallabha defeated the Pallava King at Āņūr on the seashore and broke the strength of the confederacy of the Kuttavar

4

<sup>11.</sup> Indian Antiquary, XXII, p. 73, also EI., XXXVI, p. 136. The Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna mentions the encampment of the King at Araiśūr or the banks of the Pennār in Tondaimandalam. The Varaguna mentioned in the inscription is taken to be Varaguna I and hence the view has been expressed that he marched as far North as that place. (See 105 of 1905; El., I, p. 84 ff. also R. Gopalan, The Pallavas of Kāñchi, p. 136; Jouveau Dubreuil, The Pallavas, pp. 78-79). But it is better the achievement is attributed to his grandson Māravarman Varaguņa II (862-95).

<sup>12.</sup> ARIE., 1958-59, p. 4.

<sup>13.</sup> SII, II, p. 517.

<sup>14.</sup> El, XVIII, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>15.</sup> SII, III, p. 461.

(Cēras), Colas, Kūpakas, and the northerners (Vadugar), the last of whom were probably the Kalingas mentioned in the Sinnamanur Plates. He is also said to have killed in the fight at Kudandai an unnamed son of a certain Amaravallan who was probably a member of the confederacy.17 It was during that time that the Pallava Kingdom or a considerable part of it under Dantivarman seems to have been taken by one Śrikantha, a member of the Telugu Coda family of Pottappi. 18 Hemmed in on both sides we find that Dantivarman lost his kingdom for some years from his twenty-first to his forty-ninth regnal year. During that period the inscriptions of Dantivarman are not found in the Pallava territory, but instead, those of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha are found in a number of places in the area. Śrīkantha was probably helped by the Pāṇḍya King to whom he had given his daughter Akkalanimmadi in marriage. Srīkantha himself appears to have nominated one Abhimāna Siddhi to rule over the Pallava kingdom on his behalf.19 But towards the close of his reign Dantivarman regained his position largely with the help of his son Nandivarman III who defeated, at Tellaru in the Wandiwash taluk, his enemies who were probably Srīkantha and his allies among whom the Pandya Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha was probably one. On account of this great achievement Nandivarman is mentioned in inscriptions as Tellarrerinda and Tellarrerindu rajyamum konda.20 Nandivarman appears to have followed up his victory and recovered the territories in the South which had gone into the hands of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. According to the Tamil work Nandikkalambakam, Nandivarman, after his success at Tellaru won victories at Kadambūr, Veriyatur, Vellāru, Kurikkottai, all in the Cōla country.21 It is even said that the Pallava army reached as far South as the river Vaigai.

But the Kāvērī area did not have peace for long. There appears to have developed some family feud between Śrīmāra

āń

as

of

ka

ēli

nd

as

m

at

se

m

ie th

is

er

a

of

a

d

<sup>16.</sup> ARIE., 1958-59, pp. 4 and 5.

<sup>17.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18.</sup> See for a discussion of the problem 'An Interregnum in Pallava history' by the author, Journal of Indian History, XLI, pp. 287-303.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20. 52</sup> of 1895; SII, V, No. 609; 11 of 1899; SII, VI, No. 447; 144 of 1928-29; SII, XII, No. 56; also Bāhūr Plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman (EI., XVIII, pp. 10 and 13); Vēļūrpāļaiyam Plates of Nandivarman III (SII, II, pp. 511 etc.).

<sup>21.</sup> Nandikkalambakam, vv. 23-35.

9

Srivallabha and his sons. According to the Dalavaypuram Plates of Parantaka Vīranārāyana, he had three sons, Ugra, Varagunavarman and Parantaka Viranarayanavarman and Parantaka Vīranārāyana<sup>22</sup> one of them, fell out with his father and sought the help of the Ceylonese King Sena II (853-887), whose uncle Sēna I (833-853) had been utterly defeated in battle by Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. The Ceylonese King, as also the Pallava King, supported the rebel Pandya Prince. Sena II sent an army against Madurai and took it, while Nrpatunga marched South and defeated a confederation of enemies on the banks of the Aricit river. which has been identified with the Arasalar, a branch of the river Kaveri that enters the sea near Karaikkal.23 It is not known who the enemy confederates were. Probably they were the two sons of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who were loval to their father and their allies. Śrīmāra himself appears to have died during this period either fighting against his enemies or otherwise24 and was succeeded by his son Varagunavarman (862-885),25 probably assisted by his brother Parantaka Vīranārāyaņa (862-905).26 The latter is said in the Dalavaypuram Plates as having killed his brother Ugra at a place called Sennilandai.27 The identification of this Ugra is intriguing. If a surmise is possible he was the Pāṇdya Prince who took refuge with Sēna II and sought his help against his father and brothers. He was placed on the Pandya throne by Sēna II after defeating Srīmārā Srīvallabha; but he could not rule long for he was killed in the battle of Sennilandai by his brother Parantaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa.28

24. See History of Ceylon, Ed. by H. C. Ray, p. 330.

27. Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>22.</sup> ARIE, 1958-59, pp. 4-5.

<sup>23.</sup> El., XVIII, pp. 10 and 13.

<sup>25.</sup> The Aivarmalai inscription of Mārañjadaiyan Varaguṇa is dated \$ 792' = A.D. 870; coupled with his eighth regnal year, it yields A.D. 862-63 as the date of his accession (EI., XXXII, p. 337).

<sup>26.</sup> ARIE, 1958-59, p. 5.

<sup>28.</sup> If this surmise is acceptable it is easy to explain the statement made in the Bāhūr Plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman that the Pallava King gave help to the Pāṇḍya and defeated a confederation of enemies on the bank of the river Aricit (V. 16). The Pāṇḍya to whom help was given was possibly Ugra who was supported by Sēna II and the confederation of enemies consisted of Varaguna II, Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa and their allies.

7

lates unataka ught ncle nāra supainst feativer, the own two and this was ably The

his tion

the

help

idya

he

ndai

lated 32-63

help the sibly

The Pandya defeat at Aricit by Nandivarman III was rankling in his mind and hence he invaded the Pallava dominions and occupied the Kāvērī area. The first of his inscriptions in the region is dated in his fourth regnal year and found at Tirukködikkāval<sup>29</sup> near Kumbhakonam. He appears to have taken Idavai30 probably near Tiruppanandal in the Kumbhakonam Taluk, destroyed (Vēmbarrūr), and encamped at Niyaman Vēmbil Taluk).31 He even went as far North as Ariśūr on the bank of the river Pennar in Tondainadu in 878.32 It was in the 4th + 4th year of his reign (A.D. 870) that he made a gift of 138 cows and kāśu for the supply of milk and ghee and the maintenance of perpetual lamps in the temple of Tirukkīlkottattu Bhatāra at Tirukkudamūkku (the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple at Kumbhakonam).33 The occupation of the Kaveri area by the Pandya King is further evidenced by the find of his inscriptions in several places in the Tanjavūr District like Aduturai,34 Tiruccirrambalam<sup>35</sup> in the Pāpanāsam Taluk, Tiruccātturai<sup>36</sup> in the Tañjāvūr Taluk and Tiruviśalūr<sup>37</sup> in the Kumbhakōnam Taluk. It even

29. 21 of 1930-31; SII., XIV, No. 20.

30. See SII., XIV, No. 26; also II, No. 94 and XIV, No. 57. Idavai is mentioned along with Kudamūkku and Vilijām in the Perumbulļi inscription (EI., XXXII, No. 31) as one of the places where Śrīvallabha, the predecessor of Varaguṇa II fought. It appears to have been situated in Maṇṇināḍu on the northern bank of the river Kāvērī in the Kumbhakōṇam Taluk and included within it the villages of Tiruppanandal, Tiruviśalūr, Vembarrūr (Vēppattūr) etc. A place bearing the name Iḍavai or similar to it is not found there now. Probably it formed part of a near-by village like Vēmbarrur. Recently an attempt has been made to trace the place in the Lalgudi Taluk in the Tirucirappalli District, Iḍavai being taken as a shortened form of Iḍaiyārrunāḍu which lay on both sides of the Coleroon near Lalgudi (EI., XXVIII, No. 6, pp. 40-41). The identification is not convincing since Iḍavai is the name of a place and not a territorial unit (See also T. N. Subrahmanyam, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, III, pt. i, p. ILIV).

31. 413 and 414 of 1904; SII., XIV, Nos. 11 and 10.

32. El., IX, p. 84.

33. 13 of 1908; SII., XIV, No. 8. This is the earliest and the only Pandya inscription in the temple.

34. 358 and 364 of 1907; SII., XIV, Nos. 6 and 7.

35. 185 of 1926; SII., XIV, No. 14.

36. 160 of 1930-31; SII., XIV, No. 28.

37. 17 of 1907; SII., XIV, No. 24.

appears that the Pallava discomfiture was so complete that according on an inscription at Lalgudi, Nandivarman was the donor of a gift in a record dated in the fourth year of the Pandya King.<sup>38</sup>

Though Nṛpatuṅgavarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman II regained his position in the Cōla country as suggested by two inscriptions, one from Lālguḍi³³ dated in his second year and the other from Nārttāmalai⁴⁰ dated in his seventh year, both in the Tirucirappalli District, Mārañjaḍaiyan Varaguṇa II became once again the master of the Kāvērī territory which is not only borne out by the find of a number of his inscriptions in the area but also by the fact that inscriptions of Nṛpatuṅgavarman ranging between the seventh and twenty-first years of his reign have not been found in it.

But after A.D. 890 he seems to have regained his hold over the region; and this is indicated by the find of his inscriptions in a few places in the Tanjāvūr and Tirucirappalli Districts. Among them are Kaṇḍiyūr inscription dated in the twenty-first year,<sup>41</sup> Tiruchchinnampūṇḍi inscription dated in the twenty-second year,<sup>42</sup> Lālguḍi inscription dated in the twenty-third year,<sup>43</sup> and Tirukkōḍikāval inscription dated in the twenty-second and twenty-fourth years<sup>44</sup> of his reign.

During all this period the Cōlas were playing only a comparatively insignificant and subordinate part in the political happenings in the area. Probably during and after the Kalabhra interregnum in the Tamil country they continued to stay at Uraiyūr, their old capital, while some members of their family lived at Palaiyārai, near Kumbhakōṇam. According to the Periyapurāṇam, when saint Tirunāvukkaraśar went to Palaiyārai to worship God Śiva at the place and found that the Linga had been hidden by the Jains, the King of the place whose name, however, is not known, brought out the Linga and constructed a

38. El., XX, No. 3-A, p. 52.

<sup>39. 122</sup> of 1928-29; SII., XII, No. 61.

<sup>40. 365</sup> of 1904; SII., XII, No. 63.

<sup>41.</sup> S.L., V, No. 572.

<sup>42.</sup> Ibid., VII, Nos. 521, 522 and 528.

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid., IV, No. 531.

<sup>44.</sup> Ibid., XII, Nos. 74 and 78.

viināna over the shrine. The exact relation of the Colas who were living at that place with the Pallavas who were then the virtual rulers of the region is not clearly known. It is possible that they accepted a subordinate position under them, but changed their masters when political conditions in the region necessitated such change.

During the reign of Nandivarman III, Vijayālaya was the Cola ruler who appears to have been a Pallava feudatory. captured the city of Tanjavur from the Muttaraiyars who seem to have been in its occupation and made it his headquarters. This gave strength to the Pallavas. In A.D. 871, Vijayālaya was succeeded on the Cola throne by his son Aditya, under whom the strength and power of the Colas grew. Cola influence spread over the Tondaimandalam region also. Differences grew during the period between Nrpatunga and his brother Aparājita which developed into a civil war in the Pallava kingdom. While Nrpatunga was supported by the Pāṇḍya King Varaguṇa II who was apparently afraid of and did not like the rise of the Colas to power, Aparājita was helped by Āditya and the Western Ganga King Prthvīpati I. The dark clouds burst in A.D. 895 at Srīpurambiyam near Kumbhakōnam where a major engagement took place between the two parties.46 Aparājita and his allies won in the battle, though Prthvipati I died in the fight.47 He succeeded to the Pallava throne immediately thereafter and Prthvipati II, the grandson of Prthvipati I, to the Western Ganga throne. Nothing is heard of Nrpatungavarman I for fifteen years afterwards, till his forty-first year.48 Apparently he retired from the Pallava kingdom and was biding time or was content to hold a subordinate position under Aparājita. Varaguņavarman retired to his country, and probably from politics also.49

ac-

nor

g.38

ıdi-

ted

ear oth

me

nly

rea

ing

not

ver

ons

ets.

ty-

ty-

,43

nd

a-

n-

ra

at

ly

he

ai

ad ie, a

<sup>45.</sup> Periya Purāṇam; Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purāṇam, vv. 292-300.

<sup>46.</sup> See for a discussion of the date of the battle "Later Pallava chronology and Genealogy" by the author, Journal of Indian History, XLIII, pp. 922-24.

<sup>47.</sup> El., XVIII, p. 42, v. 49; SII., III, No. 205, v. 49.

<sup>48. 138</sup> of 1943-44.

<sup>49.</sup> The Dalavāypuram Plates suggest that the reigns of Varaguna and Parāntaka Vīranārāyana overlapped. But Varaguna's role, if any, was a passive one in the troubled politics of the period, particularly after the battle of Śrīpurambiyam.

J. 2

Though Aparājita gained the Pallava throne after a hard fight and ruled for at least eighteen years till A.D. 913, his sway does not appear to have extended beyond the southern fringes of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, as is suggested by his inscriptions which are found mostly only in the northern part of Cingleput District. At the same time the power and influence of Āditya who had been rewarded by Aparājita with the grant of some territory for his help at Śrīpurambiyam grew in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Not content with his subordinate position under his nominal Pallava overlord, he killed Aparājita probably about A.D. 913, annexed the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his growing kingdom, and thereby put an end to the Pallava dynasty and its hegemony and also to the perpetual conflict between the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas for the Kāvēri region.

From about the period of Aditya's son and successor Parantaka (907-953) Pāļaiyārai grew in importance and was the secondary capital of the Colas where lived some members of the Cola royal house. The place came to be variously called Mudikondaśōlapuram<sup>50</sup> after the title Mudikonda taken by Rājēndra Gangaikonda Cōla, Ahavamalla-kulakālapuram<sup>514</sup> after one of the titles of Vīra Rājēndra, Mīnavanai-menkanda-śōlapuram, 52 Āyirattaļi 53 etc. It was at Rājarājapuram, the modern Dārāśuram very near Palaiyārai, that the Airāvateśvara temple was constructed during the days of Rājarāja II (1051-63) and at Tribhuvanam, a few miles to the East of Kumbhakonam that the Kampahareśvara temple was constructed during the days of Kulottunga (1178-1216). Ayirattali, where existed a palace of the Colas with many halls and apartments, was attacked twice by the Pandya King Maravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1216) who performed two coronations at the place, the first a vīrābhiṣēka and the second a vījayābhiṣēkha.54 Thus the Kumbhakōṇam area suffered much in the wars between the Colas and the Pandyas in the thirteenth century.

<sup>50. 168</sup> of 1906; 271 of 1927.

<sup>51.</sup> El., XXII, p. 268.

<sup>52. 233</sup> of 1916.

<sup>53. 194</sup> of 1931.

<sup>54. 47</sup> of 1937-38 also 196 and 197 of 1938-39; part ii, para. 27.

• With the expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire in the Tamil country in the course of the fourteenth century the area became an integral part of the new Empire. The region was governed through governors who were usually known as Nāyakas, though they did not have their headquarters either at Kumbhakōṇam or Palaiyārai. The temples in these places and near about villages received the patronage of the Vijayanagar Kings and their governors. In § 1375 = A.D. 1453, the local chieftain Vāṇādarāyanāyan Nāraśingadēvan of Poruvanūr constructed the big manṭapa and sopāna in the Śōmanātheśvara temple at Palaiyārai<sup>54a</sup> and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya visited Kumbhakōṇam in A.D. 1519 for the mahāmakham festival. Later the area came under the Nāyak rulers of Tañjāvūr who bestowed great attention on the temples at Kumbhakōṇam, by making substantial additions to many of them and gifts for worship and services in them.

(2)

The revival of the Cola Empire under Vijayālaya and Aditya during the early second half of the ninth century marks a definite stage in the annals of South Indian art as in the political history. Though strictly speaking Cola art is only a continuation and development of the art of the Pallavas and early Pāṇḍyas who preceded them, it developed certain distinct stylistic characteristics. The architectural achievements of the period covered by Cola hegemony in South India (c. 850-1280) show a definite advance over earlier enterprises and an enormous output in plastic art, besides interesting variations in style, plan and structure.

Stylistically Cōla art and architecture may be said to belong broadly to three periods—an early period from the revival of the Cōla Empire under Vijayālaya to the accession of Rājarāja I (A.D. 850-985), the middle period from the accession of Rājarāja I to that of Kulōttuṅga I (985-1070 A.D.), and the last period from the accession of Kulōttuṅga I to the decline and fall of the Empire under Rājarāja III and Rājēndra II (1070-1280 A.D.). The first of these three periods is again divisible into two, the first cover-

5-ka. 254 of 1927.

nard

way

nges

hich

rict.

had

for

itent

lord,

ıdai-

the

iflict

rānthe

the

by

after

m,52

iram

ruct-

nam,

vara

216).

halls

Iāra-

coro-

nd a

h in

enth

54b. See Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report, p. 179; also 628 of 1904; SII., XVII No. 684.

ing the reigns of the first three Cola Kings-Vijayalaya, Aditya I and Parantaka-and the second covering the periods of Sembiyan Mahādēvī and the rulers from the death of Parāntaka to the accession of Rājarāja.

Under the Colas the many-sided development of art was the result of a happy movement heralded under Aditya and Parantaka and continued by almost every ruler until the dwindling resources of the truncated Empire and the troubled political conditions made its patronage less possible. The Vijayālayacolīśvaram at Nārttāmalai in the Pudukkottai region of the Tirucirappalli District is an early edifice of the Colas, and as the name seems to indicate, a construction under Vijāyālaya.55 The smaller temples of Tiruppūr, Viśalūr and Kāļiyāppaṭṭi in the same region are also assignable to his reign.56 The Anbil Plates of Sundaracola mention that Aditya I covered the banks of the Kāvērī along its course from Sahyādrī to the sea with temples for Siva<sup>57</sup> while a lithic inscription specifically alludes to the construction of a Siva shrine (now called Sundarēśvara) at Tirukkattalai, again in the Pudukkottai region of the Tirucirappalli District, during the third regnal year of the same King.58 Another epigraph mentions the building of the Mahādēva temple at Tiruccendurai in the Tirucirappalli District, by Bhūti Āditya Bhattāri (Pidāri), Queen of the Cola Prince Arikulakēśari during the reign of Āditya I.59 To the period of the same ruler may be assigned the Balasubrahmanya temple at Kannanūr,60 also in the Pudukkottai region and the Agastyesvara shrine at Kilaiyür in the Tirucirappalli District. 61 In the opinion of a recent writer there are more than forty temples of the period of Aditya I still extant including those at Alambākkam, Sēndalai, Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, Kōyilaḍi, Kaṇḍiyūr, Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruppaḷanam, Tiruvēdikudi, Tiruchchorrutturai, Tillaisthānam, Tiruppūnturutti,

<sup>55.</sup> K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, A Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1074.

<sup>56.</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (second edition), p. 701.

<sup>57.</sup> Epigraphia Indica, XV, p. 44.

<sup>58.</sup> I.P.S., 21; J.O.R., X, p. 232.

<sup>59. 310-11, 316</sup> and 319-20 of 1903; SII., VIII, Nos. 619, 620; III, Nos. 96 and 126 and VIII, No. 320.

<sup>60.</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p. 701.

<sup>61.</sup> S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, Four Chola Temples, p. 16.

Tiruvilakkudi, Tiruppurambiyam, Tiruvakkarai, Brahmadeśam, Ukkal, Takkolam, Tiruvallam, Tirukkalukunram etc.62 The Tiruvālangādu<sup>63</sup> and the Karandai Plates,<sup>64</sup> the Leyden grant<sup>65</sup> and Gandarāditya's Tiruviśaippa<sup>66</sup> aver that Parāntaka covered the roof of the Cidambaram temple with gold while a large number of temples like the Agastyeśvara at Kiliyanūr,67 Kadambavanēśvara at Erumbūr,68 Bhaktajanēśvara at Tirunāmanallūr,69 all in the South Arcot District and Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr,70 Vatatīrthanātha at Andanallūr,71 the Mucukundēśvara at Kodumbālūr,72 Tiru-Ālandurai Mahādēva at Kīlappaļuvūr,73 all in the Tirucirappalli District besides the Nāgeśvara at Kumbhakōnam,74 Brahmapuriśvara at Pullamangai, 75 Mahālingēsvara at Tiruvidaimarudūr, 76 Madhuvanēśvara at Tirukkarugāvūr77 etc., all in the Tañjāvūr District and the Śokkīśvara at Kāñcīpuram,78 Cingleput District, bear inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Parantaka indicating thereby that they were constructed either during his reign or prior to it.79 It has been estimated that not less than twenty-eight extant shrines are assignable to the reign of Parantaka.80 The Pipilikēśvara at Tiruverumbiyūr81 and the Mūvarkovil

- 62. Ibid., pp. 13-14; also his Early Chola Art, Part I, pp. 82-5.
- 63. S.I.I., III, No. 205.

ya I

yan the

the

aka

rces

ade

ttā-

t is

cate,

rup-

also

nen-

urse

thic

rine

luk-

gnal g of Dis-

ince

d of

e at

vara

nion

riod

alai,

iam,

utti,

ol. II,

s. 96

- 64. Copper Plates Nos. 57 and 58 of 1049-50. ARE 1949-50, p. 3.
- 65. El., XXII, No. 34.
- 66. See verse 8; Tennanādum Ilamumkonda tirar-cengōr-colan kolivēndan Sembiyan ponnaņinda.....
  - 67. 148 and 155-8 of 1919.
  - 68. Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, VII, pp. 133-135.
  - 69. 335 of 1902; Epigraphia Indica, VII, p. 133.
- 70. 587, 589 A, 589, 590, 591, 593 and 605 of 1904; S.I.I., XVII, Nos. 636, 638, 639, 640, 641 and 643.
  - 71. 348 and 359 of 1903; S.I.I., VIII, Nos. 657 and 668.
  - 72. Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, V, p. 79.
  - 73. 225, 230, 231, 233, 236, 239 and 241 of 1926.
  - 74. 232, 235, 238, 249, 253 and 254 of 1911.
  - 75. 558 of 1921.
  - 76. 199 of 1907.
  - 77. 35 of 1910; S.I.I., III, No. 123.
  - 78. 84 of 1921.
- 79. The architectural features of some of these indisputably Carly temples have been altered by later repairs.
  - 80. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, Ibid., p. 14.
  - 81. 104 of 1914; Epigraphia Indica, XIX, p. 86.

Kodumbālūr, 82 both in the Tirucirappalli District, were constructed during the reign of Sundaracola by his feudatories, the former by a certain Sembiyan Vēdivēlān and the latter by Bhūti Vikramakēśari. The Naltunai-īśvaram at Puñjai (Tañjāvūr District) seems to have been built under Āditya II.83 Sembiyan Mahādēvi, Queen of Gandarāditya and mother of Uttama Cola, figures in numerous inscriptions as the builder or renovator of many a temple throughout the Cola Empire among which mention must be made of the temples of Agastyeśvara at Ānangūr, Tirukkotīśvara at Tirukkodikkāval, Vrddhagirīśvara at Vrddhācalam, Kailasanātha at Sembiyan Mahādēvī, Āpatsahāyēśvara at Aduturai, Siddhanāthaśvāmi temple at Tirunāraiyūr, Ācalēśvara at Tiruvārūr and Uktavēdēśvara at Kuttālam.84 Kings and Queens apart, even other members of the royal family and officials played a noteworthy role in the movement of temple building among whom mention must be made of Tirukkarralipiccan.85

The accession of Rājarāja in 985 A.D. opens a new chapter in the history of Cōla architecture. He inaugurated a fresh movement in the erection of large temples with numerous axial and peristylar adjuncts. The group of such larger temples is led by the Bṛhadīśvara at Tañjāvūr and followed by a temple of the same name at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōlapuram built by his son and successor Rājēndra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōla (A.D. 1012-44), the Airāvatēśvara at Dārāśuram constructed under Rājarāja II (1146-1163 A.D.) and the Kampaharēśvara at Tribhuvanam built under Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.). Besides these larger enterprises, this part of the Cōla period—particularly the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I—witnessed the construction of a large number of less known and smaller shrines but of no mean architectural interest. 66 The shrine of Uttarakailāsa in the temple of Pañcanadēśvara at Tiruvadi, 67 the main sanctum in the temple at Alagādriputtūr, 88

<sup>82.</sup> Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, 14.

<sup>83. 192</sup> of 1925.

<sup>84.</sup> See Douglas Barrett, Early Cola Bronzes, pp. 14-17.

<sup>85. 132</sup> and 136 of 1925.

<sup>86.</sup> See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (second edition), pp. 743-4. fn. 26.

<sup>87. 219</sup> of 1894; S.I.I., V, No. 518.

<sup>88. 83</sup> of 1908,

the shrines of Tiruvaraneri Alvar at Tiruvarur, 89 and Ksetrapala. dēva at Tiruvalanjuli90 all in the Tanjāvūr District; the temple of Candramauliśvara at Tiruvakkarai91 and the triple shrines (Śiva Visnu and Jīna) at Dādāpuram<sup>92</sup> in the South Arcot District; the temples of Vaidyanātha at Tirumaļavādi,93 in the Tirucirapalli District; the shrine of Rajaraja -Vinnagar Pallikondarulinadevar at Attur in the Tirunelveli District;94 and the little temples of Nilakanthēśvara at Laddigam<sup>95</sup> and the twin shrines of Colendrasimhēśvara<sup>96</sup> and Cōlēśvara at Mēlpāḍi<sup>97</sup> in the Chittūr District are clearly datable to the reign of Rājarāja I. Of the smaller temples assignable to the period of Rājēndra I mention must be made of the Rājēndracoliśvara at Kāvāntandalam,98 the Ādipuriśvara at Tiruvorriyūr<sup>99</sup> all in the Cingleput District; Gangaikondacoliśvaram at Kulambandal,100 Jayankondacöliśvaram at Sengunram101 both in the North Arcot District; Pañcavan Mahādēvīśvaram at Rāmanāthankovil near Palaiyāru<sup>102</sup> in the Tanjāvūr District and the Rajendracclavinnagar at Mannarkovil in the Tirunelveli District. 103

Of special interest are the early Cola temples built during the ninth and tenth centuries outside the Tamil country. The Pañ-cakūṭa bastics (Jain temples) at Kambadahalli in the Nāgamangala Taluk and the Bhōganandīśvara temple at Nandi in the Chikaballapur Taluk, both in the Mysore State, are typically early Cola in their architectural features. The Siva Devalave No. 2 at Polon-

```
89. 571 of 1904; S.I.I., XVII, No. 617.
```

ted

by

na-

ms

een

ous

gh-

the

ık-

at

ha-

ind

*ien* 

te-

om

ter ve-

ind

by

me

sor

at

III of and

ess

t.86

at

r.88

3-4.

<sup>90. 633</sup> of 1902; South Indian Inscriptions, VIII, No. 234.

<sup>91. 200</sup> of 1904; S.I.I., XVII, 222.

<sup>92. 8</sup> and 17 of 1919.

<sup>93.</sup> This was completed under Rājēndra I. See 83 and 86 of 1899; South Indian Inscriptions, III, 16 & 17.

<sup>94. 415</sup> of 1930.

<sup>95. 551</sup> of 1906.

<sup>96. 101</sup> of 1921.

<sup>97.</sup> S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 15.

<sup>98. 210</sup> of 1901; S.I.I., VII.

<sup>99. 105</sup> of 1892; S.I.I., IV, No. 553

<sup>100. 414</sup> of 1902; S.I.I., VII, No. 1047.

<sup>101. 152</sup> of 1921.

<sup>102. 271</sup> of 1927.

<sup>103. 106</sup> of 1905.

naruya, the historical capital of Ceylon, is a construction of Rājarāja I.<sup>104</sup>

Among this long list of early South Indian temples those that were built during the period of transition from Pallava to Cōla are of extreme interest as they betray a nostalgic longing for a few Pallava features and have the rudiments of what later became the most distinct characteristics of mature Cōla architecture. They command one's attention by virtue of their most ornate sculptures, functional and decorative, the former reflecting a much evolved iconography and the latter, testifying to the artistic freedom of the age.

The central shrine of the Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakonam in the Tanjavur District is one of the still extant shrines of this period sharing the common characteristics of all early Cola temples and. it can perhaps be said that it is more advanced than a number of them in many respects. That this shrine must have been built not later than the first quarter of the tenth century is obvious 105 and hence the minor but interesting variations in the architectural features in it from those of several other early temples of about the same period endow it with special art historical interest. The sculptures in the Nāgēśvara, especially the portraits, may be legitimately ranked with those that are verily the magnum opus of the Cola plastic art. Though this temple has been noticed by some scholars 106 no attempt has yet been made to provide a complete description of the central shrine and correlate it with other shrines of proven contemporaneity. In view of the large number of extant early Cola temples many of which are not fully explored, the larger subject of early Cola architecture cannot be studied at present unless we have fairly complete descriptions of individual monuments. No apology is therefore needed for a short work exclusively on the Nāgēśvara, one of the most representative among them.

<sup>104.</sup> Archaeological Survey Reports, (Ceylon), Report for 1906, pp. 17-22.

105. The shrine seems to have been built during the last years of Aditya and improvements and establishments made to it during the reign of Parantaka.

<sup>106.</sup> See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas, (second edition), pp. 703 and 725. P. R. Grinivasan, "Rare Sculptures at Kumbhakonam", Transactions of the Archaelogical Society of South India, 1958-59, pp. 25-33.

(3)

Like many ancient centres of religion in South India, Rumbhakonam has a number of legends and traditions about its origin. According to them after the last deluge and the consequent destruction of the world a pot full of amrta (nectar) floated in the waters and reached the place where lies Kumbhakonam now. Siva in the form of a Kirāta (hunter) shot an arrow at the pot as a result of which it broke into pieces, each of which fell at a place. Over each of them there came into existence a temple and this accounts for numerous temples at Kumbhakōnam such as those of Kumbheśvara, Nāgēśvara, Śōmeśvara, Ādiviśveśvara, Abhimukteśvara, Gantameśvara, Bāṇapuriśvara, Viśvanātha, Varāha, Laksmīnārāyaņa, Śārngapāņi, Cakrapāņi, Varadarāja etc. Among the temples consecrated to Visnu there are twelve, of which four have been sung by the Alvars. The town itself is named after this incident and the temple of Kumbhesvara too. It is also called Vilvavana since the pot broken by Siva also contained vilva. Though there are usually no separate temples for Brahmā, there is one for him at Kumbhakōṇam, since it is believed that he recreated the place after the deluge. The town is noted also for the mahāmakam tank named after the festival of mahāmakam which is conducted at Kumbhakōnam once in twelve years in the month of February-March. It is believed that the tank gets saturated with mineral properties on account of the passing of Jupiter over Leo during the period. Large numbers of pilgrims from all over India are drawn to the place during the period.

The city is noted for the nine river Goddesses of Ganga, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Narmada, Gōdāvarī, Kāvērī, Mahānadī, Payosnī (Pālar) and the Sarayū who are supposed to bathe in the holy Mahāmakam tank to wash themselves of the sins they had accumulated for themselves for sinners bathing in them. Figures of these nine Goddesses are placed in the Kāśi Viśvanāthasvāmi temple on the northern side of the Mahamakam tank and worship offered to them even now.

One of the most ancient of the temples at Kumbhahonam is that of Nāgēśvara; and its beginnings are shrouded in mystery. Like all major South Indian temples, the Nāgēśvara has its own luxuriant mythological and traditional accounts of its origin and

J. 3

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

of

hat ōla ew

the ney res,

ved of

the  $\operatorname{iod}$ nd,

· of uilt S105

ıral out  $\Gamma$ he

egiof

me lete

nes ant the

at ual

exong

-22.

itya an-

and

ions

associations. According to legends Nagaraja (the King of serpents) and Śūrya worshipped the presiding deity of this temple to attain their ends. It is said that the thousand-headed Adisesa was groaning under the weight of the world which became unbearable and so he offered prayers to Lord Siva for being favoured with sufficient strength to bear the weight. Pleased with his prayers Siva granted his request and asked him to proceed to Kumbhakonam in Colamandalam and worship the lord in Kuvinvanesam (the present Nagesvara temple) and take bath in the sacred water at the place. Adiśesa went to Kumbhakonam and worshipped the God in the said temple for a long time at the end of which Siva with Parvati appeared before him and blessed him. It is said that the presiding deity of the temple is Nāgēśvara since he was worshipped by Nāgarāja. A well in the temple where Nagaraja is believed to have taken his bath is called Nāgatīrtha.

The reason for the special association of Sūrya with the deity in the temple is also contained in the legends. It is said that Samnja, the daughter of Viśvakarma and the wife of Sūrya was unable to bear the resplendancy of the Sun God and hence left for her father's house. Sürya followed her to his father-in-law's house but he was deprived of his rays by Tvasta as a result of which he lost his splendour. A heavenly voice informed Sūrya that he would regain his original splendour if he worshipped Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam. This was faithfully done by the devotee. Siva appeared before him and restored to him his rays. It is on this account that this place itself is known as Sūrya Kṣetra or Bhāskara Kṣetra, and the tank in the temple in which he bathed as Sūrya tīrtha. To mark the close association of Sūrya with the God in the temple, there is a separate shrine for him in its inner circuit. It is believed that the temple is aligned and oriented in such a way that the rays of the Sun are seen to fall on the Linga in the central shrine through the opening in the eastern tower of the temple for three days in the year (11th, 12th and 13th in the Tamil month Citra (April). This is considered to be an act of adoration of the God by Surya.

Another traditional account regarding this temple relates to the story of a Brahman saint named Bhagavar. It is said that on the expiry and cremation of his mother at Vēdāranyam ser-

ple

sesa

un-

ired

his

to

in

in

nam

and

e is the

is

eity

hat

was

left

w's

of

rya

oed

the

ys.

tra

ned

ith

its

nthe

ern

nd

be

to

nat

am

(Tanjāvūr District) the saint took her bones in a pot to Wārānasī for immersion in the waters of the holy Ganges. A boy accompanied him throughout and after visiting several places of religious importance they came to Kumbhakonam. The boy who was not till then aware of the contents of the pot opened it at the place and found fragrant lotus flowers in it. On reaching Vārānasī Bhagavar opened the pot and the boy was surprised to find bones in it. He told Bhagavar of what he found in it at Kumbhakonam. Bhagavar understood the sanctity of Kumbhakonam and brought back the pot with the bones to that place. As expected the bones turned out to be lotus flowers again. He immersed them in the waters of the Kāvērī running by the side of Kumbhakonam, remained in the Nagesvara temple and worshipped for several years the deity Madandaipagan in it. There is a separate shrine for the saint in the inner circuit of the temple. A bathing ghat in the river Kāvērī at the place containing a flight of steps is named after the saint and is called Bhagavat paditturai.

The presiding deity of the Nāgēśvara temple is sung by Tirunāvukkaraśar in the hymns of the Tevāram. 107 He refers to the deity as the Dancing Lord of Kuḍandaik-kīlk-kōṭṭam (Kuḍandaikkīlkkōṭṭat-teṅkūttanārē). The hymns exhibit, as every hymn in the Tēvāram collection, a mystic fervour combined with lyric beauty. They not only enumerate the various attributes of Siva such as the trident, crescent, tiger-skin etc., but also celebrate the different acts of the Lord, such as the destruction of Dakṣa's yāgā, the burning of Kāma and blessing the Cōla King Kōcceṅgaṇān, who as a spider worshipped Śiva at Tiruvāṇaikkāval. Kuḍandai is described in the hymns as a city of tall structures (māḍam), the flags hoisted on their tops nudging the moon and the river Poṇṇi (Kāvērī) yielding beautiful gems and girdling the city.

It may be mentioned here that Tirujñānasambandar, the younger contemporary of Tirunāvukkaraśar, has sung in praise of the deity in another temple at Kumbhakōṇam, called Tirukkārōṇam, the present Kāśi Viśvanātha temple 108

<sup>107.</sup> Tēvāram, Tirumurai 6: Padikam, 289.

<sup>108.</sup> Ibid., Tirumurai 1: Padikam, 72.

II

#### ARCHITECTURE

The Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam is one of the earliest extant Cola temples and its architectural features and plastic embellishments endow it with a unique art-historical interest, not shared by many in South India of almost the same period. Noted alike for its retention of early elements and anticipation of later features, the Nāgēśvara may be said to mark a stage in the evolution of South Indian temple architecture. The heavy indentations in the plan of the temple with the resultant light and shade effect on the elevation, greater number of niches in its walls, sculptural decorations in the second tier in its superstructure and the frontal projection of its vimāna indicate an attempt to experiment with or import fresh forms, while the sculptures, particularly the portraits, reveal a happy predilection for bold reliefs untrammelled by the conventions of pose and produce a markedly etheral effect. Both in architectural and sculptural wealth the Nagesvara is richer than many contemporary shrines and occupies a unique place among the early Cola temples.

The plan of the temple, like that of all early Cōla shrines, is of classical simplicity, though many are the intrusive structures grafted in later periods, making its appreciation somewhat difficult. The original shrine facing East consists of a square sanctuary (garbhagrha), preceded by a closed vestibule (ardhamanṭapa) both rising from a masonry pit like the temples at Tirukkarugāvūr, Kaṇḍiyūr, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Mēlappaluvūr etc. 109 Axially in front of the vestibule is a mahāmaṇḍapa which has a narrow transept (iḍaikkali) on either side with flights of steps guarded by balustrades. The mahāmaṇḍapa is continued into a

<sup>109.</sup> The provision of the pit is not an 'architectural feature'. The purpose intended to be served by it is somewhat intriguing. It is possible that the pit was filled with water to provide for the Vimāna the appearance of a floating ratha, though it is not unlikely that there were no pits originally and their present existence is due to the gradual rise in the level of the prākāra during the course of many centuries. See P. R. Srinivasan, 'Art and Architecture of Kandiyūr', Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1957-58, p. 69. J. C. Harle in Oriental Art, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 96-108; S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, Early Chola Art (Part I), pp. 239, fn.

V. AS THE NAGESVARASVAMI TEMPLE

mukhamandapa and all these axial structures are surrounded by a peristylar cloister (tiruccurrālai) yielding a wide prākārû in between. The cloister is a raised platform and has in the South a chamber for Kankālamūrti, while in the West are a row of the Mātṛgaṇas, an Ayyaṇar, a chamber for Subrahmaṇya and loose images of Sarasvațī, Nāgarāja, Gajalakṣmī etc. In the prākāra are five subshrines for parivāradēvatas. This inner circuit is surrounded by a larger rectangular circuit with tall enclosure walls interrupted in the East, South and West sides by dvāras surmounted by rising towers (gōpuras). Besides small shrines and

interest. The Nāgēśvara is an example of dvitalaprāsāda (double storeyed variety) and has all the six of the horizontal zones (angas), into which the elevation of such a shrine is disposed: adhisthana (basement), bhitti and kudyastambha (walls and columnation), prastāra (architrave), grīva (clerestory), śikhara (roof) and stūpi (finial).

mandapas the outer circuit has also a nrttasabhā and a separate

shrine for the Goddess. These numerous additions around and in

front of the original early Cola shrine are stylistically assignable

to much later periods and are not of any distinct architectural

The vimana is at present buried upto the level of the toruslike moulding (kumuda) of the basement (adhisthana) in parts of the southern and northern sides and only on the western or the rear side all its components are visible. The adhisthana is contiguous and complete in all its parts, viz., upāna, jagati, kumuda, two kanthas, with an intervening pattika and with another pattika surmounting all. The upana is the lowermost part of the basement, projecting beyond the vertical norm and consists of a series of plinth stones scalloped on top in the form of lotus petals, suggesting a padmakōśa conception of the shrine. The beginning of this lotus moulding is seen already in the stūpa slabs of the late phase of the school of Amaravati and Nagarjunakoṇḍa, the motif in the Rāmgrāma stūpa from the former place being a recondite example.110 This is absent in the Pallava monuments, rock-cut and structural, and makes its appearance again

110. C. Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures in the pl. LXI, fig. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Paridw

tant lishared like ater

oluions ffect ural

ntal with the

elled fect. a is

ique

ines, ures diffi-

uare dhas at

c.109 as a teps

to a

purthat ce of nally

f the 'Art ciety

Vol. 9, fn.

6

in the early Cola temples. This was a simple cyma reverse moulding in the early stages, to which an upcurling edge was added at a later date resulting in the simulation of the spiky petals of the Padma. Besides, in the Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakoṇam, this moulding is seen in the Agastyēśvara at Kiliyanūr (South Arcot), Mūvar-kovil at Kodumbāļūr, Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr, Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamangai etc., though in all instances, this is not the footing of the basement as in the Nāgēśvara.

Above this padmatala is the jagati, a vertical moulding oblong in shape, which is almost completely inscribed. Coming over this is a torus-like octogonal moulding, (kumuda), which is an important component of the basement. In the Pallava period this was invariably chamfered so as to present a hexagonal appearance, the solitary exception being Māhēndravarman I's Viṣnu cave temple at Mahendravadi in which the "kumuda has not been differentiated from the upana though an attempt to cut this moulding is noticed at its northern extremity".111 In early Cola temples they are either chamfered as in the Nāgēśvara under discussion and the Cokkīśvara at Kāñcīpuram112 or has semi-circular cross section as at Śrīnivāsanallūr, Kiliyanūr, Mēlappaļuvūr, Pullamangai etc. A short intervening dado (kantha) separates the kumuda from the pattika above. The kantha is relieved at intervals by pilaster strips enclosing miniature panels portraying puranic scenes, animals besides floral designs. Above this kantha are two pattikas, one above the other, and between them is another kantha, similar to the one below. While the lower pattika is plain and is almost fully inscribed, the upper one which is the topmost member of the adhisthana, has in its middle a lintel-like projection with padma motif underneath, with petals traced out and terminating in denticulations. The crowning member of the adhisthana is interrupted by all the niches and devākosthas on the southern and western sides and by two on the northern side. In many early Cola temples, including the Cokkiśvara at Kańcipuram and the Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamangai, the upper paṭṭika is similarly

<sup>111.</sup> See K. R. Srinivasan, Cave-Temples of the Pallavas, p. 67, fig. 4, pl. XII A.

<sup>112.</sup> The Mahālingasvāmi temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr which must have been built about 910 A.D. has also octogonally moulded kumuda. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cōlas (second edition), pp. 706-707.

ld-

at of

nis

t),

ir,

nis

ng er

an is

ce,

ve

en

is

la

is-

ar

ir,

es

at

ng

ha

er

in

st

n

ıi-

ia

rn ly

1e

ly

4,

re

found interrupted by niches and hence it may be considered a wall-moulding in a sense. 113

The adhisthana of the Nagesvara is of considerable architectural interest because of what it both lacks and possesses. It lacks an almost usual and prominent member-varimānam, a high relief frieze composed of the stylised heads of yalis with or without elephants and bulls. This is found in many early Cola structures among which particular mention must be made of the basementof the platform before the Samanarkudagu at Nārttāmalai in which the frieze consists of large reliefs of elephants and yālis. Probably the beginnings of this motif are traceable to the depiction of a series of animals in several rectangular friezes from Amaravati which were intended to serve as borders for the upper margin of the cylindrical base (medhi). The earliest occurrence of this motif in the adhisthana in the Tamil country is found in the Dharmarāja ratha at Mahābalipuram. Though this varimāņam is an almost regular member of the basement in all early Cola temples, instances are not wanting in which it is absent. Besides the Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōnam, the early temples at Nārttāmalai, Panangudi, Enādi etc. in the Pudukkottai region do not have it. The Mūvar-kovil at Kodumbāļūr is the first among the Cola temples to have varimāṇam. In the Nāgēśvara the place of the varimāṇam is taken by a simple paṭṭika.

In spite of the absence of the varimāṇam, the adhiṣṭhāna of the Nāgēśvara is more advanced than that of the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbāļur. The basements of the now extant central and southern shrines of the vimāna-trayam at Koḍumbāļur show enly three members, an upāna in the form of lotus petals, a curvilinear kumuda and a varimāṇam, whereas the Nāgēśvara has such additional members as a jagati and couple of kaṇṭhas and paṭṭikas.

The variations in the shape of the different members of the adhisthana do not provide dependable clues for the dating of Cola monuments. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who speaks of two phases in the evolution of architecture of the early Cola period, the former covering the reigns of Vijayālaya and Aditya I (i.e. from

<sup>113.</sup> J. C. Harle, "South Indian Temple Bases", Oriental Art, New Series, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 138-145.

c. 850 to 907 A.D.) which was a period of transition from Pallava to Cola and the latter including the reigns of Kings from Parantaka upto the accession of Rājarāja I (i.e. from 907 to 985 A.D.) which was the true early Cola period, feels that rounded kumuda moulding and varimanam in the adhisthana are features of this second phase.114 But both a rounded kumuda and varimāṇam are found in the Agastyēśvara at Mēlappaļuvūr, a temple which according to Professor Nilakanta Sastri himself is attributable to the reign of Vijayālaya or Āditya I.115 Early Cōļa temple architecture, it becomes increasingly evident, does not fall into any uniform pattern but shows interesting, albeit, minor variations in many parts of it. Mention must be made in this connection of the introduction of a kapōta (a form of eaves) in the adhisthūna in the Brahmapuriśvara at Pullamangai, a feature not found in any of the other early Cola temples but noticed only in shrines built from the reign of Rājarāja I. The early Cola architects who were the inheritors of the Pallava practice in making experiments in the erection and improvements in architectural models, plans and elevations were probably untramelled by rigid architectural codes and, as the extant examples sufficiently indicate, were at liberty to design and build as they chose within considerably wide Therefore it becomes obvious that though variations in architectural features are generally useful for purposes of chronological classification, too much and exclusive dependence on them in the case of monuments erected during a period of much artistic freedom when different forms of structural architecture were getting crystalized, is unsafe.

The surface walls (bhitti), the next architectural anga of the shrine, are rich with pilasters and niches enshrining sculptures, and surmounted in a few cases by elliptical aureoles. The over-crowding of sculptures in the exterior of walls noticed in the Pallava temples was dispensed with even by the end of the Pallava period as may be seen from the Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruttaṇi built during the eighteenth year of Aparājita. In some of the very early Cōla temples like those at Nārttāmalai, Viśalūr

<sup>114.</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (second edition), p. 704.

<sup>115.</sup> Ibid., p. 703.

<sup>116.</sup> ARSIE., 433 of 1905; S.I.I., XII, No. 94.

Kāliyāppaṭṭi, Tiruppūr, Ēnādi and Korkkai there are not even niches in the outer walls while at Kodumbāļūr (Mūvar-kōvil), Paṇangudi, Puḷḷamangai, Mēlappaluvūr, Kāncīpuram (Cokkīśvara), etc. only devakoṣṭhas without any additional niches are provided. It is in a few cases like the Nāgēśvara under discussion and Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr that such additional niches are noticed. But even here the provision of niches is happily even and in proportion to the length of the wall, revealing the Cōḷa architect's appreciation of the value of plain spaces on walls.

iva

ān-

D.)

 $\iota da$ 

his

are

ac-

to

hiany

in

of

ina

in

nes

vho

nts

ans

ıral

at

ide

in

no-

on

ach

ure

the

es,

er-

the

ava

ani

the

lūr

J. 4

The walls on all the three sides of the main shrine of the Nāgēśvara have projections at the corners and the centre of each side, which give a sharp light and shade effect on the elevation (Fig 1). The projections at the centres of the three sides are devakosthus and enshrine images of appropriate deities. It is interesting to point out that the projection here is not as much as at Kandiyür, 117 but rather subdued as at Śrīnivāsanallūr, though greater than those at Mēlappaļuvūr and a few other places. In a few early Cola temples, particularly those in the Pudukottai area, like the Agastyeśvara at Panangudi, there is no projection of the devakostha, while in a few other instances like the Muvarkövil at Kodumbāļūr and the Agastyēśvara and Cöļīśvara at Mēļappaļuvūr etc. it is restricted to the dēvakostha alone and not extended to the four corners as well. It is at Kumbhakonam, Pullamangai and Śrinivāsanallūr that one notices the projection on the four sides also. In the last two places there is an additional projection in between the devakosthas and corner bays.

The outer walls of the Nāgēśvara are divided into vertical panels by pilasters rising from the level of the kumuda in the adhiṣthāna. The pilasters here, like those in many of the early Cōla temples in the Puddukottai region and Mēlappaluvūr, are uniformely square in section. At Śrīnivāsanallūr they are of three different varieties: those in the projecting bays of each corner are square while those in the wider central bay are chamfered and those flanking the smaller projecting bays in between the central and corner projections and enshrining portrait sculptures are

<sup>117.</sup> See P. R. Srinivasan, 'Art and Architecture of Kandigur' TASSI., 1957-58, p. 69.

rounded. They are circular at Kandiyūr and some of them are octogonal at Pullamangai.

The top of the shaft in the pilasters in the Nāgēśvara has the usual members viz., padmabandha, kalaśa, tadi, kumbha, phalaka and idal. This is generally the Cola order of the capital, which is different from the Pallava order. The phalaka which is thick and massive in the Pallava pillars continues to be so in the early Cola period, 118 but becomes much expanded and is ornamented with an inverted lotus moulding—idal. In several early Cola temples including the Nāgēśvara, Koranganātha, the Mūvarkovil etc. the doucine below the phalaka is not polypetalous to deserve the name idal, but in the early Cola Cokkiśvara at Kañcipuram this ornamentation is pronounced. The view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri<sup>119</sup> reiterated by Percy Brown<sup>120</sup> that the addition of a neck moulding (padmabandha) in between the shaft and the capital was an early Cola innovation requires revision because it is already noticed in many Pallava rock-cut caves where it generally consists of a row of lotus petals on the top line, broad belt of foliage between two rows of beads forming a central band and garlands and tassels hanging down in loops below. The padmabandha is only an ornamental stone copy of what was originally a strengthening metal hoop on top of wooden pillar shafts. In the rock-cut excavation at the foot of the hillock at Tirucirappalli the padmabandha forms a constriction and creates a kalaśa above it.

The padmabandhas in the pilaster of the Nāgēśvara are ornate with festoons and floral scrolls. The kumbhas and kalaśas are full, but not fully rounded. On the phalaka of the pilasters of the devakosthas are rearing yālis without riders. The phalakas of the other pilasters contain carvings of females with knees apart and feet crossed and playing flute or drum or in dancing posture.

Above the phalakas are corbelled capitals. The Pallava corbels are curved in profile with the taranga (roll) ornament and a

<sup>118.</sup> This becomes thinner in later Cola times.

<sup>119.</sup> The Colas, (second edition), p. 704.

<sup>120.</sup> Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), (third edition), p. 103.121. They are with riders at Pullamangai.

re

he

lca

al,

ch

in

a-

·ly

ar-

to

cī-

or

nd

ise

it

ad

ral

he

gi-

ts.

p-

śα

ate

re

of

as

art

re.

or-

a

median band (pattai). 122 This curved corbel besides becoming angular in the early Cōla period is generally bevelled, so is to leave a triangular tenon-like projection, though this is not to be found in a few examples which are but exceptions. In a few cases the taranga crnament is dispensed with and in a few others, as in the Agnīśvara at Cittūr in the Puddukottai region, both the plain level and rolled level are noticed. The corbels in the Nāgēśvara have roll ornamentation and have the design of median bands. They are without tenons like the early Cōla Brahmapuriśvara at Pullamangai, and unlike the early Cōla Cokkīśvara at Kāñcīpuram, where their outer lower corners are diagonally cut. On the projecting platforms above the corbels are carvings like reclining Kṛṣṇa, tiger, a gaṇa holding a snake, ṛṣabha etc.

There are three niches on each of the three outer walls of the shrine and an equal number of the same in the southern and northern walls of the ardhamandana, thus totalling fifteen, all containing carvings of deities or portraits. The niches are of three different varieties, of which the central ones on each side of the shrine and the ardhamandapa are framed by a pair of smaller pilasters with a projecting lintel over and surmounted by a superb makaratōraṇā decoration in high relief. The Pallava niche, though surmounted by a makaratorana, is without the projecting lintel, it being an early Cola addition. Further the Pallava niches are, as may be seen from the cut-in caves and cut-out monoliths at Mahābalipuram and other places and the structural temple of Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram, rather wide and the makarațorană decoration in them is flat, the floriated tail of the makara overflowing on the sides; but in the later Pallava and Cola niches the space is narrower and the decoration on the niche-top more rounded. The central niches in the Nāgēśvara which may be termed the first of the three varieties noticed in that temple are large and well proportioned and occupy vertically the entire wall space between the lower pattika in the adhisthana and the plain

<sup>122.</sup> In the Mūvar-kōvil at Kodumbāļūr and in a few other temples the Pallava pattern is adopted with the difference that the curved profile is replaced by an angular one while copying the taranga and patṭai and an innovation in the form of an involution, a "trough", with all the crests of the taranga is introduced at the lower bend.

See JISOA, XVI, p. 17, fn. 1.

architrave of beams (uttirappadai) below the curved cornice.123 The side pilasters of the niches are square in section in imitation of the main pilasters of the walls, and not different from them as Pullamangai, where they are rounded. They are decorated with a flower motif (festoon?) which descends from the phalaka. The makaratoranas surmounting the niches are of intricate workmanship and abound in detail. As the torana of the central niches in the South wall of the sanctum and the North wall of the ardhamandapa have been built in, and that in the rear wall is not complete, only those in the South wall of the ardhamandana and the North wall of the sanctum could be studied. From the mouths of opposed makaras with floriated tails in the torana coping the central niche in the South wall of the ardhamandapa pours a stream of hamsas that are faced at the centre by a warrior on either end and surmounted by a circular design with a carving of Ganesa inside. Below it is an arch of five dwarfs, with the central one among them extending his left arm in gajahasta gesture and the rest dancing and playing musical instruments. In the sunken and semi-circular medallion below is a relief of four-armed Natarāja dancing in katisama pose with Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda playing drum, flute and cymbals and two other ganas. The torana surmounting the central niche in the North wall of the sanctum is of equal interest. Here a stream of dwarfs issues from the mouths of two pairs of opposed makaras, the outer one with floriated tails. In the semicircular medallion below is the relief of a vigorous fighting scene depicting Narasimha and Hiranyakasipu with their legs interlocked. The makaratoranas here, as at Pullamangai and Mēlappaluvūr, are in high relief and executed with notable freshness of spirit.

On either side of each of the three projecting devakosthas is a niche with an installed image. These niches, which may be considered to belong to the second of the three varieties of niches noticed in the Nāgēśvara, are very narrow and in a few cases the wall has been given the shape of a niche by the mere addition of side pilasters on both sides. Their height is not as much as that of the central and larger niches; nor is it uniform; but it varies. 124

<sup>123.</sup> Their breadth varies from 24" to 21" and their depth is 111/2".

124. Their height varies from 59" to 571/2" and breadth from 121/2" to 111/2".

123

of

em

ted ka.

ate

ral the

not

and

ths

the

a

on

ing

the

ire

the

ed

ra-

as.

he

om

ith

ief

pu

la-

ith

is

n-

ies

he

of iat 124

1/2".

These niches are devoid of any ornamental makaratōraṇa kut have a lintel, above which is a semicircular arch containing a low relief of reclining Kṛṣṇa in a few cases while in the rest even this decoration is left incomplete.

There are four examples of the third variety of niche, one on either side of the central niche in the ardhamaṇḍapa. These are of varying proportions and 125 simply cut in the wall for the installation of images and are devoid of any ornamentation, like side pilasters, makaratōraṇas, lintels etc. Plain niches of this type are found in many of the early Cōļa temples like those at Erumbūr, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruvēļvikkuḍi, Tiruppurambiyam, Tirunelvāyilaratturai, Tiruvāṇḍārkōil, Tiruvāmāttūr etc.

The entablature of the shrine consists of a cornice (kodungai) 126 and a yāli frieze. The cornice which is a straight and projecting tier of rectangular blocks in early temples gets a curved shape in due course. Here it is curved and decorated with scroll work and has a recessed bottom edge bearing a row of rather large circles in low relief; this edge is "open-mouthed" and with large interior circles which are usually empty.127 The Kūdus are covered with scroll work decoration and surmounted by kirtimukhas. Underneath the cornice are bhūtas in a frieze who are a study in themselves exhibiting several postures in dances, playing musical instruments, blowing conch and in attitudes of comedy. This decorative frieze of atlantes is found even in the early rock-cut excavations of the Pallavas, where they are seen in the cavesboard (valabhi), marking the decorated ends of the joists over the main beams. This is found almost in all the early Cola temples, an interesting exception being the Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr. The entablature is finished off by a serried row of opposed yalis with makara heads at the corners. From the back of each of the opposed yalis issue a pair of stylised scroll work ornaments resembling wings. In the opened mouths of the makaras at the corners of the yali frieze are seen reliefs depicting such scenes as a dancing gana,

<sup>125.</sup> Their height varies from 51" to 48" and breadth from 21" to 18". 126. In Tamil architectural parlance kodungai refers to the cornice in the entablature while kapōta means the cornice moulding in the adhiṣṭhāna.

<sup>127.</sup> Occasionally one or two small and unrecognisable carvings (human or animal heads) are seen in them.

two fighting warriors, a soldier in action and a lion with or without a rider.

Before the superstructure rising above the entablature is described, a word must be said about its varying forms in Cola temples. The ribbed octogonal type of śikhara is characteristic of all Pallava vimānas while some early Cola shrines have their domes and clerestory, circular in section. These flattened and globular sikharas with their strongly recurved lower sides are marvels of grace; and notable examples of them are those at Nārttāmalai, Viśalūr, Kannanūr, Kandiyūr, Tiruppundurutti, Tiruvaiyāru, the Vasisthēsvara at Karuntattāngudi, the Colisvara at Mēlappaļuvūr, the Cokkīśvara at Kāñcīpuram etc. The taste for a globular or octogonal śikhara continued for several centuries and the domes of several later and larger temples including those at Tañjāvūr, Gangaikondacolapuram, Dārāsuram and Tribhuvanam are either in the former or the latter designs. In a few cases the globular shape of the roof is reflected in pillars and pilasters also, which are either rounded or polygonal. In South Indian Hindu temple architecture the rounded form is known as Rudra as against the square which is called Brahma. Shrines with globular domes may therefore be called examples of Rudrakanta and those that are square as Brahmakanta. Numerous early Cola shrines including the Nāgēśvara under discussion and those at Pullamangai, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tirukkattaļai, Kodumbāļūr, Puñjai, Mēlappaļuvūr and smaller temples in the Pudukkottai region like those at Kāliyāppaṭṭi, Paṇanguḍi, Tiruppūr, Viśalūr, Ēnādi etc. are typical examples of the Brahmakanta variety. 128

Most of the early Cōla shrines with a globular śikhara are single-stoned (ekatala), the Vijayālaya Cōlīśvaram at Nārttāmalai and the Cōlīśvara at Mēlappaluvūr being, however, examples of the exceptions. The smaller temples of the Brahmakanta variety in the Pudukkottai region enumerated above and the Siva shrine at Korkkai in Tirunelveli District are also

<sup>128.</sup> See Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1958-59, pp. 27-28.

<sup>129.</sup> The Vijayālayacōlīśvara rises in three diminishing tiers, the two lower ones being square and the upper most circular. The Cōlīśvara has two tiers, the lower one being square.

THE NĂGĒŚVARASVĀMI TEMPLE

single-storied and their vimanas are plain and composed of a four-sided clerestory, curvilinear roofs with kūdus surmounted by Besides the Nāgēśvara, the temples at Pullasimhalalātas. mangai, Puñjai, Kodumbāļūr, Tirukkattaļai, Śrinivāsanallūr, Mēlappaluvūr (Agastyēśvara) etc. have double-storied vimānas (dvitalaprāsādas). The Pallava practice of extending the lowermost tier of the vimāna, to the ardhamandapa in front is found at Nārttāmalai, but not in later examples of early Cola architecture. It is however, revived in many still later and larger temples.

The superstructure of the Nāgēśvara rises in two diminishing tiers over the entablature. The first tier is a string of miniature shrines generally known as pañjaras interconnected by a parapetlike hārāntara, the whole belt enclosing the inner square which is in an upward extension of the cella. While the miniature shrines correspond in position to the central and corner projections of the vimāna wall below, the hārāntara corresponds to the recesses of the same. The panjaras over the four corners of the shrine, or karnakūtas as they are called, are each of the square or samacaturaśra type carrying a square clerestory and a four-ribbed domical roof with finial at the top. The panjaras over the devakosthas, or śālas as they are known, are rectangular or āyatasra, each with a similar rectangular grīva over its architrava, surmounted by the wagon-top śikhara carrying a row of finials at the top. Both the karņakūṭas and śālas have a projecting gable arch (kūdu) in front and identical ones at the sides, all crowned by lionmasks. The hārāntara connecting each of the karņakūṭās and śālas has an alpanāsika—a gable arch over pilasters similar to the projected front-end of an apsidal shrine. The karnakūtas and śālas are complete from adhiṣṭhāna to stūpi and the parts of the pilasters in the alpanāsikas are equally complete. In the niche below the front gable arch of the śālas are carvings of appropriate deities-Vīṇādhara in the South, Vaikuṇṭhanātha in the West and Brahmā in the North. Sculptural decoration is extended to the corners of the śālas as well; a male and a female figure, two kneeling males and a couple of females one playing drum and the other cymbal, are respectively seen in the corners of the śālas in the South, West and North. In the niche below the gable arch of the karnakūtas are rearing yālis (with elephantine tusk in two cases).

two

out

des-

Cōla

istic

heir

and

are at utti,

ara

aste

ries

ose

hufew

and

outh

as

vith

inta

Cola

at

ijai,

like

etc.

are

alai

s of

ınta

and

also

idia,

wer

Though identically two-tiered like the vimānas at Kodumbāļūr, Tirykkattalai, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Pullamangai etc. the first or the lowermost tier in the Nāgēśvara differs from that in any of the above temples in some detail of other. In the Muvar-kovil at Kodumbālūr, the wagon-shaped roof of the rectangular sāla rises to the height of the cornice of the upper tier resulting in the greater height of the niche, necessary for accommodating standing or dancing deities, as in the southern shrine. Where the -image is seated like Visnu in the rear side of the central shrine. the height of the niche is not as much as that in the southern shrine; here the kapōtā is uninterrupted unlike the śālas in the southern shrine. In the Nāgēśvara all the images enshrined in the niches in the śālas are uniformly seated. Again at Kodumbālur the śalas are seen with a couple of pilasters on either side of the niche and without any sculptural decoration at the corners, whereas those at the Nāgēśvara have only a single pilaster flanking each side of the niche and a human figure at the corners. 130 The karnakūtas at Kodumbāļur, unlike those at the Nāgēśvara, are also devoid of any sculptural decoration. Further a pair of finials above the śālas seen at the Nāgēśvara are not found at Kodumbāļūr. The alpanāsikas in the latter place are also less pronounced. The roof of the śālas in the Mucukandēśvara temple at Kodumbāļūr, unlike that in the Mūvarkovil at the same place, does not rise to the height of the cornice of the upper tier and resembles the Nāgēśvara in this respect; but here a strict uniformity is maintained regarding heights of the śālas and karņakūṭas, the former in the Nāgēśvara being taller than in the latter, as in a large number of temples. The karņakūţas in the Mucukaṇḍēśvara also lack sculptural embellishment. At Śrīnivāsanallūr the first tier is in repetition of the ground floor, a feature that anticipates similar arrangement in the later temples at Tañjāvūr and Gangaikondacolapuram. Here the śūlas and karņakūṭas are of the same height (unlike in the Nāgēśvara) and the alpanāsikas, coming in between them, have each an arched roof. The pilasters of the karņakūṭas, śālas and alpanāsikas are respectively square, chamfered and rounded in imitation of the pilasters just below in the vimāna wall. In the Agastyēśvara at Mēlappaļuvūr the roof

<sup>130.</sup> The tetrogonal pilaster strip found by the side of each human figure has none of the usual members of a pilaster.

lūr,

the

the l at

ises

the

ind-

the

ine,

ern

the

in

ıbā-

e of

ers,

nk-

S.130

ara,

· of

at

less

ple

ace,

and

for-

tas, in

lēś-

the

hat

vūr

are

cas,

ers

re,

in

oof

ure

of the śāla is seen reaching the cornice of the upper tier as in Mūvar-kōvil, and unlike in the Nāgēśvara. The lowermost tier of the Sundarēśvara at Tirukkaṭṭalai may be said to be almost identical with the same in the Nāgēśvara, the difference between the two being more in the selection of the images installed in the niches than in variations in architectural features.

The second tier of the Nāgēśvara is of lesser dimensions, with walls embellished by sculptures and pilasters with corbels, with an overhanging cornice above, borne at each of the four corners by a male figure. Beneath the cornice is a hamsa frieze which is not continuous but seen only in the space just above the śālas of the lower tier. This cornice has four kūdus on each side, two above the śālas and one above each of the two alpanāsikas in the tier below. In between the corner figures carrying the cornice and the pilasters is a four-handed image. The images which are now painted are of stone and wear necklaces, udarabandha, vaļayas, kankaņas, katisūtra etc. While their upper pair of arms hold iconographic cognizances, the lower pair are in the abhaya and katyavalambita, the only exception being the first image on the southern side whose lower left arm holds a vajra. Coming in a clockwise direction the attributes seen in the upper arms of each of the images are as follows: a bud and an indistinct object, sword and shield, śakti and noose (?), an indistinct object and noose (?), sword and shield, paraśu and mrga. figures may represent the dikpālas.

The sculptural decoration of the second tier of the  $vim\bar{a}na$  noticed in the Nāgēśvara is absent in many early Cōļa temples including those at Koḍumbāļūr, Mēlappaļuvūr, Tirukkaṭṭaļai etc. in which the embellishment consists only of pilasters. At Koḍumbāļūr, Puñjai, Uḍaiyārguḍi etc. two of these pilasters placed one on either side of the śālā of the lower tier are stout and circular and carry a  $k\bar{u}du$  on top. It is interesting to note that this is an early motif coming down from the times of the Pallava rock-cut architecture, an example of which may be seen in the Gaṇēśa ratha at Mahābalipuram, wherein the end face of the śālā type śikhara bears such a pilaster. 131

<sup>131.</sup> Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, XVI, p. 28, fn. 1.

Antinteresting feature of the vimana of the Nagesvara is its fron(al projection like the Dravidian temples at Pattadakkal. This projection is surmounted by a simhalalata above (Fig. 2). In its lowermost tier is a śālā at the centre flanked on both sides by alpanāsikas. Below the simhalalāṭa is seen a large image of Śiva with Parvati seated on a double lotus pedestal, his upper arms holding parasu and mrga, the lower right in abhaya and the lower left in an indistinct mudra. The frontal projection of the vimana Surmounted by a semicircular arch, giving it the appearance of the front side of an apsidal shrine, and large carvings of Siva and Parvati below the arch recall to mind the late Pallava gajaprsthākrti Vīrattānēśvara at Tiruttani. On either side of Siva and Pārvati and below the simhalalāta are dvārapālas. The projected part of the vimāna is carried by an image at the southern and northern sides, each with four hands, the upper right of the one in the South holding a vajra and, that of the one in the North holding a pāśa. image in the South has flames around his head. On either side of the projection in the East is a carving, standing with four hands and ornamented with necklaces, yajñopavīta etc; the carving in the southern side has two heads with flames over them and hence may be Agni while the details of the corresponding northern image could not be studied. These two images go with the six sculptures in the walls of the second tier of the vimāna noticed above and make the set of the dikpālas complete.

Above the cornice of the upper tier is a square platform in the four corners of which are images of a gana blowing or holding a conch. These are modern and heavily plastered but should be recent replacements of early originals.<sup>132</sup> On this platform and just above the  $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$  in the lowermost tier are modern and pilastered images of Dakṣiṇāmūrti with six rsis in the South, Vaikuṇṭhanātha with two consorts in the West and Brahmā in the company of his consorts in the North. On the sides of each of all these images is a couchant bull.

The clerestory  $(gr\bar{i}va)$  is in the form of a square drum over this platform. Four seated images are seen in all the three visible

<sup>132.</sup> This is an early motif and is found for the first time in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram.

its

his

In

by

iva ms

ver

ina

nce

ngs

ate

her

are

by

ith

ing

he

ide

ıds

in

nce

ern

six

ced

in

ng

be

nd

er-

na-

ny ese

rer

ole

ore

sides of the clerestory. This is surmounted by a curved cornice beneath which is a bhūta frieze. The cornice is broken at the centre of all the sides, as simhalalāṭas rise from there surmounting the images placed on the platform below. The śikhara above the clerestory is four-sided and curvilinear and its kalaśa is made of copper.

Of the many peristylar adjuncts surrounding the sanctuary none appears to be architecturally coeval with it, though the miniature shrine of Sūrya in the North-East corner has a few early features. But the temple of Nāgēśvara should have had parivārālayas in the circuit and a compound wall with a dvāra in the East surmounted by a small gopura, because all these are characteristic of early temples. In the Pallava temple of Kailāśānātha at Kāñcīpuram there is a string of subshrines abutting the compound wall, besides subsidiary shrines built on to the wall of the sanctuary on the three free sides and the four corners. In the Talapuriśvara at Panamalai, again a Pallava structural temple, subsidiary shrines are noticed on the three free sides of the cella and integrated with it. In the Aivarkovil at Kodumbāļūr, an early Cola shrine, they are attached to the four corners and not to the three free sides. In all these examples the subshrines were intended for the consecration of Siva and not the parivāradēvatas viz., Gaņēśa, Subrahmanya, Sūrya, Candra, Jyesthā, Saptamātrkas and Candikēśvara. The Vīrattānēśvara at Tiruttani built at a time when the Pallava hegemony was dwindling and the Colas were rising under Vijayalaya and Aditya, is perhaps one of the first to have the parivaralayas in its circuit. Only the shrine of Candikēśvara to the North of the sanctuary is now extant; but the presence of loose sculptures of other parivaradēvatas in typical late Pallava style in the mukhamandapa of the temple bears clear testimony to the existence of separate shrines for them once.

The parivārālayas of several early Cōla temples in varying degrees of preservation are now traceable. The Vijayālayacōlīśvaram at Nārttāmalai has seven subshrines, all now in ruins. The Sundarēśvara at Tirukkaṭṭalai, built during the third year of Āditya I,133 also has seven such shrines. Shrines of some of the

133. I.P.S., No. 21; J.O.R., X, p. 232.

f

parivaradevatas, or at least traces of them, are found in many other early Cola temples including those at Kāliyāpatti, Panangudi, Viśalūr, Tiruvarangulam, Mēlappaluvūr, Tirukkarugāvūr etc. The Erumbur (South Arcot District) inscription of Parantaka I dated in his twenty-eighth year records that the gopura with the astaparivāra was built by a certain Irungolan Kunavan Aparājitan, which incidentally points to the number of the parivāradēvatas current in the early Cola period. 134 Here the Nandi in front of the shrine is also conceived of as a parivaradēvata. That during the Cola period the number of the parivāradēvatas was eight and that this was observed even outside the Cola Empire may be gleaned from an almost contemporary Kannada inscription from Kamalapuram in the Cuddappah District, issued during the reign of the Rāstrakūta King Nityavarsa Indra, which registers that while Pallava-Dhīra was ruling over Mulki-500, a Mahāsāmanta constructed (or repaired) among other things shrines for the eight attendant divinities of the Mulkemtīśvara (Mukkantīśvara) temple.135

None of the extant parivārālayas in the Nāgēśvara can be said to belong to the early Cola period, as their structures are architecturally late indicating thereby that they are later replacements of earlier originals. An early inscription in the temple dated in the fortieth year of Parantaka I refers to a gift for the maintenance of two lamps in the shrine of Süryadevar. 136 Obviously original vimāna and the pilasters tucked in the kanthas in the basement have miniature basreliefs, again as in the central shrine, bearing reliefs of Gangāvisarjana, Naṭarāja, Kirātārjuna, Vṛṣabhārūdha, Gajāri, Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa, a reclining female figure etc. On the walls of the shrine and the ardhamaṇḍapa are dēvakōṣṭhas and pilasters. The pilasters in the shrine wall are chamfered while those in the vestibule are square; the side pilasters in the niches in the shrine are rounded while their counterparts in the ardhamandapa conform in their shape to the pilasters on its wall. The phalaka is square and thin and the corbel above has a median band. Niches are surmounted by a

<sup>134. 384</sup> of 1913.

<sup>135. 235</sup> of 1937-38.

<sup>136. 253</sup> of 1911.

faint and incomplete makaratorana arch. Beneath the curved cornice is a bhūta frieze in which the conventional story of the geese and tortoise is also plastically narrated. On the projecting platforms above the corbels are seen either a reclining lady, a cow or a lion. The cornice is decorated with kodikkarukku and kūdus, the latter bearing reliefs of floral designs or animals like the bull and not open mouthed. Above the cornice is a vyāļavari with the makaras at the corners. The śikhara above, resting on a circular drum, is globular in shape and has simhalalāṭas at the corners.

ny

ın-

ūr

in-

ra

an

he

he

·a-

rahe

ry is-

'șa

er

ng he

be

re

e-

ole

he

136

as

he

ja,

he

he

e;

ile

to

he

a

The devakosthas in both the sanctuary and ardhamandapa have installed images which represent Adityas. The image in the North wall of the ardhamandapa is two-armed, standing on a double lotus pedestal. His right hand holds a lotus stalk while the left is in the katyavalambita pose. He wears a simple undergarment covering both the thighs with the characteristic early Cola loop. The makuta is of the karanda variety with a three pronged central circle above the forehead. The ornaments consist of makarakundalas, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha, vaļayas, armlets etc., besides the lotus flower resting on the right shoulder. In the dēvakōṣṭha in the South wall of the ardhamaṇḍapa is an image of Ganesa standing on a double lotus pedestal with his tusk curved to the left. While the emblems in the upper arms are not seen, the lower right holds a broken tusk and the left rests on a danda. The ears are fairly large and spread out. drapery is suggested by loops. Besides a karandamakuta crowning the head of the image, it has an udarabandha and yajñopavīta for decoration. Chhatras are seen on either side above. images in all the three devakosthas in the sanctuary are generally identical with the sculpture in the North wall of the ardhamandapa. But the former three images hold in both hands lotus stalks, resting on the shoulders. A circular halo is noticed behind the head of each.

On either side of the entrance to the ardhamandapa is seen a relief of a dvārapālaka with a flying Gandharva couple above.

<sup>137.</sup> For the story and the occurrence of the same theme in early Cola art see Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1957-58, pp. 76-78; also fig. 5.

They are two-armed, and lean against their clubs. Their posture and workmanship, besides their high jaṭāmakuṭas and large jaṭa-bhāras, recall to mind the larger dvārapālas, flanking the shrine entrances in many early Cola temples. The flying Gandharva couples above them are reminiscent of similar and larger images of earlier dates from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati, Aihoļe and Bādāmi.

A comparative study of the disposition of parivārālayas makes if clear that there was no rigidity regarding their relation to the main shrine in the early Cola temples. In the West facing Sundarēśvara temple at Tirukkattalai Ganeśa, Subrahmanya and Jyesthā are at the back or to the East of the main shrine, Candra and Candikēśvara are to the South and Śūrya and the Saptamātrkas are to the North. In the identically West facing Agastyesvara at Mēlappaļuvūr Ganēśa and Subrahmanya are to the West of the main shrine, Candikesvara to the North, Surya to the East, and the Saptamātrkas to the South. In the Nāgēśvara while the parivārālaya of Ganēśa is in the East, that of Candikeśvara is in the South and that of Surva is in the North-East. Evidently therefore the position taken by the sub-shrines in the temple circuit in relation to the sanctuary varied from temple to temple depending upon several factors and was practically free from rigid canons. For example the shrine of Surya faces the main shrine in the Nāgēśvara, unlike in the other early Cola temples, in view of the special association of the Sun God with the presiding deity of the temple.

The rest of the numerous axial and peristylar adjuncts of the Nāgēśvara which are later than the central shrine are not of any special architectural interest perhaps with the exception of the Nrttasabhā in the second prākāra and the gōpura rising above the dvāra in the outer eastern wall. These are of the later Cōla period and command one's attention not so much by any architectural novelty or peculiarity as by their ornate and exuberant workmanship.

The Nṛttasabhā or the dancing hall like the Sopāna, Davana and Kalyānamaṇḍapas is a feature of large and later temples unknown to the smaller shrines of the early Cola period. The Nṛttasabhā in the Nāgēśvara is assignable to the 12th-13th centuries having all the stylistic characteristics of later Cola archi-

ture

ata-

rine

arva

ages

and

akes

the

nda-

sthā

and

rkas

a at

the

and the

s in

ntly nple

aple

rom

nain

oles,

the

the

any

the

ove

Cōla

chirant

ana

un-

The

cen-

chi-

tecture. It faces South and consists of a high mandapa with a flight of steps guarded by balustrades. On either side of the balustrades is an imposing and heavily plastered elephant in stone which appears to be a later addition. Behind the elephants on either side is a stone horse, galloping and richly caparisoned. Though these carvings of horses clearly betray the artist's tendency to idealise, they claim one's homage by their exuberant workmanship and decorative detail. Beyond the horses is a stone wheel, beautified with circles of lotus petals and hamsas in the centre and with twelve spokes and a relief of Sūrya in between two spokes and the outer rim. The wheels, the galloping horses and the elephants endow the Nṛṭṭasabhā with the appearance of a stone ratha. Such ratha-like mandapas are seen in some smaller temples as the one at Tirukkarugāvūr and many larger temples like those at Palaiyārai, Dārāśuram, Vṛddhācalam, Tārāmangalam etc.

Of the three *gopuras* rising over the entrances in the East, South and West walls of the outer circuit the latter two are modern and are devoid of any importance while the first command attention by its architectural features and decoration marking a stage in the evolution of South Indian temple towers (Fig. 3).

Several bas-reliefs from Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli etc. depict a superstructure above entrances which are but early types of gōpuras. They are very simple in design and either lack decorative details or have only a small caitya—window design. A noteworthy example of this early type of gateways is the representation of barrel-vaulted superstructure in a bas-relief from Amarāvati depicting the division of the relics of the Buddha. The gōpura is of relative insignificance in Pallava temples. The monoliths at Mahābalipuram stand for the central cella alone and unlike the later rock-cut excavations in softer variety of stones in the Cāļukyan area do not have axial or peristylar adjuncts. It is in the structural temples therefore that one has to look for

139. C. Sivaramamurthi, op.cit., Pl. XLIII, fig. I.

<sup>138.</sup> See C. Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum, Pl. LVII, fig. 3; T. N. Ramachandran, Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli, Pl. III, fig. at the top and Pl. IV bottom figure; A. H. Longhurst, Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakonda, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 54), Pl. XXXV(b).

el

th

T

Ā

in

m

cc

in

y

th

in

fit

T

is

T

W

th

li

in

de

of

pı

al

pi

of

N

pe

m

bı T

· the earliest extant gopuras in the Tamil country. The outer wall of the Shore Temple complex at Mahābalipuram, datable to the reign of Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha, has on the East a dvāra surmounted by a simple śālā. Though this cannot be précisely called a gopura its importance in the evolution of that superstructure cannot be ignored.140 In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram built under the same ruler numerous super-structures are seen over the peristylar shrines abutting the compound wall. The central shrines in these rows with the carving of Brahmā in the South and Visnu in the North and the little shrine of Mahendravarmeśvara in front of the main shrine have surmounting śāļās resembling gopuras. But the real gopura here is noticed over the entrance on the East. This has been correctly singled out by Longhurst as the prototype of all later gopuras,141 and is very small in size rising just a foot high from the top of the circuit wall. In the rectangular grīva below the śālā is the relief of a deity (Jñāna Daksināmūrti?). The śālās have simhalalātas on the sides. A similar gopura is found rising over the now walledup entrance on the West indicating thereby that such superstructures were then built both on the front and back sides. There is no trace of any early gopura in the temple of Vaikuntha-Perumal and other smaller shrines of the Pallava period at Kañcipuram, though it can be presumed that each of them should have had at least one. Gopurus are found in the slightly later temples of the Calukya area like the Virūpāksa at Pattadakkal, the construction of which followed that of Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram. In the Kailasanatha and Indra Sabha at Ellora rock-cut gopuras are noticed.

The gōpuras in the early Cōļa temples are also relatively insignificant and the vimāna over the cella is found dominating the temple complex. Extant early Cōļā gōpuras are found at Tirukkaṭṭaļai¹⁴² and Mēlappaluvūr,¹⁴³ while the ground plan of the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbāļūr reveals that it should also have had a gōpura anticipating a few later features like vestibules,

<sup>140.</sup> James C. Harle, Temple Gateways in South India, p. 13.141. Longhurst, Pallava Architecture, Pt. III, p. 14.

<sup>142.</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (second edition), p. 702.

<sup>143.</sup> S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, The Four Cola Temples, p. 25 fig. 1.

entrance projections etc.144 It is learnt from an inscription that there was a gōpura in the Kaḍambavaneśvara at Erumbūr, 145 The Tirunāgeśvaram inscription of a Rājakeśari identifiable with Aditya I mentions the renovation of the tiruccurralai (surrounding wall) and the gopura in Miladudaiyarpalli at Kumaramārttāṇḍapuram.146 That Sembiyan Mahādēvī, mother of Uttamacola, built a complete temple unit including a gopura is indicated in an inscription from Vrddhācalam dated in the latter's twelfth vear.147

The next stage in the evolution of the gopura is reached with the inauguration of the new movement for building larger temples in which the towers had also to be sufficiently large and tall to fit in with the size of the temple complex. Notable examples of this type are the two gopurus of the Brhadisvara temple at Tanjāvūr built by Rājarāja I. In the inscriptions the inner gopura is called Rājarājan tiruvāśal and the outer Kēralāntakan tiruvāśal. The outer gopura with five storeys is taller than the inner one with three. Each has a couple of two-storey vestibules, of which the lower ones are at the ground level. A dvāra with a monolithic cill, a feature noted in several late towers, is found in the inner gopura here. The size of the gopura has necessitated its decoration with sculptures delineating several iconographic forms of deities. The tower of the Brhadiśvara at Gangaikondacolapuram, only the ruined lower portions of which are now extant, also seems to resemble the Tañjāvūr gōpuras, as indicated by its present state. Another interesting surviving example of a gopura of the period of Rajendra is the small all-stone tower in the Nīlakaṇṭēśvara at Laḍḍigam. 148 Extant gōpuras of the later Cōļa period are comparatively many, among which mention must be made of the Kili-gopura at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, said to have been built c. 1063 A.D. by Vīrarājēndra, 149 and those at Uyyakondān-Tirumalai, Tiruppiraitturai, both in the Tirucirappalli District,

wall

the

lvāra

cisely

truc-

āñcī-

s are The

1 the

ndra-

śālās

over

out

very

rcuit

of a

s on

alled-

uper-

here

ntha-

āñcī-

have

nples

the

ıram.

ouras

ively

ating

d at

n of have ules,

<sup>144.</sup> James C. Harle, op.cit., p. 17.

<sup>145. 384</sup> of 1913.

<sup>146.</sup> SII., XIV, No. 13.

<sup>147. 47</sup> of 1918.

<sup>148.</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p. 716, and Pl. VII, fig. 14,

<sup>149.</sup> Gravely, The Gopuras of Tiruvannamalai, p. 2. J. 6

Tiruchchengāṭṭanguḍi in the Tañjāvūr District and the Nāgēśvara under discussion. These later Cōla towers, though not great pylons as the gōpuras of the succeeding periods, are no doubt imposing and betray the change in the gradation of magnitude from centripetal to centrifugal and the shift of importance from the vimāna to the gōpura. This was later carried to its logical extent by the Pāṇḍyas of the second Empire and the Vijayanagar kings.

The  $g\bar{o}pura$  in the Nāgēśvara is a five-storeyed structure rising on a large  $adhiṣṭh\bar{a}na$  and over a tall  $dv\bar{a}ra$ . It is built of dressed and carved stone upto the main cornice and from there upwards of brick and mortar decorated with stucco figures as in many towers. The rectangular space in between the inner and outer  $dv\bar{a}ras$  is longer than wider. The  $dv\bar{a}ra$  consists of two huge monolithic jambs and a lintel of a single stone beam. The nidhis that are found carved in the jambs in some towers of the period are absent here. The ceiling consists of stone beams placed lengthwise in the direction of the entry. There are no pilasters on each side of the walls of the  $dv\bar{a}ras$ . The vestibules do not occupy the entire wall space between the  $dv\bar{a}ras$  but only the place between the jambs. The door step is low and composed of a number of blocks of stone.

In the basement are bas-reliefs of *Madanikais*, prancing lions and floral designs. Though the lions are much conventionalised they are done in the traditional manner without the provision of elongated horns (?) at the sides of the head, seen in the basement of several later temples including the Tyāgarāja at Tiruvārūr. The reliefs of *Madanikais* are interesting studies of women. The

150. Joines, C. Harle, op.cit., p. 24.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ma ear sion tech tive plan

ter

rat

eve

are

the

stri flor var in o be

low

ear by hav bro care

a la

"sul dev of t Cola

of n

eśyara

great

ot im-

from

n the

extent kings.

acture ailt of

there as in

r and

huge

nidhis

period

olaced

asters

o not

y the

sed of

ıhala-

. At

d the

ones śālā.

the

Śiva.

h has

lions

alised

on of ement

ārūr.

The

tendency of the later Cola sculptors to experiment in the elaboration of ornamental details and depict the reliefs in difficult and even impossible poses is manifested in those sculptures. They are however poor in depth of conception and very formal and their forms lack the dignity and balance of earlier sculptures.

## III

## SCULPTURE

The sculptures in the Nāgēśvara, particularly the portraits, may be said to be the best among the enormous mass of extant early Cōla images. In their depth of profoundity of facial expression and pleasing apotheosis of serenity and dignity, in their technical refinement and excellent modelling and in their sensitiveness and restraint they have few parallels in South Indian plastic art. Besides the portraits and icons of deities and men and women, the sculptural embellishment of the temple includes low reliefs of mythological stories in small scales in the pilaster strips in the basement, decorative designs of different forms like floral and vegetal patterns, string courses of animals and a large variety of architectural motifs. Before considering each of them in detail a few general observations on early Cōla sculptures may be made.

It is rather difficult to speak of the general characteristics of early Cōla sculptures because of the differences in style exhibited by them. As said earlier, not all the extant Cōla monuments have been thoroughly explored nor the explored ones been fully brought to light. The remarks on the features of early Cōla carvings are hence bound to be more tentative than precise, though certain inferences on their general characteristics exemplified by a large number of known specimens may not be invalid.

Broadly speaking, sculpture during the Cola period is "subsidiary to architecture", but unlike its Pallava precursor is devoid of its architectural context. The stone cutting technique of the Pallavas is wrought with greater prefection than under the Colas who had the advantage of inheriting a continuous experience of nearly three centuries in it, a fact which was perhaps responsi-

ble for the birth of a more 'fluent style'.151 In contrast to the prodigality of sculptural decoration on the exterior of the shrine walls in Pallava monuments, the Cola temples have a few carvings only, not perhaps so much on account of any austerity in taste as on account of the need imposed by the stone used. The sculptural panels that are of composite and coursed units in sand. stone in almost all Pallava structural temples become single and carved compositions in hard granite under the Colas. 152 True. a vast number of Cola sculptures are, like the Pallava images only bas-reliefs and not fully in the round. But in the Cola reliefs especially in such classical examples of early Cola art as those from Kumbhakonam and Śrinivāsanallūr, chisels are hammered in deep cuts with an inner slant with the resultant volume in full rounded form. Besides bearing eloquent testimony to the technical skill of execution, they also mark a definite stage in the evolution of freestanding sculpture.153

The Cola sculptures are delicate in outline with a 'subtle rhythmic quality' as against the marked attenuation of Pallavs rock-cut reliefs. The physiognomical features exhibited by Cola images include a considerable flatness of the upper torso, and protuberance on the knees. There is also an obvious disparity in the treatment given to the other parts of the body and feet which are generally neglected. Another striking and significant feature is the humanism that pervades through Cola carvings.

<sup>151.</sup> J. C. Harle, 'Early Cola temple at Pullamangai', Oriental Art, N.S. Vol. IV, No. 3, 1958, p. 97 ff.

<sup>152.</sup> This was already anticipated in the late Pallava Vīraṭtāneśvara a Tiruttaṇi. The forms of the pilaster capitals in this temple and the presence of kīrtimukhas over the kūdus instead of the typical Pallava spade finial would push this temple nearer to the Cola than to the Pallava stylistic phase.

<sup>153.</sup> Instances of independent Cola sculptures appearing like reliefs "torn from their architectural context on the walls of shrines and with the space between the arms cut away providing the impression of an image in the roun," but with the provision of "stays" to connect the iconographic cognizances held by the arms with the shoulders are not altogether wanting. These are interesting examples of sculptures in the round continuing the technique of reliefs; and the practice of carving statues of this class has continued even after the birth and wide vogue of images fully in the round (See Rupam, Nos. 35-36, July, Oct. 1928, 62-64).

shrine arvings a taste, l. The sandcle and True, images, reliefs, s. those

amered

in full

chnical

olution

'subtle Pallava yy Cōla so, and isparity and feet nificant arvings

svara al the preva spade stylistic

fs "torn"
he space
e in the
ic cogniwanting
uing the
class has
ne round

Writing about Cola art in general and the sculptures in the Nagestvara in particular, Ajit Ghose observes: ".....the Chola artist stands in sharp contrast with his Pallava predecessor and the latter's severely abstract, ideal, and schematic vision. There is no difference in outward bearing between a Pallava King and God, between a goddess and a queen. But a new and attractive conception of life and beauty had dawned on this Chola sculptor... This art, so unconventional, is thus, refreshingly original in conception and spirit. This humanism is the Chola's principal contribution to South Indian art." 154

Again Cōla carvings differ from the Pallava images in their freedom of pose. They are happily free from the stiffness of the rock-cut reliefs of Mahābalipuram and do not betray any adherence to the conventions of pose and proportions. They show a soft and supple form in contrast to the stiff, heavy and somewhat disproportionate carvings of the Pallava period. This is apparent when the figures of Durgā in the Varāhamandapa and the Draupadiratha at Mahābalipuram with their evident disproportion between the slim upper half and the rather clumsy lower half are contrasted with the proportionate and elegant specimens of the same goddess at Kumbhakōṇam, Puñjai, Tiruvārūr etc.

The early Cōla images are characterised by a realistic and elaborate treatment of ornaments and costume. In Pallava sculptures the modelling is not generally interfered with by any individualized and emphatic delineations of drapery or ornaments which are only suggested by soft lines which at times merge in the general modelling. Similarly the lines indicating the folds of the costumes usually vanish with the contours. The Cōla images, being in round or in bold reliefs with their forms seeming to stand out of the slabs have the details of dress, ornaments and attributes in rather bold and emphatic lines.

Two distinct types are said to prevail among early Cola carvings. 155 The images of the first type have a somewhat

155. J. C. Harle, op.cit.

<sup>154.</sup> Ajit Ghose, 'Some Unpublished Early Chola Portrait Sculptures', Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1933, p. 165.

restrained modelling with their frame being tall and slender and face oval shaped. Their pelvis are rather advanced and pose often three-quarter profile. Their treatment is "soft and fluid." Becondite instances of this type are the sculptures in the Nāgēśvara. In the second type the faces and the bodies have "a greater plastic emphasis and often give an impression of fleshy heaviness. Faces tend to be broader and more mask-like, but with strongly emphasized features. The eye-brows, for instance, are frequently in high relief. Jewellery and clothing are in an equally bold style." Some of the sculptures from Kodumbāļūr and Śrīnivāsanallūr are examples of this type. It may, however, be pointed out that, strictly speaking, this typological classification of early Cola sculptures is appropriate more to their earlier than later phases.

The decorative details of the Cola images also register an elaboration of and improvement over those in Pallava sculptures. 158 The katisūtra in the Pallava figures is simple and consists of a flat band around the waist with a broad and semi-circular loop falling below over the thighs. The ends of this katisūtra in the shape of a long loop with free ends are seen on either side of the image. A long strip extending upto the ankles is found below the side loops of the katisūtra. Sivaramamurti feels that the lion-head clasp which is invariably found in Cola images was absent in the Pallava period. 159 But this detail is to be found even in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram built by Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha. In the period of transition from Pallava to Cola the lower loop which is semicircular in shape is found running halfway diagonally on either side forming a smaller semicircle at the median point alone. In the early Cola period not only the side loops and tassels are slighter near the katisūtra but the long strip extending downwards from it is seen divided into two and reaching the knee or even below it. The neck ornaments of the Pallava figures are invariably simple and the haras

<sup>156.</sup> J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leewn, "The Protector of the Mountain of Truth", Artibus Asiae, XX, i, (1957), p. 16.

157. J. C. Zarle, op.cit.

<sup>158.</sup> The changes in the shapes of various decorative details from period to period are dealt with by C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, (Lalit 159. Ibid., p. 134.

worn are usually two in number. While one of them is a neck chain the other is a flat kanthi with a tassel suspended from it. In the early Cola period this kanthi becomes somewhat broad and decked with flower designs. The yajñopavīta which is broad and ribbon-like in Pallava sculptures flowing either over the right arm or in the normal way becomes pleasingly sinewy in the early Cola period though the ribbon-shape and clasp continue; the vajñopavita running over the right arm is not always a dependable clue unless accompanied by other features for dating an image for it is seen in a few clearly late examples as well. 160 Skandhamālā (shoulder tassel) is absent in Pallava images and makes its debut only in the early Cola period. The view of Sivaramamurti that it appears towards the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century<sup>161</sup> (i.e., the period of Rājarāja I in South India) requires revision as it is found in a few images in the Nagesvara built not later than the second quarter of the tenth century.

The large bas-reliefs of the Nāgeśvara may be examined in detail under two broad categories: (a) images of deities and (b) portrait sculptures.

The images of gods and goddesses enshrined are those of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the South wall of the sanctuary, Ardhanāriś-vara in the West and Brahmā in the North walls, besides Durgā and Bhikṣāṭana in the North wall of the ardhamaṇḍapa. In later Pallava structural temples and early Cēļa shrines, the niches in the South and North wall of the ardhamaṇḍapa are occupied respectively by Gaṇeśa and Durgā, while that in the South wall of the santuary is taken by Dakṣiṇāmūrti and that in the North wall by Brahmā; in the niche in the rear wall is seen either Lingōdbhava<sup>162</sup> or Viṣṇu or Ardhanārīśvara. It is in temples

id'

11

9-

a.

ic

S

1-

n

57

e

t,

a

n

8

0

9

9

<sup>160.</sup> This, for instance, is found in a late image of Siva from Paṭṭīś-varam, now in the Government Museum, Madras, and the metal-icon of-ripurāntaka under worship in the Siva temple at Koḍumuḍi, assignable to the tenth century A.D. (See Sivaramamurti, op.cit., Pl. 89).

<sup>161.</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>162.</sup> The statement of K. R. Srinivasan ('Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South' Journal of the Madras University, XXXII, No. 1, July, 1960, p. 180), that in the hind wall of the Mukteśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, as in a few other temples is an image of Viṣṇu needs revision. The main image in the wall is that of Anṇāmalaiyār, though a Viṣṇu along with a Brahmā, flanks hm.

built during the later phases of the early Cola period that addifional niches are found in the ardhamandapa enshrining either deities or portraits, the Koranganātha and the Nāgēśvara being their precursors. An interesting feature in the arrangement of deities in the dēvakosthas in the Nāgesvara is the absence of Ganesa in the South wall of the ardhamandapa and his substitution by what appears to be the portrait of a sage. There is as yet no other known example of this curious arrangement and it is difficult to explain why Ganesa is absent here. The currency of the practice of installing a Ganesa image in the exterior of the ardhamandapa in early temples is proved by the late Pallava temples of Matangeśvara at Kāñcīpuram, Vīrattāneśvara at Tiruttani and early caves in the Pudukkottai region as at Tirugōkarnam, Malayakkövil, Kunnāndārkoil etc. besides a host of structural temples of the early Cola period. It is not unlikely that there was an image of Ganesa in the ardhamandapa of the Nageśvara also and that it was replaced by the present portrait. That the installation of the portrait might have been an after-thought will be shown later.

The sculpture of Dakṣiṇāmūrti enshrined in the dēvakōṣtha in the South wall of the sanctuary is a patently modern one and evidently a replacement of the original. This image does not call for any special remarks.

In the dēvakōṣṭha in the rear wall is Ardhanārī. In a few Cōļa temples like the Vīraṭṭānēśvara at Kaṇḍiyūr, Mullaivananātha at Tīrukkarugāvūr, Mūvarkōil at Koḍumbāļūr etc. Ardhanāri occupies the same place, though with the passage of time, Lingōdbhava is invariably found in that place. That the practice of installing Ardhanāri images lingered for a considerably long time is evident from the Jambukēśvara temple at Nārttāmalai built in 1205 A. D.¹64 In the later and larger temples of Tañjāvūr and Gaṇgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram Ardhanāri is one of the images in the hind wall of the shrine. The Ardhanāri in the Nāgēśvara is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable specimens of that

164. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, July, 1960, pp. 161-162.

prākāra of the temple but it has several late features to consider it as the first image installed in the dēvakōṣṭha.

deity in the entire South Indian art (Fig. 4). The combination of Prakrti and Purusa to form the substratum of the cosmos is plastically rendered here with the characteristic Cola charm. The imag which is in a pleasing tribhanga, stands on a double semicircular bhadrāsana, the right half representing the Purusa or the male aspect and the left half depicting the Prakrti or the female aspect. The makuta is of the jatā and karanda varieties respectively over the male and female halves. The face is rather oval. The right ear has a patrakundala and the left ear a makarakundala. There are three necklaces, the first and the third being simple and the second decked with jewels and pendants. The yajñopavīta is of the vastra variety and flows from the third necklace of the female side. The armlet is simple and all the three hands have valayas and rings. Two are the hands on the right side, the upper holding a naturalistically represented paraśu in kartarihasta and the lower placed on the bull; the single arm on the left side holds a mirror like the image at Kodumbāļūr and unlike the sculpture at Tirukkarugāvūr, which holds instead a flower. The decoration of suvarnavaikakṣaka—a jewelled cross belt adorning the chest—seen at Tirukkarugāvūr is absent here. On the male side the drapery is much restrained and hardly covers the thighs while on the female side is a sari, extending beneath the knee. Six folds of the hem of the garment are allowed to flow down elegantly on the female side. The kaṭisūtra consists of ribbon shaped strips below which is a band hanging in a semicircular fashion, like a broad loop falling over the male thigh. Pādasaras are present in both legs. Besides the variations in decorations, the sculptor has nicely emphasized the differences in the sex by a full breast and the elegantly shaped waist on the left. The bull standing at the back wears a bell at the neck and a jewelled decoration on the forehead.

The Brahmā installed in the dēvakōṣṭha in the North wall of the shrine stands in samabhanga on a double lotus pedestal with four hands, 165 the lower right being in abhaya, the lower left in kaṭyavalambita, the upper right holding a rosary and the

J. 7

ldiher

ng

of of

ubere

ent The

ex-

ate

ara

at

not

ιpa

ent

een

tha

ind

not

ew

ha

ări

5d-

of

me

iilt

ūr in

ara

nat

nd the

160.

a

<sup>165.</sup> The images of Brahmā are always four handed though an example of two-handed variety is also known from Kandiyūr. See Krishna Sastri, South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, p. 15, Fig. 9.

upper left a kundika (Fig.5). The attributes held by the upper pair of arms are shown above the fingers and are not actually carried by them. Above the three faces is a jaṭāmakuṭa. In the ears are patrakundalas with flowers. Besides the vastrayaje Thavita going over the right arm the image is decorated with an udarabandha, armlets, rings, bangles and necklaces. The kaţisūtra consists of a flat band around the waist below which is another hanging in a semi-circular fashion like a loop and falling over the thighs. Two loops, one above the other, are suspended from the kaţisūtra in between the legs. The ends of the kaţisūtra are shown on either side of the image in the shape of a loop with free ends. Beneath this and against the contour of both the legs is seen a long strip coming down to the foot. The lower garment is full and reaches down to the ankles. A point of technical interest in this image is the unusual schematic emphasis in the treatment of knees which is very rare in early Cola sculptures. Though this sculpture is an excellent example of an early Cola Brahma both in iconographic detail and artistic merit, it lacks the youthful serenity found in the image at Pullamangai.

In the dēvakōṣṭha in the North wall of the ardhamanḍapa is Durgā, 166 who, unlike the images in other dēvakōṣṭhas is under worship. This coupled with the fact that the image is coated with blackened oil, makes the study of the image very difficult. However, her chief stylistic and iconographic features can be discerned. Before they are analysed it would be advantageous to consider the general features displayed by the Durgā sculptures of the Cōṭa period.

Though the Cōla images of the Goddess correspond to the Pallava images in iconographic delineation they show certain interesting developments. Excepting the carvings in the Trimurti cave and Varāhamaṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram the other Pallava Durgās have crily four arms and save the latter they stand in samabhanga. The Cōla images of the Goddess on the other hand, are characterised by the provision of more arms, generally eight, they stand pleasingly in tribhanga or abhanga, interesting exceptions being

<sup>166.</sup> Durgā images are installed only in the niche in the North wall of the ardhamandapa and not in that of the sanctuary as stated by Krishna Sastri, p. 202; See J. C. Harle, op.cit.

er,

ly

ė

a-

m

ra

er

ne

ne

m

ee

is

nt

al

ıt-

gh nā

ul

is

er

th

N-

d.

er ļa

ne

e-

ve

ās

ja.

C-

nd

ng

of

na

images from Kumbhakōṇam, Puñjai, Tirukkalukkuṇram etc., which though standing in a sinuous pose have but four arms. The appearance of quivers at the back of the shoulders is, perhaps, also a clue to the identity of an early Cōla Durgā. She stands on a buffalo's head and her phisiognomy is tall and slender. Her ornaments consist of a low karaṇḍamakuṭa, bangles at the wrists and ankles, necklaces, kucabandha, suvarṇavaikakṣaka, pādasaras, etc. While the lower pair of arms is in abhaya and kaṭyavalambita, the others hold conch, shield, discus, sword, etc. Of these the discus and conch both decorated with flames and the latter tilting inward at an angle of 45°, are held in the kartarihasta fashion. While the typically early Cōla examples of Durgā are draped only with a light garment indicated by a few pleats reaching midway to the knees those of slightly later periods show an extension of the costume upto the feet and with several folds.

The image of Durgā in the Nāgēśvara is, as seen above, four handed (Fig. 6). Her upper arms carry conch and discus and the lower pair is in abhaya and katyavalambita gestures. She stands in elegant tribhanga on the severed head of a buffalo. The conical karandamakuta on her head is relatively low. The ornamental decoration is much restrained. Though some of her features are obscured, she is one of the finest extant early Cola images of Durgā in aesthetic qualities and her slightly varied iconography only endows her with added attraction.

The Bhikṣāṭana in the niche to the East of Durgā upholds the claim of early Cōla plastic art in the height of its glory by its gracious serenity and tenderness, dignity and balance as by the accomplished execution (Fig. 7). He stands in beautiful tribhanga, with the face in profile. The forward thrust of the left leg may be taken to indicate the rhythm of the slow motion. On his head is a jewelled jaṭāmakuṭa studded with the skull and the crescent moon. The jaṭābhāra seen in comparatively later images of the deity is absent in this early instance. On the forehead are the third eye and a paṭṭā. There is no kundala in the left ear, while there is a patrakuṇḍala in the right ear. Two simple necklaces, a vastrayajñōpavīta, vaļayas, armlets, an udarabandha, pādasaras and pādarakṣas are noticed. Of the four hands the upper right holds the drum, the upper left a skull cup, the lover left a

52

## JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

A

th

ae

U

di

in

ar ly

W

ra

W

p

Ca

sl

fi

n

C

m

b

c

A

0

n

b

n

1

a

camara; 167 and the lower right is in lolahasta fondling the deer which is shown as jumping or looking above to lick his fingers. A katisūtra with a knot is worn at the waist, below which, in the place of the semi-circular loop seen in other images, is an catwining screen the rendering of which is reclistic. It is interesting to note that the dwarf accompanying Bhikṣāṭana does not carry a food pot as usual, but holds a T-shaped weapon.

These excellent images of deities in the Nāgēśvara, though rich in workmanship and charm, are overshadowed by the portraits in it. They also lack sculptural adjuncts noticed in many temples of the same period including those at Śrīnivāsanallūr and Pulļamangai. The reliefs of rṣis on either side of Dakṣināmūrti<sup>168</sup> and those of devotees engaged in self-mutilation on the sides of the niche enshrining Durgā are absent here. The āsanas on which the images stand here are not as much ornamented as in other temples nor are the parasol-canopies above the images are present.

The portraits in the temple are ten in number, six males and four females, of which the latter are more striking. The practice of installing portraits of kings and queens in or near the shrine can be traced back in the Tamil country to the period of the Pallava Ādivarāha Cave temple at Mahābalipuram in which are found the carved effigies of two royal personages, each with two Queens; there are two label inscriptions over these portraits in florid Pallava-Grantha characters, one reading Śrī Simhavinna-pōttr-āthirājan and the other Śrī Mahendra-pōttr-āthirājan. 169 In the shrines of Brahmā and Viṣṇu among the many peristylar shrines abutting the compound wall and around the cella in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram are found a king and queen flanking the entrance. Besides the Nāgēśvara, there are a few early Cōla temples with portraits flanking the devakoṣṭhas and of these mention must be made of the Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr,

<sup>167.</sup> The lower left is broken but its position is to hold the camara.

dēvakōṣtha in the South wall of the sanctuary are later additions.

<sup>169.</sup> H. Krishna Sastri, Two statues of Pallava Kings and Five Pallava Inscriptions in a Rock Temple at Mahabalipuram, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 26), p. 3; Annual Report on South Indian Epigrophy, 1922, Nos. 661 and 662; SII, XII, Nos. 17 and 18.

er

Ys.

he

in-

ng

ry

gh

rt-

nv

ind i<sup>168</sup>

of

ich her

ent.

and

ac-

the

the

ich

rith

aits

na-

ı.169

jlar

the

een

iese

lūr,

the

lava aeo-

Epi-

Acaleśvara at Truvārur, the Siva temple at Kilvelur etc. Among these the portraits in the Nagesvara are easily the best in high aesthetic qualities, supe b modelling and technical execution. Unfortunately the identification of these remarkable images is difficult and the inscriptions in the temple do not give any clue in this regard. But in all probability they are the effigies of kings and queens and saints, as their features indicate. They are happing ly differentiated by characteristics which endow each of them with a striking individuality of its own. Speaking of these portraits Ajit Ghose observes: "These radiant carvings of men and women thrill us with delighted surprise for no other known Chola portrait sculptures give such an astonishing suggestion of life or can approach them in technical excellence and refinement. They show such a lovely and exquisite observation of every detail of figure and features that it is difficult to believe that they were not actually modelled from life".170

Coming in a clock-wise direction the first image to be encountered in the South wall of the ardhamandapa is that of a male portrait standing with slight flexion on a semi-circular bhadrāsana (Fig. 8). Its right hand, in which the first finger is chopped off, is in abhaya gesture, the left being in katyavalambita. Apart from the simple and diaphonous clothing that covers half of both the thighs and a flowing vastrayajñopavīta, the image has no drapery or ornamentation. The garment is tied by a waist band from which hangs a loop. The face is round with a smiling mouth, the ears are elongated with cut lobes and the hair curly. The ingenious expression of calmness in the countenance is noteworthy. This may represent a sage or any such holy person.

The next image is that of a male standing in samabhanga on a rectangular bhadrāsana (Fig. 9). The right arm seems to be in āhūyavarada, suggestive of an invitation to confer boons and left in kaṭyavalambita, indicating a restful posture. The image wears a complete lower garment with several folds tied by a waist band, from the centre of which hangs a loop. In this and in the image noticed above side loops of the waist band are not seen

<sup>170. &#</sup>x27;Some Unpublished Early Chola Portrait Sculptures', Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1933, p. 164.

nor straight and long strips against the contour of the legs reaching below the knee—a feature characteristic of early Cola sulptures are noticed. The lack of these decorations, besides other features is enough to suggest that these images represent monks, The vastrayajñopavīta, though shown in very low relief, is corspicuous because of its rhythmically flowing lines and the curly decoration it has on the right chest. The mouth and the eyelids are closed to suggest that the image is engrossed in deep medita-The round face, elongated ears, curly hair, fleshy lips and the realistic shape of the abdomen are noteworthy. The position of the first two fingers in the left hand and the treatment of the feet are unsatisfactory. Among the male portraits in the Nagesvara, this image commands one's primary attention by its extraordinary qualities of volume and weight. Considering the fact that the niche here is ornamented with side pilasters and makaratorana and that the place of this sculpture is taken by Ganesa in all other temples-earlier, contemporary and later-it is possible to presume that this portrait should be that of an important sage or monk.

the

not

bet

fol

bea

of

jev

Th

thr

rin

jus

ima

figu

lef

ima

Da

to vai

rig

or

ma

per

wit

rid

nec

and

bre

mã

bea

Va

in

int

and

ver

evi

lam

the

the the

The third figure is that of a female standing in tribhanga (Fig. 10). Her right hand is in katyavalambita and left hand in kaṭakahasta holding a flower. The drapery consists of a full undergarment with beautiful folds and tied in the waist by two pearled bands from which is suspended a lengthy loop in between the legs. The folds of the hem of the garment flow down elegantly on the left thigh. The face, particularly the cheeks and lips, are fleshy. The ears have elaborate patrakundalas. Besides a chain coming in between the two full and round breasts and forming a semicircle at the median point, two necklaces are seen, of which one is with medals. Many bangles are seen in both the hands and rings are present in the fingers. Above the elbow in hands are noticed two strings of rosary beads and above them is an armlet. The skandhamālā flows down from the right shoulder. of the makuta is interesting; while the hair is collected in a coiffure at the back, small spiral curls are seen in front. narrow wrist and languid pose, decorative details and sensitive modelling endow this image with an alluring charm.

The next and the fourth sculpture is also that of a female standing in tribhanga with her right hand in varada gesture and

reachs-ulpother
nonks,
ef, is
Curly
eyelids
editas and
osition
of the
Nāgeśextrae fact

sage

anya

and in

nder
arled

legs.

n the

eshy.

ming

ésa in

ssible

one and are mlet. hape in a

Its

itive

emi-

nale and the left in katyavalambita (Fig. 11). The image wears a diaphonous sari of several folds tied with a band of pearls loop in between the legs. The upper end of the garment falls in elegant folds on the left side. To hair at the back is collected in a beautiful makuta while that in front is nicely combed with a fringe of wavy curls at the sides. The combed hair is decked with many jewels and a crescent. The ears have patrakundalas with pearls. The simple necklaces, a kanthi of bigger pearls and a chain with three medals adorn the neck. Skandhamālā, armlets, bangles and rings are also noticed. The gentle undulations in the abdomen just above the lower garment which are absent in the previous image may possibly indicate a somewhat advanced age for the figure represented. The pose of the two prominent fingers in the left hand and the treatment of the feet here are, as in the second image in the series, unsatisfactory.

The fifth and the next image in the South wall is that of Daksināmūrti, a modern carving, noticed already. In the niche to its right is another lady, the only female portrait in the Nagesvara which is not in profile, but posed full face (Fig. 12). Her right hand is in lambahasta, and the left in kaṭaka holding a flower or bud. The image, like other female portraits, wears a sari of many folds tied below the waist by two bands from which is suspended a loop. The hair is collected in a big coiffure and decked with flowers at the back, while in front are noticed a series of ridges. The kundalas in the ears are decked with pearls. neck ornament consists of a pearled hārā, a chain with medals and another simple chain coming in between the full and round breasts and forming a semicircle at the medium point. Skandhamalas are seen on the shoulders. Armlets and two strings of beaded rosaries are found above the knees of both the arms. Valayas and rings are profuse. The navel is suggested by a circle in the waist which is elegantly shown as narrow. A point of interest in this carving is that the stone in between the right thigh and the right forearm is left uncut. Though the sculpture is in very bold relief, the sculptor had not chosen to cut this part evidently to give protection to the forearm of the stepended lambahasta. On the other hand he had cut the places in between the hands and the waist with the specific intention of delineating the feminine grace by the narrow waist. The first image seen in the West or the rear wall is that of a male standing with his left

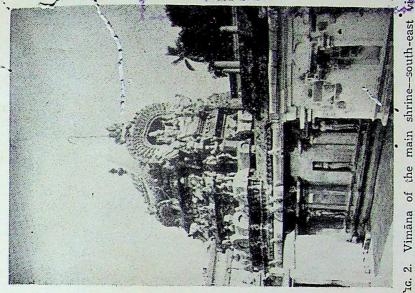
except the second which is erect suggesting probably an authoritarian pose (Fig. 13). The diaphonous and folded costume is simple and covers only half of both the thighs. There is a single and thick waist band below which is a strip of cloth extending dwnwards. It is broad in the beginning and becomes narrow when it terminates above the knees. Against the contour of the left leg is a small side loop. The ears are decked with patrakundalas. A simple valaya adorns the wrist of the left hand. The image has no yajñopavīta. The face is round with a moustache and the curly hair of the head is artistically arranged in four rows, one above the other, over the forehead, besides a coiffure at the back. The tendency of the sculptor to neglect the feet is seen in this image also.

The next image enshrined is that of Ardhanāri noticed earlier. To the right of Ardhanāri is a male figure. His right hand is in kaṭaka, holding a lotus bud and the left in kaṭyavalambita (Fig. 14). While his left leg is planted erect, the right one is slightly bent at knee. The under-garment covers half of both the thighs and is, unlike that of other sculptures, without folds or strips. This garment is tied by a band from which hangs a loop. From underneath the band is suspended a strip of cloth; and as in the image noticed above, it is broad in the beginning and becomes narrow when it terminates near the knees. The image wears a double necklace with a pendant. Valayas are present in both the wrists. Around the elbow of the left hand is seen a beaded ornament. A finger in each arm has a ring. The front part of the hair is curly and arranged in rows with a coiffure above. The youthful countenance of this image is full of charm and throbs with life.

The North wall, like the South wall, has six sculptures, the first being that of a standing male with his right arm in varada and the left in katyavalambita (Fig. 15). In the elongated ears are patrakundalas. In the wrist of the left arm are seen three valayas among which one is beaded. A serpentine armlet is conspicuous in the same arm. The image is decked with a three stranded yajñopavīta, an udarabandha and a hārā with pearls, besides two other necklaces. The costume is, as usual, simple with an under-garment covering just half of both the thighs and tied by a kajisūtra, which has a lionhead clasp. This clasp has ribbons

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REFRENCE BOOK



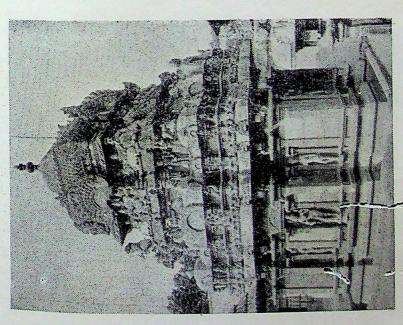


FIG. 1., Vimana of the main shrine-west view

closed, uthoriune is single ending narrow of the patrad. The istache in four

oiffure feet is

earlier.
d is in
ig. 14).
cent at
and is,
'This
underimage

double wrists. ament. hair is outhful life.

es, the varada ed ears three s consthree pearls, le with and tied ribbons

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection Handwar ED

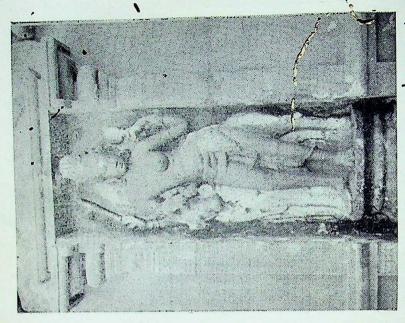


FIG. 4. Ardhanārīsvara—west wall of the main shrine

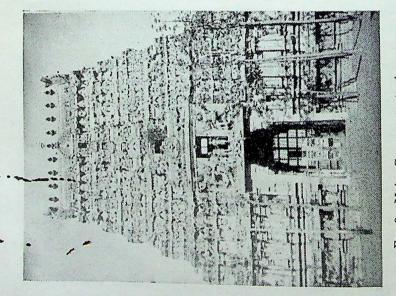


Fig. 3. Main Gopura--east view

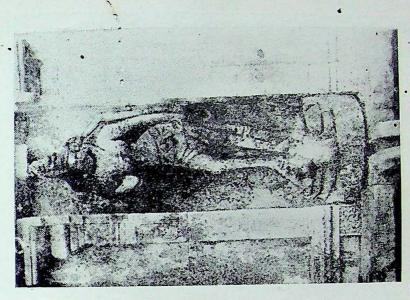


Fig. 6. Durgā-north wall of the ardhamantapa



Fig. 5. Brayma-north wall of the main shrine

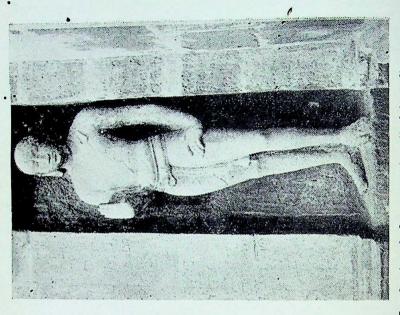


Fig. 8. A male figure-south wall of the ardhamantapa

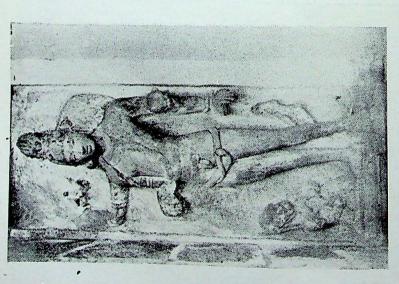
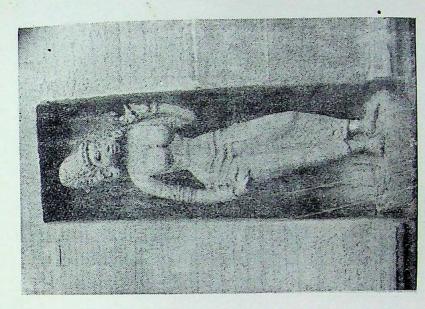
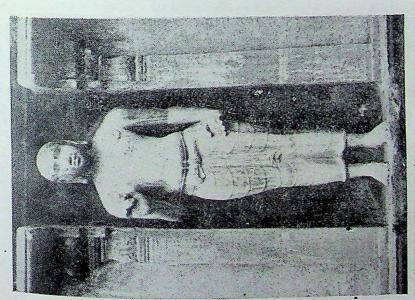


Fig. 7. Bhikṣāṭana—north wall of the ardhamanṭapa



Frc. 10. A female figure-south wall of, the main shrine.



3. 9. A male figure-south wall of the ardhamantapa

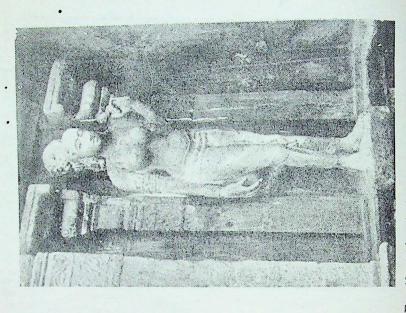


Fig. 12. A female figure—south wall of the main shrine

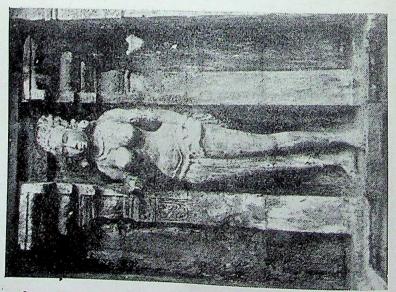
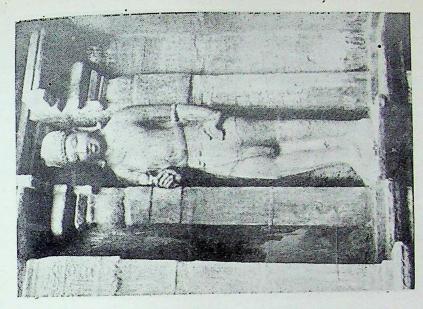
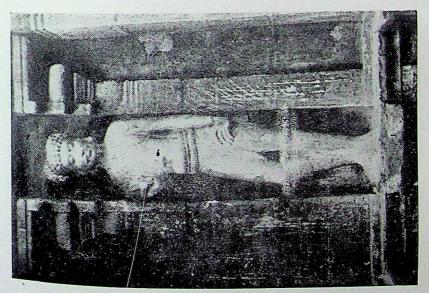


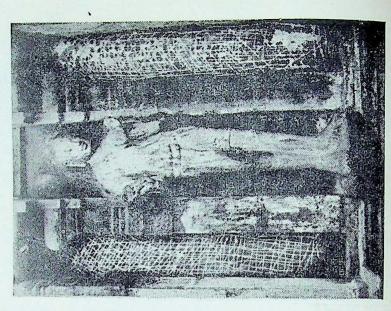
Fig. 11. A female figure-south wall of the main shrine

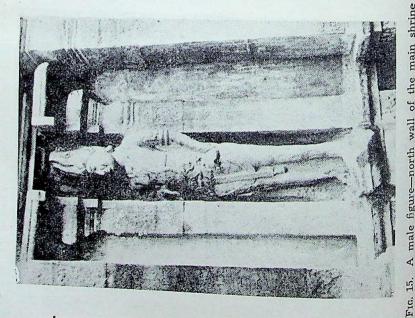


Frc. 14. A male figure-west wall of the main shrine

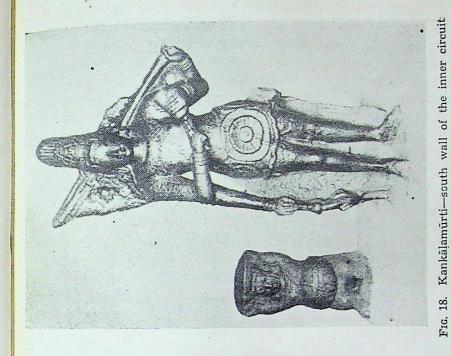


Frc. 13. A male figure-west wall of the main shrine





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



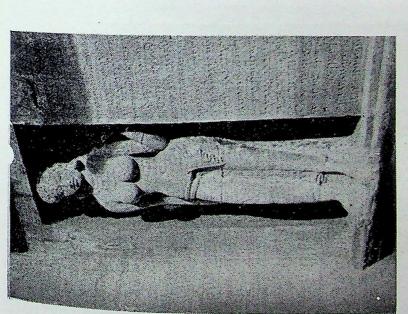
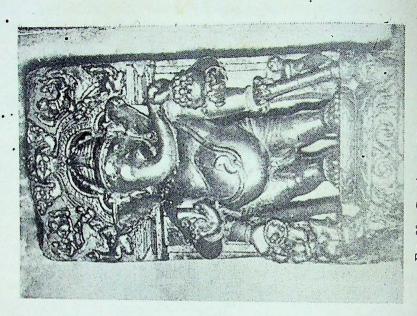


Fig. 17. A female figure—north wall of the main shrine



Frg. 20. Gaņēśa—mukhamaņtapa

k t

b

C

e

I c j T f

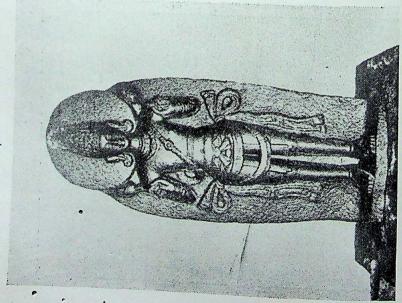


Fig. 19. Sürya-north-east corner of the inner circuit

4

issuing from the mouth of the lion and two strings shooting up from near the horns and curving down to run alongside the ribbons on both sides in the typical early Côla pattern. Below the katisūtra is a broad and semi-circular loop falling over both the thighs, while from the katisūtra is suspended another straight loop in between the legs and extending a little below the knee. A side loop extending from the right side of the katisūtra is found. by the side of the right leg. It may be noted that the simhamukha decoration in the katisūtra and the presence of an udarabandha in this image are features not seen in any of the other sculptures in this temple. The makuta of this image is interesting and is like a crown with flame-like decoration. On this ground an attempt has been made to identify this with Agni: 171 but this is doubtful. A study of the makuta-s of the images in the Nāgēśvara reveals that the head dress of the royal personages in the Cola period was of different varieties, and that the makutas were probably made of thin beaten gold and decked with embossed flowers and leaves. If this image is taken to be Agni, one may reasonably look for the other dikpālas also in the other niches which are absent. This is probably the portrait of a prince and his youthful countenance is noteworthy in this regard.

To the right of this sculpture and in the devakostha is Brahmā seen above. In the niche to the right of Brahmā is again a male figure, which like the first two figures in the South wall has a saintly appearance and stands in tribhanga (Fig. 16). His right arm holds a flower with spread-out petals and the left is in vismayahasta, suggestive of wonder. The lower garment covers as usual only half of both the thighs and is tied in the waist by a simple band, from which hangs a small loop with curly ends. The hem of this garment is indicated by lines. A gently flowing vastrayajñopavīta, a simple kanthi and vaļaya are the only ornaments. The ears are elongated without kunḍalas. The details of the fingers of the foot are lost. The figure possesses a distinct individuality and is light and elegant as against the heaviness of the second sculpture in the South wall.

<sup>171.</sup> S. K. Govindaswami, 'Note on a Stone Image of Agni', Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 48-50.

The next and the last portrait of a female is "far and away the most beautiful of these portrait statues. With its strangely alluring and seemingly exotic face of delicate curves, unusually sloping shoulders and tall perfectly modelled figure and beautiful contours of limbs, it presents a strongly individual type of beauty. Indeed its extraordinary stateliness and beauty make it an incom-· parable example of Indian portrait sculpture."172 The image is in tribhanga, with the right arm in lambahasta, and the left holding a flower (Fig. 17). The full and folded lower garment is tied in the waist by two simple bands from which hangs an ornamented loop with a pendant at the end. The upper end of the garment falls in elegant folds over the middle of the waist. Below the waist band and over the thighs is another band probably of cloth. A long and straight strip hangs from the waist band on the left side and near the leg. The dhammilla head dress at the back with an attached flower in it and the smoothly combed hair in front make the hair dress charming. There are three necklaces, the first a simple kanthi, the second pearled and the third with pendants. Valayas, nūpuras, rings, vājibandha below the arm etc. are noteworthy. The presence of triple folds on the stomach (trivali) is a probable indication of the advancing age of the figure represented. The exaggerated roundness of the shoulders and the unsatisfactory treatment of the feet are the only flaws in this most radiant of all carvings in the Nāgēśvara.

The portraits in the temple, particularly those of females, belong to a distinct school of Cōla plastic art. The treatment of these is soft and fluid and they convey a feeling of grace and beauty and produce a markedly 'etheral effect' unlike some portraits at Śrīnivāsanallūr. The portraits at Tiruvārūr belonging to a slightly later period are much inferior in comparison and betray an insistent tendency to conventionalise and merge the individual in a type. The passionate zeal with which the sculpnatural and distinct is obvious from the shape and expression in plicity of design in all ornaments is striking and bears out the

r

i

C

0

i

11

r

t

7

in re tl

p

172. Ajit Ghose, op.cit.

away

ngely

sually utiful

eauty.

icom-

ge is

lding

ed in

ented

ment

waist

1. A

left

with

front

, the

pen-

etc.

nach

the

lders

flaws

ales,

nent

and

ort-

ging

and

the

ulp-

vara n in

sim-

the

characteristic austerity of Cōla images. The makuṭa necklaces, vaļayas and nūpuras, vājibandhas, kuṇḍalas, rings etc. give a good idea of royal ornaments during the period.

A point of interest in the portraits here is that some of them do not properly face the images in the devakostha, whom they flank. This is prominently seen in the rear wall, in which the image of Ardhanāri in the dēvakostha in the centre is flanked on either side by a male figure. The sculpture to the left of Ardhanāri is, as seen above, that of a moustached king (?) whose right leg is slightly tilted to the North, but who faces straight. The image to the right of the same Ardhanāri faces the North-West corner, as if he does not want to see the pleasing coalesced God again with his right leg slightly tilted to the North. The image might very well fit in the niche of the moustached king (?) but the latter with his tilted right leg will not go well in the place of the former. This curious arrangement in the installation of images coupled with the fact that the portraits have a few differences with most of the deities in detail and workmanship would probably indicate that the installation of portraits was an afterthought. That a few portraits do not have niches for them but are simply installed on the wall in between pilasters and hence projecting forward only seems to confirm this presumption. The image to the left of Brahmā with flame-like decoration in the makuta has not even enough space to have his right arm fully carved. But there can be no doubt that, even if the installation of portraits was an afterthought, the period of that was not far from the date of the construction of the shrine, as indisputably indicated by the style of the images. The image of Bhikṣāṭana in the extreme end of the North wall has affinities with the portraits in general style and was also a later installation. It is interesting to point out that a greater number of niches in the ardhamandapas are generally found only in temples built after the reign of Parantaka.

It is unfortunate that the identity of the portraits is intriguing. In all probability the moustached man in the rear wall may represent a Chief and the youthful figure in the same wall and the image to the left of Brahmā in the North wall may stand for princes. The female carvings are undoubtedly those of royal ladies of varying age and stature. The three sage-like images,

two in the South wall and one in the North wall may represent monks. Images of Appar and Sambandar are found installed in the niches in the walls of the slightly later temple of Vasiṣṭhēśvara at Karuntaṭṭānguḍi in Tañjāvūr, indicating thereby that the practice of enshrining the Nāyanmār in the temple walls was in vogue or had just started in the middle of the tenth century A. D. <sup>173</sup> The images of monks in the Nāgēśvara unlike those at the Vasiṣṭhēśvara have no distinct iconographic cognizances revealing their identity and it is unsafe to resort to wild guesses in the absence of positive and trustworthy evidence.

The two  $dv\bar{a}rap\bar{a}las$  flanking the entrance are no doubt of the Cōḷa period, but evidently substitutes for early specimens. In general characteristics and treatment they are akin to a host of stylised  $dv\bar{a}rap\bar{a}las$  of the tenth-eleventh centuries and do not call for special remarks.

The sculpture of Kankālamūrti in a chamber in the South wall of the inner circuit is a comparatively late piece (Fig. 18). It does not seem to be fully finished. Of his two upper arms the right one is in lola, fondling the deer looking above and the left holds the long trident characteristically with a corpse on its top; his lower left holds the damaru and the right is engaged in beating it with the backbone of Brahmā. The lower garment is extended to cover only half of both thighs and has side loops. Broad and circular lotus designs are found on the garment. The jatāmakuṭa above is simple and the ornamentation consists of valayas, kanṭhi, yajñōpavīta and kunḍalas. The tilaka on the forehead is suggestive of the third eye. The image has accessory figures like gaṇas of whom one is Kunḍodara holding on his head the vessel with food. This image with conventionalised features is clearly a later addition in the temple.

The relief of Sūrya in the parivārālaya of the Sun god in the North-East corner of the inner circuit has several artistic merits (Fig. 19). A feeling of serenity is naively expressed in the countenance which may be said to be akin to that of Brahmā in the North dēvakōṣṭha of the main shrine. Behind the head is

<sup>173.</sup> Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1956-57, pp. 56-58, figs. 10 and 11.

resent
in the
ara at
actice
tue or
The
sthesstheir

bt of s. In ost of ot call

South 18). as the e left stop; beat-sex-Broad jațā-layas, ad is ilke vessel learly

n the nerits the ahmā ad is

56-57,

a circular halo. The hair is in a prominent jaṭāmakuṭa. Two hāras are seen. The yajñōpavīta has a circular clasp at the centre. Vaļayas, an udarabandha and makarakuṇḍalas are other ornaments. The waist band has a knot from which hangs a semi-circular loop over the thighs and two straight loops each on a thigh reaching the knee below. The side loops with a flowing straight cloth on either side are seen. A lotus bud with a long stalk is naturalistically held by each arm. This sculpture is much earlier than the Kankāļamūrti noticed above and may even be ranked with the images in the dēvakōṣṭhas in the main shrine.

Other minor sculptural decorations of the temple like string courses of  $y\bar{a}lis$ , hamsas and  $bh\bar{u}tavaris$  in the  $vim\bar{a}na$ , besides the reliefs of different Gods in the two rising tiers, have been noticed in the previous section on architecture.

A rare sculpture of absorbing interest is the carving of a Ganesa in a modern shrine in the mukhamandapa174 (Fig. 20). This is both of artistic and iconographic interest. Standing in tribhanga on a double padmāsana, the image rises to a height of about three feet. Of the four hands the upper right holds a broken tusk, the upper left holds a cup of cakes on which is placed the curled trunk; the lower right holds an aksamālā with fingers in the attitude of counting the rosaries and the corresponding left rests on a mace. The crown is unusually a jatāmakuta. A sarpayajñopavīta, pādasaras, vaļayas and hārās, besides a pair of beaded strings on the forehead decorate the God. The ears are large. Of unusual interest is an arch behind the head and issuing from the back of an elephant on either side with upraised trunks; the arch is crowned by a lion mask. On either side of the arch are seen a couple of gandharvas, flying. A worshipper is found on either side of the legs of the deity. A mouse seated on a double padmāsana, looks above facing the God.

The jaṭāmakuta of the image, the arch above with Gandharvas on its sides, clearly indicate that the image is not South Indian. The black chlorite in which this figure is carved and the general workmanship of the image are reminiscent of many sculptures

<sup>174.</sup> See S. K. Govindaswami, 'A Note on a Pala Image of Ganapati at Kumbhakonam', published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIII, pt. 3.

of Eastern India, especially those of Bengal under the Pāla and Sena rulers. Incontrovertibly this image is an import into the Nāgēśvara from Eastern India, and not the work of any South Indian sthapati. The bronze image of a Naṭarāja in typical Pāla workmanship, now under worship in the Amṛtaghaṭēśvara temple at Mēlak-Kaḍambūr in the South Arcot district<sup>175</sup> and this carving of Gaṇeśa clearly prove that either these were war trophies brought by successful rulers after inflicting defeat upon the northern Kings, or examples of intimate cultural contacts between distant parts of the country; probably the former was the case. Even today this Pāla Gaṇeśa is said to be called Gangaikoṇḍa Vināyaka. It is not unlikely that Rājēndracōļa brought this icon as a trophy from the North as in a later day Rājādhirāja I brought an image of a dvārapāla from Kalyāṇapura after defeating the Cāļukyas of Kalyāṇi. 176

Another class of sculptures of absorbing interest in the Nagesvara is the plastic delineation of mythological legends in small scales. These reliefs are often as small as six inches by four and carved on the pilaster strips in the basement. Examples of this class of narrative sculptures are found in many an early Cola shrine, including those at Pullamangai, Kaṇḍiyūr, Tirukkarugāvūr, Puñjai, Tiruvārūr, Tiruverumbiyūr, etc. In the Nāgēśvara these reliefs are in two tiers, the upper narrating in sequence the epic Rāmāyaṇa and the lower depicting many scenes from the Bhāgavata, Devi-Bhāgavata and purānas. The plastic narration of scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa here is more full and perfect than at Puḷḷamangai, in which are found only such selected scenes as Rāma and Sītā in the company of Guha, Kabandhavadha, Surpanakabhanga, Māricavadha, Sītāpaharaṇa by Rāvaṇa, Jaṭāyuvadha, Sītā in Aśōkavana, Hanumān's arrival in Aśōkavana, Rāvaṇa's harem, Rāma in the puspakavimāna with Sītā, Laksmaņa etc. Besides these the Pullamangai reliefs show such different forms of Siva as Ardhanāri. Harihara, Bhikṣāṭana, Gangāvisarjana, Gajasamhāra, Umāmahēśvara, Caṇḍēśānugraha, Sukhāsana, Lingōdbhava, Tripurāntaka, Bhairava etc. Kṛṣṇa as Vaṭapatraśāyi and as killing Pūtaná

<sup>175.</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, fig. 100a.

a and o the South Pāla emple caryphies nortween case.

conda

icon

ought

g the

āgēś-

small s by

nent.

ound

ulla-

Tiru-

two

and

Bhā-

the

ì, in

āin

Iārī-

ōka-

a in the

dha-

lmā-

rān-

taná

by milking her breast, Bhūvarāha, Narasimha fighting with Hiranyakasipu, Ranganātha etc. are the Vaisnava themes represented. The little reliefs at Tirukkarugāvūr depict Kāliyamardana, Vaṭapatraśāyi, Gajēndramōkṣa, an eight-armed Narasimha fighting vigorously with Hiranyakasipu, Nisumbhasudhani. Candēśānugraha, Naṭarāja and Kāļi dancing, Kirātārjunīya, Gajāri, Kannappanāyanār etc. These indicate that during the early Cola period the sculptors concentrated largely on the rich iconography that had developed thanks to the growth of the hagiology of the Saiva and Vaisnava devotional hymnists.

The reliefs in the lower tier of the Nagesvara may be studied first.

- 1. Coming in a clock wise direction the first pilaster strip bears the relief of a Mahisamardani. This little carving is remarkable and possesses the beautiful rhythm not noticed in bigger reliefs of the same at Mahābalipuram and Ellora. The sculptors have carved the limb and body of the demon in the typical early Cāļukyan way to indicate his feeling.177 The Goddess is eight-armed, wears a kucabandha and rides on a vigorous lion.
  - Scroll work.
  - Scroll work.
- 4. Much worn out and details are lost; yet faintly recognisable is an image of Ganeśa seated with his left leg bent and the right one planted on the floor. The four hands and the emblems are lost but the elephantine face with a tapering makuta and large ears are discernible on close observation. On either side of the main figure is a gana probably playing a musical instrument. Another gana above each of this is also faintly noticed.
  - Scroll work.
  - Scroll work.
- This is indeed a remarkable plastic version in miniature of a famous theme in Indian art — the Kirātārjunīya.

<sup>177.</sup> P. R. Srinivasan, "Rare Sculptures at Kumbhakonam", Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1958-59, pp. 30-31.

Here Siva, disguised as a hunter, is shown as chasing Arjuna who, in turn chases the attacked boar. The subtle suggestion of movement is indicated by the raised right leg of Arjuna whose face is turned back to notice the hunter. On his right shoulder is a protruding quiver while in the left hand he holds a bow. The hunter with a peculiar head dress, short legs and in the posture of taking an arrow from the quiver on his right shoulder and with the left arm holding a bow is an interesting study. The hunter is anatomically a little disproportionate as the stomach and chest are bigger than the legs. At the top of the extreme left of the panel is a lady in a graceful posture shown up to her waist, evidently the huntress. To the right of the hunter at the bottom is a dog the raised front legs of which suggest that it also follows its moving master.

- 8. Śiva and Pārvati seated on a rectangular bhadrāsana. The right leg of Śiva is bent and placed on the āsana while the left hangs down. His right hand is extended to the right shoulder of Pārvati in the attitude of embracing her. Pārvati's left arm rests on the right thigh of Śiva. By the side of these two and on the floor are two gaṇas, one holding a chhatra and the other an indistinct object. At the extreme right of the panel is a two-handed male figure in añjali pose.
  - 9. Scroll work.
  - 10. A male figure mounting a cow.
- 11. A male figure playing a musical instrument and a female dancing.
- 12. Details are indistinct on account of the application of mortar and chunam.
  - 13. Built in by the modern Daksiņāmūrti shrine.

14. — do —

15. — do —

16. — do —

- 17. A male figure fighting with an elephant perhaps representing Kṛṣṇa killing Kuvalayāpīḍa.
  - 18. A male holding an indistinct object.
  - 19. Bālakṛṣṇa slaying Kokkāsura.

20. Floral design.

- 21. A remarkable representation of Naṭarāja with eight hands and in catura pose. The face is tilted to the left in the swing of the dance. The relief of Kāṭi nearby has two hands and also dances in catura pose. At the extreme left of the panel is a male figure with knees apart (perhaps Nandi-kēśvara) playing drum. Three gaṇas above play musical instruments. A small dwarf to the left of Śiva plays drum and his head is turned upwards to look at Śiva. This is indeed an interesting study.
- 22. An eight-armed Kāļi with elaborate jaṭābhāra in the posture of dancing with three female figures playing musical instruments. This has to be studied along with the Naṭarāja above. Here the suggestion of movement is so pronounced that the Kāļi looks more like running than dancing.
- 23. There are two figures in this panel. On the right is many-headed and multi-armed Rāvaṇa seated on the floor. On the left Hanumān with hands in añjali worships a linga with a rectangular āvuḍaiyār.
- 24. A four-armed Varāha carrying Bhūdēvī. A demon with a five-hooded serpent on his head and holding a sword and shield chases the God while his consort tries to clasp him and prevent him from running.
  - 25. The pilaster strip is left uncarved.
  - 26. A circular floral design at the centre of which is a cow.
  - 27. A circular floral design at the centre of which is a lion.
- 28. Details are much worn out. There are four reliefs in this panel of which the first and the second respectively play a drum and a flute. The rest are perhaps dancing but their details are not clearly discernible.
  - 29. Details are lost in the coating of chunam.
- 30. A four-headed god with indistinct emblems. He is seated on a rectangular bhadrāsana with his left leg bent and placed on the āsana and the right one hanging down. Standing by the side is a male figure with crossed legs.
- 31. A fine relief of Ardhanārīśvara. The god stands leaning on a standing bull. Two arms are present on the male side

estion rjuna right ad he short uiver

rjuna

than l is a lently

ollows

bow

little

isana. le the right vati's these

a and

nd a

on of

s re-

of which the upper one holds a paraśu and the lower one is placed on the forehead of the bull; the single arm on the female side holds probably a flower. A kinnara is seen at either end of the top. By the side of the male part is shown a male figure and on the other side a female one.

- 32. Gajēndramōkṣa scene. To the left of the panel is Viṣṇu with two pairs of arms of which the upper pair holds conch and discus. The God wears kirīṭamakuṭa and is shown descending down on a human-faced Garuḍa. At the lower right is the elephant shown up to its bust with its elegantly curved tusk. The pond is suggested by full-blown lily flowers. Above the elephant is a gandharva flying.
- 33. This panel depicts an oft-repeated theme in Indian art—Kṛṣṇa as Gōvardhandhāri. Kṛṣṇa is shown here with two arms, the left in kaṭyavalambita and the right raised up to hold the Gōvardhana hill which, however, is not shown. By the side of Kṛṣṇa is Balarāma holding a stick by his left arm which reaches his left shoulder. The female figure on the other side of Kṛṣṇa holds uṛi. On the left is a standing bull the neck of which is disproportionate to its face and body. The sculptor here has utilised the space between the neck of the bull and the raised hand of Kṛṣṇa to carve the head of another bull as at Kṛṣṇamaṇḍapa at Mahābali-puram.
  - 34. Scroll work.
  - 35. Scroll work.
  - 36. Left uncarved.
- 37. Siva and Viṣṇu standing side by side and both with four arms carrying their usual attributes which are, however, not clearly discernible. They are accompanied by gaṇas below and gandharvas above.
- 38. A relief of Lingōdbhava. The sculptor has divided this panel into three compartments by introducing two vertical bands: At the centre is Siva as Lingōdbhava with four arms, the upper pair holding paraśu and mṛga, the lower right in abhaya and the left in kaṭyavalambita. The opening of the linga is oval and the carving of Siva inside is shown only upto his knee in the legs as usual. To the right of Siva and

in the next band is Viṣṇu decked in full drapery with loops. His face is turned towards Śiva. His upper right arm holds conch and the lower right is in kaṭyavalambita; the upper left is extended towards Śiva while the lower left is not shown evidently on account of lack of space. To the left of Śiva and in the extreme right is Brahmā holding by his upper left arm a kuṇḍika while his lower left is in kaṭyavalambita; the upper right is extended towards Śiva, while the lower right is not shown. This image is also provided with an undergarment with loops.

- 39. This is an elegant Vṛṣabhāntika leaning with crossed legs on a standing bull with four arms, the upper pair holding paraśu and mṛga in the usual manner, the lower right placed on the forehead of the bull and lower left held in abhaya. By the side of the bull is a gaṇa. To the right of Vṛṣabhāntika is a male figure whose right leg is bent and the left is raised, and who by his raised right hand holds a crow-bar. To his left and the extreme right of the panel is the carving of a seated male. Above the head of this figure are shown four heads of cows while a milk pot is shown by the side of the right leg of the standing male image. This is the scene of Caṇḍēśvara cutting the leg of his father.
- 40. Śiva as Caṇḍēśanūgrahamūrti with Pārvati, seated on a bhadrāsana. Śiva has four arms, by two of which he adorns with garland a kneeling figure in añjali before him, while two figures at the extreme right look on.
  - 41. Floral work.
- 42. Gajalakṣmī on a double lotus pedestal, accompanied by an attendant on either side.
- 43. Details are not clear on account of the coating of chunam.
- 44. Siva standing at the centre flanked on either side by a male figure with folded hands. He has four arms, the upper holding paraśu and mṛga, the lower pair being in abhaya and katyavalambita.
- 45. Sõmäskanda relief in which the child Skanda is shown by the side of Pārvatī and not in between Siva and Pārvatī as usual. Siva is seen fondling Pārvatī. To the left

n only

one is

on the

seen at

shown

anel is

r holds

shown

e lower egantly

flowers.

Indian

e with

raised

shown,

his left

ure on

tanding

ts face

etween carve

hābali-

h with

wever,

ras be-

divided

rertical

r arms, ight in

of the

of the bhadrāsana in which they are seated is a couchant bull while to the right is a standing figure. Above are flying dēvas and a couchant bull.

- 46. Young Kṛṣṇa is dancing in catura pose. An uri is seen above him. The figure to his left plays a drum while another to his right plays cymbals.
- 47. Details are lost. A double lotus pedestal with a seated figure on it and another carving with folded hands nearby are faintly seen.
- 48. Kāliyakṛṣṇa dancing on the serpent (five hooded?) holding the tail of the reptile by his extended left arm. A figure to the left of Kṛṣṇa plays cymbals while another to his right plays drum.
  - 49. Kṛṣṇa a Vaṭapatraśāyi sucking the toe of his left leg.
- 50. A female figure with knees apart is dancing while a male plays drum.
  - 51. Two ganas dancing.
  - 52. Three ganas dancing.
- 53. A Kāļī with dishevelled hair seated on a double lotus  $\bar{a}sana$ . She has four arms of which the upper right has a  $s\bar{u}la$  and the left a  $kap\bar{a}la$ . The details in lower arms are not clear. A male is seen at either end with one of his arms extended to the hair of the  $d\bar{e}v\bar{\iota}$ .
- 54. An eight-armed Kāļi holding śūla etc., fighting with a figure who holds a sword (or stick?). She is accompanied by female figures. A demon has fallen down in the fight while another is seen at the extreme right of the panel.
  - 55. Floral design.
  - 56. Three female dancers.

The bas-relief panels in the upper tier narrate, as mentioned above, scenes from the epic  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yan$  in sequence which end abruptly with the scenes depicting Rāma crossing the ocean for reaching Lankā and Hanumān fighting with a demone and are not continued upto the coronation at the end. The following are the panels in order in clockwise direction.

1. The scene of putrakāmestiyāga. From the agnikuṇḍa the divya puruṣa emanates and presents pāyasa in a vessel

to Daśaratha. Daśaratha with Kausalyā is shown at the left of the panel, while between him and the agnikunda is a rṣi, probably Vasiṣṭha. Seven other figures, three seated and four standing, are seen at the right of the panel. The master sculptor has ingeniously carved reliefs of twelve persons in this strikingly small panel without giving a feeling of being crowded. Each figure is nicely executed.

- 2. Daśaratha distributing pāyasa among his three Queens. He is seated in the sit-at-ease posture with his right leg bent and placed on the thigh of the hanging left leg. He seems to pour pāyasa from one vessel into another. Of his Queens two are seated in front and one at the back. A bearded rṣi (Vasiṣṭha?) looks on with raised hands. The sculptor has nicely shown even minute decorative details in this carving. Daśaratha has jaṭāmakuṭa, kuṇḍalas in the ears, a kaṭisūtra etc. The Queens have beautiful coiffures.
- 3. This is one of the finest small bas-reliefs in the temple and depicts the scene of the birth of Rāma. Kausalyā is attended by four maids and shown in the reclining posture on what looks like a cot. By her side is the child Rāma. The posture of Kausalyā is elegant and natural and bears veiled resemblance to the depiction of the scene of Māyādevi's dream in the Amarāvati art, in which she is shown as reclining.
  - 4. Daśaratha is in the company of his Queen and children.
- 5. Viśvāmitra asking for Rāma in the court of Daśaratha. Nine figures are shown in this panel.
- 6. Viśvāmitra teaching warfare to Rāma. The synoptic method noticed at Amarāvati is echoed here in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown twice.
- 7. Rāma's vigorous combat with Tāṭakā. The demoness shown on the right rushing towards Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, wielding a long trident. The whirling locks of hair of Tāṭakā are well treated and are extended to the corner above. The princes have jatāmakutas.
- 8. The scene of Ahalyāśāpavimōcana. The relief of Ahalyā is rather big with dishevelled hair and crossed legs. Viśvāmītra with his right arm raised and left pointing to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

bull lēvas

ri is vhile

th a ands

ed?)
. A
o his

leg. ile a

otus as a not arms

with nied hile

, as ence sing th a end.

ion. nda ssel Ahalyā seems to narrate her story to Rāma, who holds a long bow in his right arm which practically divides the panel into two. Having carved an out-sized Ahalyā, the sculptor did not have enough space to show Lakṣmaṇa prominently, who as a result occupies an insignificant position in the panel.

- 9. Rāma fighting with demons among whom one has been slain and two are vigorously offering fight.
  - 10. Rāma and Laksmaņa in the hermitage of ṛṣis.
  - 11. Marriage with Sītā.
- 12. Details are lost on account of the heavy application of chunam.
  - 13. Built in by the modern Daksināmūrti shrine.
  - 14. do —
  - 15. do —
  - 16. do —
- 17. Details are not clear. Perhaps this panel represents Kaikēyī arguing with Daśaratha.
- 18. To the left of the panel is Kausalyā clasping Rāma on the eve of his departure for the forest. On the right is Sītā kneeling before Kausalyā to take leave of her. The representation of Kausalyā twice here again indicates the synoptic method.
  - 19. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are seen following a figure.
- 20. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are taken in a chariot drawn by horses.
  - 21. Details are lost.
- 22. Crossing of the Sarayū by boat. The shape of the boat, the natural manner in which Guha is shown as rowing it and the decorative details in the figures of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are interesting.
- 23. Rāma and party in the Bharadhvājāśrama. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are seated on a rectangular āsana in front of a ṛṣi who is also seated on an āsana. A kneeling figure offers them respect while two more ṛṣis look on.
- 24. A demon, probably Virādha, approaching Rāma and Sītā.

25. Details not clear.

long

anel

lptor

ntly,

anel.

been

on of

sents

Rāma ht is

epre-

optic

gure.

ariot

f the wing

and

āma,

front

igure

and

- 26. Details not clear.
- 27. Lakşmana punishing Śūrpanakhā.
- 28. Śūrpanakhā representing her case to Khara and Dhūṣaṇa, who are seated on an āsana. The sculptor shows the
  demoness running towards her brothers with raised arms in
  fear, anger and anguish. The depiction of her movement is
  wonderful.
  - 29. Rāma's fight with Khara and Dhūṣaṇa.
  - 30. Śūrpanakhā narrating her experience to Rāvaņa.
- 31. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in the hermitage of an old ṛṣipatni.
- 32. Rāma killing Mārīca who is shown as a fallen human figure. The deer, his incognito form, is shown above.
- 33. Jaṭāyu offering battle to Rāvaṇa who is carrying away Sītā in a chariot.
- 34. This is a carving showing Sītā being carried by Rāvaṇa. It should have preceded the scene of Jaṭāyu's fight with Rāvaṇa for the sake of sequence.
- 35. The pathetic scene of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, full of sorrow and disappointment, under a tree.
- 36. Details are not discernible as a result of the heavy application of chunam.
- 37. In the right of the panel is Hanuman carrying Rama and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders. In the left are Rama and Lakṣmaṇa standing and another figure seated. This is again an example of the synoptic method.
- 38. Combat between Vāli and Sugrīva. Vāli is killed by Rāma.
- 39. This is indeed a remarkable panel with nicely executed reliefs of as many as fourteen figures. In the centre of them all is Sugrīva reclining and merry-making. The other figures are engaged in dancing or playing music.
- of Sugrīva. The central figure (Sugrīva) is shown seated on a rectangular āsana with both his hands placed on the thighs.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa perform the abhiṣēka. On either end are female cauri-bearers. The paṭṭābhiṣēka scene is reminiscent of many coronation scenes in the series of historical sculptures in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāļ temple at Kāñcīpuram built during the later Pallava period.

- 41. The court of Sugrīva who is shown with his consort Tārā and others.
- 42. Sugrīva and Tārā in añjali before Rāma. Hanumān looks on.
- 43. Rāma seated cross-legged on a pedestal, discussing probably plans with Lakṣmaṇa nearby. Hanumān and Sugrīva are also noticed with folded hands.
- 44. Ten figures are seen in this panel. Rāma and Laksmana are seated on a pedestal and are probably discussing plans with monkeys.
  - 45. Male and female monkeys in merriment.
- 46. Hanumān in Rāvaņa's harem where the latter sleeps with Mandōdarī.
- 47. On the left of this panel is Sītā in Aśōkavana, while at the right, where details are lost, two figures are in combat.
- 48. A grand study of Sītā in Aśōkavana. Four demonesses in different postures of sleeping are wonderful studies. Hanumān with folded hands presents the angulya of Rāma to Sītā.
- 49. Hanumān fighting with demons. As many as ten figures are shown.
- 50. The scene of Hanumān's presence in the court of Rāvaṇa. The demon is shown here with only a single head and as seated in sukhāsana with his left hand in sūcihasta gesture. Hanumān is seated on the coils of his tail with his hands placed on the knees. There is a third figure in between, holding a bow.
- 51. Vānaras are merry-making after the return of Hanumān from Lankā with the happy news of Sītā's whereabouts.
- 52. Hanumān is seen reporting to Rāma after his return in the company of seven monkeys.
  - 53. Hanumān presents the kaṇaiyāļi to Rāma.

54. Participation of monkeys in the construction of the bridge to Lankā. Several monkeys are seen carrying blocks of stone.

55. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are crossing the ocean with Hanumān and other vānaras.

56. Hanumān combating with a demon.

## IV

## THE TEMPLE FROM INSCRIPTIONS

## (1)

The epigraphic records found in a South Indian temple are usually rich in their content and constitute the main contemporary evidence to get an idea of the patronage it received from kings and people alike through the ages, and the dominant role it played in the life of the people. Though most of the inscriptions are usually donative, they incidentally throw much useful and welcome light on the prevailing political, social and economic conditions, as also the system of temple management and administration. The Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple is comparatively rich in epigraphical material, consisting of forty-two inscriptions. Of them one is a Pāṇḍya inscription of Māravarman Varaguṇa II (Accn. A. D. 862), forty are of the early and late Cōļa periods and one of the Vijayanagar period. The following details may be gleaned from the inscriptions.

All the inscriptions found in the temple, including the earliest (Pāṇḍya) one, mention the place as Tirukkuḍamūkkil,<sup>178</sup> the old name of Kumbhakōṇam, the only exception being a record of the time of Cōḷa Āditya II (A. D, 956-969) which refers to the place as Srī Kuḍandai.<sup>179</sup> It is said in all the inscriptions of the period before the sixth regnal year of Rājēndra I (A. D. 1012-1044) that it was a brahmadēya situated in Vaḍakarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu. In that inscription<sup>180</sup> of the time of Rājēndra I and in all other

end nini-

rical

ram

sort

măn

sing

rīva

aks-

sing

eps

hile

bat.

no-

ies.

ma

ten

of

ead

sta

his

et-

its.

<sup>178. 13</sup> of 1908; SII., XIV, No. 8. 179. 230 of 1911

<sup>180. 256</sup> of 1911.

J. 10

later records including the one of the Vijayanagar period the place is mentioned as Uyyakonda-valanāṭṭu (or Uyyakondaśōlavalanāṭṭu) Pāmbūr-nāṭṭu Tirukkuḍamūkkil. The term vaḍakarai is not used in the inscriptions from the time of Rajendra I, while it is found in those of the earlier periods. At present the town and the temple are to the South of the river Kāvērī. Originally they were to the North of a river, which is usually taken to be the Kāvērī itself. Besides, one of the inscriptions in the temple of the time of Parantaka I refers to Ayirattali (Palaiyarai) as situated in the nadu on the southern bank (tenkarai) of the river, 181 implying thereby that the river must have been flowing between Kumbhakonam and Palaiyarai in those days. Since both the town and the temple are now to South of the river Kāvērī it is possible that the river changed its course in the subsequent period between the fifth year of a Rājakēsarivarman (Rājarāja I, A.D. 985-1014) in which Kudamūkkil is described as situated in Vadakarai Pāmbūrnādu<sup>182</sup> and the sixth regnal year of Rājēndra I in whose record of that year Pāmbūr-nāḍu is mentioned for the first time as a subdivision of Uyyakondār-valanādu. 183 This larger division came to be known in later time as Nittavinodavaļanādu<sup>184</sup> and lay between the rivers Kāvērī and Araśil.

The inscriptions in the temple mention a few administrative divisions and places near Kumbhakōṇam. The following are the nāḍus referred to in them: Innambar-nāḍu<sup>185</sup>, Ingaļ-nāḍu,<sup>186</sup> Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu<sup>187</sup> and Malai-nāḍu.<sup>138</sup> Innambar-nāḍu comprised Mēr Kāvēri (probably Mēlakāvēri of the present day which forms part of the Kumbhakōṇam Municipality), Innambar and Koṭṭai-yūr all of which are situated on the northern side of the river Kāvērī and in the Kumbhakōṇam Taluk and Tiruvaigāvūr in the Pāpanāśam Taluk. Ingaļ-nāḍu appears to have formed part of the present Nannilam Taluk. Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu was the region

181. 249 of 1911.

182. 236 of 1911.

183. 256 of 1911.

184. SII., V, No. 578.

185. 224 of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 44.

186. 223 and 233 of 1911.

187. 250 of 1911.

188. 248 of 1911.

round about Tiruvaiyāru. Malai-nādu was obviously a part of the present Kēraļa State. Two Kūrrams are mentioned, namely the Milalai-kūrram<sup>189</sup> and Kilār-kūrram.<sup>190</sup> The former of the two was in the Tiruchirappalli District and Karuvūr formed part of it. Kiļār-kūrram was a sub-division of Tenkarai-nāḍu mentioned above, and Ayirattali was a village situated in it.

Kudamūkkil appears to have had under its administrative control a number of places, one among them being Tiruvalañjuli. 191. Tiruvalanjuli is about three miles South-West of Kudamukku on the southern bank of the river Arasil.

The Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple is invariably called Tirukkīlkottam (shrine situated to the East) in all the inscriptions. It may be noted that Tirunāvukkaraśar also refers to it by the same name. 192 It is not, however, known to the East of what the shrine was situated. The deity in the temple is variously referred to in inscriptions as Kilkottattu Bhatarar, Paramasvāmin, Mahadevar, Perumanadigal, and Parameśvarar. One of the inscriptions of Uttama Cola<sup>193</sup> (A.D. 970-985) mentions the God as Tirukkilkottattu Perumāļ. A record of Rājēndra I194 refers to the deity in the main shrine (śrīvimāna) as Śelvappirān.

It seems that separate shrines within the temple were built by individual donors after their own names. An inscription dated in the reign of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1218) 195 states that a shrine for Tiruppurambiyam Udaiyar was set up by Vēļūr Kilavan Alvan Tiruppuramibyamudaiyan alias Sembiyan Pallavarāyan. Another record of the period of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-56) 196 refers to the setting up of a shrine Kūttādum Tirujñāna sambandēśvaram by one Kūttādum Tirujñānasambandar Māṇikkavāśakar. The same inscription refers to a deity as Madandaipāganāyaṇār within the temple and also mentions Tirukkīļkōtṭa-

```
189. 246 of 1911.
```

ace

la-

is

ile

wn

lly be

ple

as

the

ing

oth t is

iod

I,

in

a I

the

ger

1184

ive

the

ru-

sed

ms

tai-

ver

the

of

ion

<sup>190. 249</sup> of 1911.

<sup>191. 203, 205</sup> of 1927-28.

<sup>192.</sup> Tirumurai-6. padikam 289.

<sup>.193. 240</sup> of 1911.

<sup>194. 256</sup> of 1911.

<sup>195. 260</sup> of 1911; SITI., Vol. III, No. 1003. 196. 258 of 1911; SITI., Vol. III, No. 1005.

regi

with

whi

rāja

the

Nati

one

gun

mill

Dur

a G

tem

by ;

and

per

mor

the bur for

tena

and

the

ever

abo

divi

quii

she

ther

any

to t

ghe

20

20

20

20

20 20

mudaiyar, the main deity. Hence it is possible that the shrine constructed by Kūttādum Tirujñānasambandar Māṇikkavāśakar was for a different deity. But the Vijayanagar inscription in the temple refers to the God in it as Tirukkudamukku Nayanar Madandaipāga Nāyaṇār. 197 Probably in later days the presiding deity of the temple himself came to be called by that name. However, the separate shrines set up by individuals as indicated by the inscriptions are not now found in the temple.

One record registered in the reign of Rajaraja I refers to a silver image installed in the Śrī kōyil of Paramasvāmin. 198

An inscription of the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Vijavarājēndradēva (Rājādhirāja I-1018-1054) refers, in the course of a tax remission by the mūlaparisat of the Nāgēsvarasvāmi temple, to the temple of Tirukkāronamudaiya Mahādēvar and Kanyāpidārigaļ.199 This is evidently the same as the present Kāśiviśvanātha temple near the northern bank of the Mahāmakam tank in the town in which are kept the figures of nine river Goddesses. The deity in the temple has been sung in the hymns of Tirujñānasambandar as the God of Tirukkuḍandaikkārōṇam.200 A record

197. 259 of 1911; SITI., Vol. III, No. 1002.

198. 236 of 1911; it is usually believed that separate shrines for the Goddess (kāmakkōṭṭam) came to be made only from the days of Rājēndra I (K. R. Srinivasan, "Tirukkāmakōtṭam", Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference (Thirteenth Session): Nagpur (1946), pt. III, pp. 50-56. See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (second edition, p. 175). But an inscription at Sattamangalam in the Wandiwash Taluk of the North Arcot District dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Pallava Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-796) recently discovered refers to a Kāmakkōṭṭam.

199. 14 of 1908.

200. Tirumurai-I, Padikam 72. The work Kārōnam signifies sacred shrines where Siva had absorbed the souls into Himself at the time of the universal dissolution such as those of Nagapattinam, Kumbhakonam and Kañcipuram. (Tamil Lexicon, II, p. 890). Though the author of the Tirukudandaip-purānam is inclined to identify the temple as that of Kāśiviśvanātha (P. T. Ratnasami Pillai, Tirukkudandai Purāna vacanam (1932, p. 4) some are of opinion that it may be identified with the temple of Someśwara also in the same town. In the publication of Sambandar's Tēvāram by the Saiva Siddhanta Mahāsamājam the Kārōnam at Kumbhakōnam has been identified with both the temples of Kāśiviśvanātha and Śōmēśvara. Probably it is better to identify it with the temple of Kāśiviśvanātha in the light of the evidence of the inscription mentioned above which refers to Tirukārônamudaiya.

registered in the third regnal year of a Rājakēsari identifiable with Gandarāditya (A.D. 950-957) refers to Jalaśayanam, 201 while another inscription dated in the thirty-sixth year of Rājādhirāja I mentions Pallikondāļvār. 202 Obviously both of them denote the temple and deity of Śārngapāṇi at Kumbhakōṇam itself.

(2)

Nature of gifts:

ine

kar

the

nār ing -WC

by

to

ya-

of

em-

yāva-

in ses.

ñā-

ord

the

a I

the III,

75).

rth

II

nes

erici-

an-

tha me also

iva

ıti-

is

the

na-

Among the gifts and endowments made to the temple, only one was made by a king namely, Pāṇḍya Mārañjaḍaiyan Varaguna II.203 It was a gift of 138 cows and kāśu for the supply of milk and ghee and for two perpetual lamps for the temple. During the Cola period royal donation was by Vīranārāyaniyār, a Queen of Uttama Cola, made for garlands of flowers for the temple.204 All the other gifts recorded in Cola epigraphs were by private individuals, and the endowments included sheep, gold and land for different purposes. Gift of sheep for the burning of a perpetual lamp (nandāvilakku) in the temple was the most common. The number of sheep donated shows a striking similarity in the records. Generally ninety or ninety-six sheep were given for burning a perpetual lamp. The number of sheep, it seems, accounts for the required ghee for burning a perpetual lamp and the maintenance of the sheep themselves. The terms śāvāmūvā (immortal and ever young) which occur in all the grants may signify that the progeny of the sheep would meet the future requirements, even if the sheep gifted died. In the particular case mentioned above, the sheep were left to the care of two shepherds who divided them between themselves and agreed to supply the required quantity of ghee for the lamp. In one instance the two shepherds who took charge of the sheep agreed that if one among them died the other would continue the supply of ghee without any interruption. 205 One of the records in the temple assignable to the period of Gandarāditya gives the monthly requirement of shee for a perpetual lamp as seven nāļis and one uri.206 The ex-

<sup>201. 255</sup> of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 46. 202. 14 of 1908.

<sup>203. 13</sup> of 1908; SII., XIV, No. 8.

<sup>204. 240 9</sup>f 1911; SII., III, No. 137. 205. 241 of 1911.

<sup>206. 228</sup> of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 45.

1

day servi

the f

prov

lamp

year

rāja

prov

the

of go

ever

in tl

rāja

Mad

cert:

thirt

vara

biya

and

muc

Soci

food

kno

of t

tem

21

21

21

21

22

pression araivilakku (half a lamp) contained in some inscriptions<sup>207</sup> perhaps means that half portion of the required ghee was endowed by the donor.

Other gifts made to the temple include endowments for feed ing Brāhmanas, Sivayogins and Apūrvins, for bringing water from the river Kāvērī for bathing the deity, for offerings during worshin and festivals, for burning incense and for setting up shrines with in the temple premises. An inscription registered in the reign of Parantaka I refers to an endowment of land for feeding a Simyōgin in the temple with uttamāgram 208 (superior food). Another record of the third regnal year of Gandaraditya also registers a grant made for providing uttamagram for a Sivayogin in the temple.209 An inscription dated in the third year of a Parakesari varman, identifiable with Aditya II (A.D. 956-969) registers a gift of land by a Parantaka-Muvendavelan of Sirringan for feeding twenty avūrvins versed in the Vedas and five Sivayogins in the temple.210

A record dated in the third regnal year of Aditya II record a gift of land for supporting persons who expounded Prabhākaran in the temple.211 Prabhākara was the founder of a school of Mimāmsa philosophy which was greatly popular at one time in South India and for the study of which provision was made in a few other places.212 Prabhākara's period may be about the begining of the eighth century,213

207. 223 of 1911.

208. 232 of 1911; A Śwayōgin is described as a Śaiva worshipper who the approach of death bathes his body in ashes, utters certain Saiva mantre and worships the Linga on his chest."

209. 227 of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 44.

210. 230 of 1911; The term apūrvin refers to a person who has studied or taught apurva, a synonym for Vedic literature that included Rg, Yaju Chhandogya, Sāma, Talavakārasāma, Vājasanēya, Atharva, Baudhāyaniya Grhya, Kalpa, Gana and Kathaka (SII., III, p. 233; No. 333 of 1917). It has been suggested that the term may refer to a pilgrim who visits a place (SITI, Vol. III, Glossary). But the former interpretation seems to be more acceptable.

211. 233 of 1911; SII., III, No. 200.

212. 333 of 1917; Rep. 1918, para 28; 333 of 1923.

213. See SII., III, p. 376.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

79

hee was for feed. ter from worship es with. he reign a Siva. Another gisters a in the

inscrip.

rakēsari. gisters a feeding s in the

record hākaram chool of time in ade in a ne begin

r who "a a mantra

as studied Rg, Yajur dhāyaniya 1917). its a place be more

provision for bringing water from the river Kāvērī thrice a day for bathing the deity (tirumanjanam) during the three daily services in the temple was made by a lady, Mādēvan Kaṇḍi, in the fifth regnal year of Uttama Cola (A.D. 970-985).214 Likewise provision was made for burning incense (śidāri) and for two lamps in the temple of Sūryadēvar by an individual in the fortieth year of Parantaka I.215 In the twenty-second regnal year of Rajarāja III a Brāhmaṇa lady made an endowment to the temple to provide for offerings to the God on the occasion of Pūrattādi in the month of Panguni as also on the Tiruvādirai day.216 Grant of gold for offerings during festival occasions, which are not, however clearly mentioned is recorded in an inscription registered in the reign of Parantaka I.217

As said earlier an inscription of the twentieth year of Rajaraia III mentions a gift of land for the repairs to the shrine of Madandaipāganāyanār and for jewels for the same deity by a certain Küttadum Tirujñanasambanda Madandaipagan. 218 In the thirty-fifth regnal year of Kulottunga III one Sembiyan Pallavaraiyan of Vēļūr set up a shrine for the image of Tiruppurambiyam Udaiyār in the temple and presented 17,000 kāśu for lamps and for a makaratoraņa for the presiding deity, Tirukkīļkkottamudaiyār, in the temple.219

(3)

Social and Economic conditions:

From some of the inscriptions the names of a few dishes of food and the standard system of cubic measurements may be known. As mentioned earlier a few inscriptions mention the names of the dishes that formed uttamāgram which was served in the temple to Brāhmaṇas, Apūrvins and Sivayōgins.220 The term

```
214. The inscription was studied in situ by me.
```

<sup>215. 253</sup> of 1911.

<sup>216. 257</sup> of 1911; SITI., Vol. III, No. 1004.

<sup>217. 232</sup> of 1911.

<sup>218. 258</sup> of 1911; SITI., Vol. III, No. 1005. 219. 260 of 1911; SITI., Vol. III, No. 1003.

<sup>220, 232</sup> of 1911; 227 of 1911: SIL, XIII, No. 44; 230 of 1911.

80

Uttamāgram means rich or principal food served in a temple. In a record of Gaṇḍarāditya the paddy (or rice) for the meals is given as one kalam. The dishes are said to be kummāyam, kāykari, pulingari porikkari jaggery cakes, curd and ghee. Kummāyam seems to be a sweet dish made with green gram and jaggery. Kāykari was a preparation for which pepper, mustard and salt were needed. Pulingari was made of pepper, mustard cumin, sugar, tamarind, curd, horse gram and plantain fruits. Porikkari was a vegetable fried in ghee. The uttamāgram seems to have been a sumptuous meal which included a number of items and ingredients. 223

rāja

of I

sact

sold

thir

the

hun

nal vēli

mer

kalo

fert

for

Adı

sem

the

land

low

the

had

don

in t

that

gifts

23(

23]

232

233

234

23

23( J.

Records mentioning gifts of sheep for lamps in the temple usually give the amount of ghee to be supplied to the temple. From an inscription assignable to the third regnal year of Gaṇḍarāditya<sup>224</sup> and another of the second regnal year of Arinjaya (A.D. 956-957),<sup>225</sup> it may be taken that the following cubic measures were in use:

 $2 u\underline{l}akku = 1 u\underline{r}i$   $2 u\underline{r}i = 1 n\overline{a}\underline{l}i$  $1 n\overline{a}\underline{l}i = 1 padi \text{ which had a cubic capacity of } 108 \text{ inches.}^{226}$ 

 $Kala \tilde{n} j u$  and pon are mentioned in inscriptions as coins. They were of equal value and both the terms are found in one and the same inscription when the value of land is mentioned.  $^{27}$   $K \tilde{a} \acute{s} u$  seems to have been another denomination.  $^{228}$  Its value is found to be half that of the  $kala \tilde{n} j u$ .  $^{229}$  It is possible that langle langle

221. SII, III, p. 256 n.

222. 227 of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 44.

223. See E.I., IX, pp. 92 ff: Naccinārkkiniyar in his commentary on the Perumbānārruppadai (1.195) says that pulingari was the same as kummāyam 224. 228 of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 45.

225. 242 of 1911.

226. See A. Appadorai, Economic Conditions in Southern India, 1000-1500 A.D., Vol. II, p. 783.

227. 255 of 1911; SII., III, No. 46.

228. 13 of 1908; SII., XIV, No. 8; 260 of 1911; SITI, Vol. III, No. 1003.

229. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (Second edition), p. 618.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

emple.<sup>21</sup>
meals is
māyam,
Kum.
and jag.
ard and
cumin,
orikkari

to have

ms and

temple temple. year of of Ariñg cubic

capacity

s. They one and oned.<sup>227</sup> value is lakkāśu f Rāja

on the

a, 1000-

1003. 18. rāja I<sup>230</sup> had the same value as a  $k\bar{a} \pm u$ . Another coin was the tulaipon mentioned in one of the undated inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I.<sup>232</sup>

The approximate value of land may be gleaned from the transactions recorded in some inscriptions. One quarter of a  $v\bar{e}li$  was sold for twenty-five  $kala\tilde{n}ju$  as mentioned in an inscription of the third regnal year of Parāntaka I.<sup>233</sup> Another inscription dated in the fourth regnal year of the same King also gives the same value, hundred  $kala\tilde{n}ju$  for one  $v\bar{e}li.^{234}$  An inscription of the third regnal year of Gaṇḍarāditya registers a transaction in which five  $v\bar{e}lis$  were sold for five hundred  $kala\tilde{n}jus$ . However the record mentions that another land of five  $v\bar{e}lis$  was sold for one thousand  $kala\tilde{n}ju.^{235}$  Perhaps the value was determined by the nature and fertility of the land under transaction and the convenience it had for irrigation etc.

(4)

Administration of the temple:

The administration of the temple was carried on by an assembly called Mūlapuruḍai (Mūlapariṣat). It figures in most of the inscriptions, accepting gifts for the temple and disposing of lands on its behalf. Often the procedure for making a gift followed a set pattern: the proceeds from land were deposited with the temple. Even when the donor gave as gift his own lands, they had to be cultivated and the proceeds given to the temple by the

As mentioned earlier, sheep donated for lamps to be burnt in the temple were left under the care of shepherds. It seems that the temple did not accept the whole responsibility for the gifts made. The money accepted by the temple in most cases

```
230. 236 of 1911.

231. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p. 618.

232. 254 of 1911.

233. 248 of 1911.

234. 247 of 1911.

235. 255 of 1911; SII., XIII, No. 46.

236. 227 of 1911; also 258 of 1911.
```

, seems to be a security rather than a fund for the execution of the endowment.

1

K

tl

p:

of

1.

co

ple of

2.

gol

Tir

Pũ

and

3.

land

an

24

A record of the fourth regnal year of Uttama Cōla<sup>237</sup> refers to Āvaṇakkaļam and Śrībhaṇḍāram. Āvaṇakkaļam seems to have been some sort of an archive wherein deeds were registered.<sup>238</sup> . Śrībhaṇḍāram was the temple treasury wherein money given to the temple was deposited.

An inscription assignable to the third year of Gaṇḍarāditya refers to a fine (daṇḍam) levied on the mūlapariṣat or Tiruk-kuḍamūkkil in the thirty-eighth year of Parāntaka I for the Pāṇḍippaḍai, for paying which, it sold some land to temple of Tirukkīlkōṭṭattu [parama]svāmi. The land thus disposed off is said to have been received by the village assembly as abhiṣeka dakṣiṇa from the King. This shows that the village assemblies had something to do with the administration of the endowments made to temples for specified services.<sup>239</sup>

As said earlier, a record dated in the thirty-sixth year of Rājādhirāja I registers that the mūlapariṣat of the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple was exercising some control over the temple of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiyār and Kanyā-Piḍārigaļ at Kumbhakōṇam.<sup>240</sup> The mūlapariṣat decided to remit the ūṛkkūl irai (local taxes) on some lands due from the temple of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiyār and on receiving a certain amount of money agreed to pay all the taxes due by the latter.

As mentioned earlier, an interesting epigraph assignable to the period of Āditya II dated in the third year of the King refers to Kumbhakōṇam as Śrī Kuḍandai, the Vaiṣṇava name of the place,<sup>241</sup> while in all other inscriptions the name of the place is given as Tirukkuḍamūkku. The text of the record has not so far been published but an *in situ* study of it shows that the scribe had first incised Tirukkuḍamūkku, but later struck it off to incise Śrī Kuḍandai. All inscriptions end with the word *Paṇmāhēśvara* 

<sup>237. 245</sup> of 1911.

<sup>238.</sup> SITI., Glossary.

<sup>239. 255</sup> of 1911.

<sup>240. 14</sup> of 1908.

<sup>241, 230</sup> of 1911.

of the

refers o have ered.238 ven to

rāditya Tirukor the iple of off is hiseka mblies vments

ear of asvāmi Tiruk-The some eceives due

ole to refers of the ace is so far scribe

incise ésvara

raksai but in this record and in another inscription of the same King in the temple242 the term Ayirantiruvadi, probably the Vaisnava counterpart of the former, is mentioned, again indicating the management of the temple by the Vaisnava. It appears probable that the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple was under the control of the Vaisnavas for some time in the tenth century.

(5)

## INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NAGESVARASVAMI TEMPLE KUMBHAKŌNAM

1. On the West wall of the shrine of the Goddess Tamil in Tamil script Pāṇḍya — Mārañjaḍaiyan

Registers in the 8th year (A.D. 870) of the King, a gift of 138 cows for milk and 100 kāśu for two lamps by the King to the temple of Tirukkīļkōttattu Bhatārarat Tirukkuḍamūkku. Ten nālis of milk were to be supplied daily to the temple.

The King may be identified with Varaguna II (Accn. A.D. 862). No. 13 of 1908; S.I.I., Vol. XIV, No. 8

2. South wall of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cola, Parakesarivarman

Registers in the third year of the King, a gift of 25 kalanju of gold for a lamp to the god Paramasvāmi of Tirukkīlkkōtṭam at Tirukkudamükkil, a dēvadāna of Vadakarai Pāmbūr-nādu, by Pūvan Kaṇṇan of Neḍumpuraiyūr in Malai-nāḍu.

The King may be identified with Parantaka I (A.D. 907-55) and the inscription, dated A.D. 910.

No. 248 of 1911

3. South wall of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cōļa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the fourth year of the King a gift of four mā of land for feeding a Brāhmaṇa in the temple, by Eluvan Mādēvan, a merchant of Nandipuram.

242, 231 of 1911.

The King may be identified with Parantaka I and the inscription, dated A.D. 911.

No. 247 of 1911

4. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

84

Records in the seventh year of the King a gift of 80 kalanja of gold for feeding Brāhmaṇas with uttamāgram in the temple, by an individual.

The King may be identified with Parantaka I and the inscription, dated A.D. 914-915.

No. 237 of 1911

North wall of the central shrine
 Tamil in Tamil script
 Cōļa, Madiraikonda Parakēsarivarman

Records in the 27th year of the King a gift of land and gold respectively for feeding a *Sivayōgi* with *uttamāgram* in the temple and a perpetual lamp by an individual.

Two nālis of rice, kummāyam, pulingari, two jaggery cakes (śarkarai vaṭṭu), two plaintain-fruits, four betel-leaves and arecanuts, one ālākku of ghee and one uri of curd are listed as forming uttamāgram served to one person.

The record may be assigned to Parāntaka I and dated A.D. 934. No. 232 of 1911

6. West and South walls of the central shrine
Sanskrit and Tamil, in Grantha and Tamil scripts
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 28th year of the King a gift of money for a lamp by an individual, Adangan alias Pañcavan a native of Karuvur in Milalai-kurram.

This record may be assigned to Parantaka I and dated A.D. 935 No. 246 of 1911

7. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

inscrip.

kalanju

nple, by

inscrip-

Registers in the 38th year of the King a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp by an individual, Maiñjan Kavaiyan, a native of Aiyyāru in Tirunāraiyūr-nāḍu.

The King can be identified with Parantaka I. The record may be dated A.D. 945.

No. 250 of 1911

8. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cola, Parakesarivarman, "who took Madirai (Madura) and Ilam (Ceylon)

Records in the 40th year of the King a gift of 90 sheep, for a perpetual lamp, to the God Perumānadigaļ of Tirukkīļkkōṭṭam at Tirukkuḍamūkku, by an individual.

The record can be assigned to Parāntaka I and dated A.D. 947.

No. 235 of 1911

9. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōļa, Parakēśarivarman, "who took Madirai and Ilam"

Registers a gift of land in the 40th year of the King, to the temple, for a lamp and for burning incense (*śidāri*) and *Karpūra-viļakku* in the main shrine, and for two lamps in the shrine of Sūryadēvar, by one Bhaṭṭan Mahādēva Nārāyaṇan.

The King can be identified with Parantaka I. Date of the inscription: A.D. 947.

(Karpūraviļakku: ceremonial waving of lamp lighted with camphor before the deity during worship).

No. 253 of 1911

10. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Madiraikonda Parakēsarivarman

Registers a gift of land for feeding two persons at the temple by Villavan Pēraraiyan, a native of Kāvanūr which was a dēvadāna of Āyirattaļi in Kilār-kūrram, a sub-division of Tenkarainādu.

nd gold temple

y cakes l arecaforming

.D. 934.

y for a f Karu

.D. 935.

The King can be identified with Parantaka I. Regnal year is lost.

No. 249 of 1911

11. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Registers a gift of hundred *tulaipon* (a variety of coin) to the temple by the same donor who figures in the previous record (249 of 1911). His full name is given here as Villavan Pēraraiyan alias Sidupayampāṇḍan.

The King is Parāntaka I. Year is lost. No. 254 of 1911

12. West wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script

Gift of gold for 90 sheep for burning lamps in the temple by an individual. The record includes the agreement by two shepherds that one would continue to maintain the lamps even should the other die.

The King's name and year are lost. But this record may be assigned to Parāntaka I, as Kāvanūruḍaiyān of the previous records (249 and 254 of 1911) is mentioned in this record also.

No. 241 of 1911

13. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Records a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp to the temple by one individual, Kāri Vilupparaiyan.

The King can be identified with Parantaka I; Regnal year is lost.

No. 238 of 1911

14. South wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil Script
Cōļa, Rājakēsarivarman

Records in the third year of the King a sale of five vēlis of land in Arisalūr by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil to the

year

o the

(249

aiyan

temple for 500 kalañju of gold and another five vēlis of land for 1000 kalañju in order to pay a part of 3,000 kalañju levied upon them as a fine (daṇḍam) by Maduraikoṇḍa Uḍaiyār (Parāntaka I) in his 38th year. Also mentions Pāṇḍipaḍai and (the temple of) Jalaśayana.

The King may be identified with Gandaraditya (A.D. 950-57), and the record may be dated A.D. 953.

No. 255 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 46

15. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script Cōļa Rājakēsarivarman

Records in the third year of the King a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple by Kumaran Tūduvan, a Kaikkōļa resident of Tañjāvūr who was a member of the Vīrasoļa-teriñja-Kaikkōļar.

The sheep are left in charge of two shepherds who are to supply 7  $n\bar{a}$  is and one uri of ghee every month for the purpose. Each has to supply 3  $n\bar{a}$  is and 3  $\bar{a}$  in  $\bar{a}$  which is one half of the required ghee for every month.

The King may be identified with Gandaraditya and the inscription may be dated A.D. 953.

No. 228 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 45

16. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script Cōḷa Rājakēsarivarman

Records a sale of land, in the third year of the King, by the assembly of Tirukkudamūkkil, to Arayan Kalangāmalai, a vellāla resident of Tāñjāvūr, who endowed it to the temple for feeding one Sivayōgi daily with uttamāgram in the temple.

The King can be identified with Gandarāditya and the record dated A.D. 953.

No. 227 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 44

17. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script Cōļa, ..... sarivarman

Records in the sixth year of the King, a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp to the temple by Ingal-Mādevan Kodai Māran, a native

e by two even

y be ; re-

one

year

of the 88

of Ingal-nāḍu. Two shepherds share the sheep, so as to maintain half a lamp (araivilakku) each.

The inscription may be assigned to Rājakēsarivarman Gaṇḍarāditya.

No. 223 of 1911

18. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa Rājakēsarivarman

Registers a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple by Perungudi-kilān Bālāśriyan Amarāsitan Madhurāntakan.

The Rājakēsarivarman mentioned in the inscription may be Gaṇḍarāditya. The regnal year is lost.

No. 239 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 336

19. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the second year of the King a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp to the temple, by Kaḍigāvan Kaḷḷān, one of Vīraśōḷateriñja-Kaikkōḷar.

The record may be assigned to Ariñjaya (A.D. 956-57) and dated A.D. 957.

No. 251 of 1911

20. West and south walls of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the second year of the King, a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple by Dēvan Rājādittan, one of Dānatonga-teriñja-Kaikkōļar.

This record may be assigned to Ariñjaya and dated A.D. 957. No. 242 of 1911

d

2

21. South wall of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the fifteenth year of the King, gift of a lamp to the temple by an individual, Kalayan Māṇikkam.

tain

nan

ple

be

for ñja-

and

for of

957.

.to

The record may be assigned to Sundara Cola (A.D. 956-73) and dated A.D. 971.

No. 252 of 1911

22. North wall of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the second year of the King a sale of land to Kādan Āchchan who deposited the amount in the temple for maintaining a perpetual lamp.

This record may be assigned to Aditya II and dated A.D. 958. No. 224 of 1911

23. North wall of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cōļa, Parakēsarivarman 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

Records in the third year of the King, a grant of land to the temple by a chief Śirringaṇuḍaiyān Kōyilmayilai alias Parāntaka Muvēndavēļān for expounding the system of Prabhākara.

The King can be identified with Aditya II and the record dated A.D. 959.

No. 233 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 200

24. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōļa, Parakāsarivarman

'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

Records in the third year of the King a sale of land by the assembly of Srī Kuḍandai to Kōyilmayilai alias Parāntaka Mūvēdavēļān of Sirringan in Inga-nāḍu, for feeding twenty apūrvis versed in the Vēdas and five śivayōgis in the temple.

The King can be identified with Aditya II and the record dated A.D. 959.

No. 230 of 1911

25. North wall of the central shrine

Cola, Parakesarivarman, 'who took the head of the Paṇḍya'

J. 12

Records in the 4th year of the King a gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally among two manrādis, for a lamp to the temple by peṇḍāṭṭi Dēvayan Palalakkan alias Avaniśikhāmaṇi, a resident of Kilai-vēlam (quarter) at Tañjāvūr. The donor was connected with Queen Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Kilānaḍigal, mother of Āṇaimēṛruñ-jiṇār (Rājāditya).

The King can be identified with Aditya II and the record dated A.D. 960.

No. 226 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 201

26. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script Cōḷa Parakēsarivarman 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

Records in the fourth year of the King a gift of land to the temple by Kōyilmayilai alias Parāntaka Mūvēndavēļān, for feeding 50 Brāhmaṇas in the temple.

The King can be identified with Aditya II and the record dated A.D. 960.

No. 231 of 1911

27. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Côla, Parakēsarivarman, 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

3

l

d

3

fo

(

Records in the fifth year of the King a gift of gold for feeding one Śwayōgin daily in the temple, by Pērayan Tribhuvanasundari who was living in the quarter of Tañjāvūr called Palaiyavēļam.

The King can be identified with Aditya II, and the record dated A.D. 961.

No. 225 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 204

28. West and North walls of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the fourth year of the King a gift of land for a perpetual lamp in the temple for the merit of Kāri Kolamban.

The King can be identified with Madhurāntaka Uttamacoļa (A.D. 970-985). Astronomical details given in the record correspond to 22nd April, A.D. 975

No. 245 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 129

distrible by 29. Tamil in Tamil script ent of Cōla,

Cōļa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the 5th year of King a gift of land to the temple for the provision of bringing water thrice a day from the River Kāvērī, for bathing the deity, by Mādēvan Kaṇḍi, a resident of the Karralipirāṭṭiyār Vēļam, a quarter of Tañjāvūr.

The King can be identified with Uttamacola. Astronomical details of the record correspond to June 16, A.D. 975.

(Not reported in any publication)

30. West and South walls of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsariyarman

Registers in the fifth year of the King, a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple, by Dēvan Nakkan, a shepherd.

The King may be identified with Uttamacola and the record may be dated A.D. 975.

No. 244 of 1911

31. West and South walls of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the fifth year of the King a gift of sheep for a lamp in the temple by Sattan Madevan.

The King may be identified with Uttama Cola and the record dated A.D. 975.

No. 243 of 1911

32. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the eighth year of the King a gift of 96 sheep a lamp in the temple by Śrī Uttamaśōla Nambirāṭṭiyār (Uttamacōla's Queen).

The King is Uttama Cola and the record can be dated A.D. 978.

No. 234 of 1911

o the feed-

nected

erruñ-

ecord

ecord

va' eding ndari um.

ecord

or a

acōļa rres92

North wall of the central shrine
 Tamil in Tamil script
 Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 8th year of the King a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp in the temple by an individual, (whose name is lost) one of the Uḍaiyār Gaṇḍarāditta-teriñja-Kaikkōļar.

ca

37

ar

of

da

38

ta

th ta:

Ti

an

De

39

bi

an

Su

kā.

tōi

12:

The King is Uttama Cola. Astronomical details given in the record correspond to 30th January, A.D. 979.

No. 229 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 131

34. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōļa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 13th year of the King a gift of land by Vîranārāyaṇiyār, Queen of Uttamacōļa, for providing garlands of flowers to the temple.

The King is Uttama Cola and the astronomical details given in the inscription correspond to 9th June, A.D. 982.

No. 240 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 137

35. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōļa Rājakēsarivarman

Registers in the 5th year of the King a gift of 70 <u>Ilakkāśū</u>, to the temple for offerings to a silver image (veļļi tirumēni) by Dēvan Kuppai, one of Vīraśōla-teriñja-Kaikkōlar. Also mentions the 3rd year of the Parakēsari, "who took the head of the Pāṇḍya" (Āditya II).

This record can be assigned to Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1014), and dated A.D. 990.

No. 236 of 1911

36. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Parakēsarivarman alias Rājēndra Cōladēva

Records in the 6th year of the King a gift of land for offerings to the deity Selvappirān, in the temple of Tirukkīl-kōṭṭam-Uḍaiyār by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil in Pāmbūrnāḍu, a subdivision of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

This record can be assigned to Rājēndra I (A.D. 1012-44) and can be dated A.D. 1018.

No. 256 of 1911

37. East wall of the Sūryanārāyaņa shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cola, Rajendra Coladeva

This record begins with the introduction "Tirumanni valara", and records in the 8th year of the King a gift of money for offerings to the shrine of Candraśekharadeva.

The King can be identified with Rājēndra I and the record dated A.D. 1020.

No. 15 of 1908

38. North wall of the Sūryanārāyaṇa shrine Tamil in Tamil script Cola, Vijayarājendradeva

The inscription commences with the introduction 'Tingalertaru', and records in the 36th year of the King, the proceedings of the village assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkku, which decided on the tax remission on some of the lands belonging to the temples of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiya Mahādēvar and Kanyapiḍārigaļ.

The King can be identified with Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-54) and the astronomical details of the record correspond to 29th December, A.D. 1053.

No. 14 of 1908

39. North wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine Tamil in Tamil script

Cola, Tribhuvanacakravartin Tribhuvanavīradēva "who was pleased to take Madurai and Ilam"

Records in the 35th year of the King that Alvar Tiruppurambiyam Udaiyān alias Sembiyan Pallavaraiyan of Vēļūr had set up an image called Tiruppurambiyam-Udaiyar in the eastern enclosure of the temple of Tirukkīlkōṭṭam Uḍaiyār and presented 17,000 kāśu for offerings and lamps to that image and for a makaratöraņa to Tirukkīļkötţam Uḍaiyār.

The King can be identified with Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1218). The record can be dated A.D. 1213.

No. 260 of 1911; S.I.T.I., No. 1003

p for

) one

n the

d by ds of

given

ū, to ) by tions dya"

014),

rings aiyār sub40. North wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōļa, Rājakēsarivarman alias Tribhuvanacakravarti Rājarājadēva

R

in

sti

ill

M

tiv

cu

of fol

cri

mo

if a

his

no

eve

it l

abo

pui nit

the

nar

gal

Hin Pro one

for

to t

eve

Begins with the introduction "Śir-manni irunāngu tisai vilanga" and records in the 20th year of the King, a gift of land for repairs and jewels to the shrine of Maḍandaipāganāyanār by Kūttāḍum Tiruñānasambandar Maḍandaipāgan. The record also refers to a gift of land to the shrine of Kūttāḍum Tiruñānasambandēśvaram, within the temple, by the same individual.

The King can be identified with Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-56) and the record dated A.D. 1236.

No. 258 of 1911; S.I.T.I., No. 1005

41. North wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōļa, Tribhuvanacakravarti Rājarājadēva

Records in the 22nd year of the King a gift of land for providing for certain festivals in the shrine of Madandaipaga-Nāyanār situated in the temple, by Brāhmaṇa lady.

The King can be identified with Rājarāja III and the record dated A.D. 1238.

No. 257 of 1911; S.I.T.I., No. 1004

42. North wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Vijayanagar, Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Konēridēva Mahārāja

Registers that Timmaṇan Maḍandaipāga Kongarāyan, son of Sēdirāya-Māṇikkam, was granted food, house and land by the authorities managing the temple of Maḍandaipāga-Nāyanār at Tirukkuḍamūkku, for the services rendered by him to the temple.

Date of the record: Saka 1412; A.D. 1490.

No. 259 of 1911; S.I.T.I., No. 1002

<sup>\*</sup>I am under obligation to the Government Epigraphist for India, of the unpublished inscriptions in the Nageswaraswami temple that are in his rayalu, M.A., Research Scholars working under me for their help in finalising the manuscript for the press.

## Rammohan Roy and Bal Gangadhar Tilak on Social Legislation

BY

#### R. C. MAJUMDAR

An unreasoning blind faith in the unique achievements and infallibility of great leaders operates as a serious handicap to the study and research in the history of Modern India. This is best illustrated by the spirit of idolizing Raja Rammohan Roy and Mahatma Gandhi, two of the greatest Indians flourishing, respectively, at the beginning and the end of this period. What is more curious is the fact that some of the special traits in the character of these two which made them really great are sacrificed by their followers and devotees in order to shield their heroes against any criticism or comment. The most distinguished quality of Rammohan was the spirit of rationality as against blind faith. Yet, if anything is said about him which clashes with the current view, his followers do not argue on the basis of facts, but simply denounce the critic. Similarly Mahatma Gandhi put truth above everything else, but his disciples fight shy of this great ideal if it has even a remote chance of demolishing some of their pet views about the greatness and infallibility of their Guru, and fight, to put the heretic critic, unbeliever in Gandhi's infallibility and divinity, hors he combat in any way they can.

More than twelve years ago I challenged in a public lecture the truth of some of the current views about Rammohan Roy, namely that he was (1) the pioneer of English Education in Bengal; (2) the founder of, or mainly instrumental in founding, the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817; and (3) the father of the Bengali Prose. Abuses were showered upon me from certain quarters and one leading Bengali Periodical carried on a vile propaganda of abuse for about six months, all the while refusing to publish any reply to the critics. The campaign did not cease till a Bengali Monthly was good enough to publish an article of mine on the subject. But even though the other points were conceded, the credit for found-

rine

ajadēva iļanga"

repairs ttādum rs to a

varam,

216-56)

ine

orovid-

āyanār

record

ine

a son of

oy the nār at emple.

India, copies in his 1bbalising ing the Hindu College was still given to Rammohan Roy. Apart from several articles in different Journals — including one in the Presidency College Magazine — I wrote an elaborate paper on the subject which was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (Vol. XXI, 1955, p. 39). Since then it is generally accepted that Rammohan Roy played no part in the foundation of the Hindu College. But if a cat has nine lives, historical errors have one hundred. So, even today, distinguished professors of History give credit to Rammohan for founding the Hindu College.

th

me

of

Ra

po

A

no

Go

gre

me

wa

she

is

Wi

182

lati

wo be,

it

bu

the

ma

Co

for

the

not

Wit

ed

qui

ind

me

the

tak

ent

J,

Similarly my statement in the Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century (p. 54), that Rammohan was opposed to the legislative enactment prohibiting Sati was vigorously challenged by a writer in the Radical Humanist, who pitied my ignorance on even such a well-known topic. Fortunately, the Radical Humanist had the courtesy to publish my rejoinder and then the writer had the goodness to admit his error with the observation that such a thing would appear almost incredible in view of the general attitude of Rammohan Roy on the question.

Quite recently, Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar has offered an apologia for Rammohan in his book History of Indian Social and Political Ideas from Rammohan to Dayananda, published in January, 1967 (p. 8). In my book refered to above I pointed out that Rammohan "preferred steady pursuit of persuasive methods to any sudden change by legislation." Dr. B. Majumdar interprets Rammohan's action in a somewhat different way and says, "Rammohan was in favour of abolishing the practice "quietly and unobservedly" and not stopping it altogether immediately." He then comments:

"Rammohan Roy's cautious policy has been mistaken by some scholars as the denial of the right of a foreign Government to interfere in the social reform of the Hindus. Dr. R. C. Majumdar compares his attitude with that of Tilak with regard to the Age of Consent Bill and observes: 'People who blamed him (Tilak) hardly realised that Tilak merely continued the traditions of Rammohan Roy, the pioneer of social reforms, followed by many Hindu leaders throughout the century.' But the comparison is entirely misleading because Tilak carried on a vigorous propaganda against

Apart in the on the Society, enerally ndation errors of Hindu

e Nineto the llenged norance ral Huen the rvation of the

red and ial and I Januut that tods to erprets
"Ramnd unIe then

y some nent to jumdar ne Age (Tilak) f Ram-Hindu

Hindu entirely against the Age of Consent Bill even after its enactment whereas Rammohan Roy submitted to the House of Lords a petition in favour of the Regulation in July, 1831...."

The logic of this argument is difficult to understand. Rammohan thought the legislation to be wrong when it was proposed it did not cease to be wrong after it was actually passed. Any action of Rammohan after the passing of the legislation does not alter the fact that in his opinion it was wrong for the British Government to effect social reforms by legislation. Dr. B. Majumdar has evaded this main issue by omitting to explain the real ground on which Rammohan opposed the legislation. It was not merely dictated by a policy of caution and gradual abolition, but was based on the fundamental principle that no social legislation should be undertaken by the British Government in India. This is quite clear from the following passage in the minute of Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of Sati, dated 8, November, 1829. Referring to the views of Rammohan on the proposed legislation he says: Rammohan "apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension, that the reasoning would be, 'While the English were contending for power, they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration and to respect our religion, but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their profession, and the next will probably be, like the Muhammadan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion."

Now it is agreed on all hands that Tilak opposed the Age of Consent Bill "particularly on the ground that it was not proper for Government to interfere with the accepted social customs of the people," and his "main contention was that social reform should not be imposed upon the people. It should be evolved from within." If we compare it with the opinion of Rammohan, recorded by Bentinck, "that the practice (Sati) might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police" and not by any legislative enactment, is it very wrong to draw the inference that Tilak continued the traditions of Rammohan Roy, for which Dr. B. Majumdar has taken me to task. His further conclusion that the comparison is entirely misleading because Rammohan carried on agitation against

<sup>1.</sup> D. P. Karmarkar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak — A Study, p. 43.
2. Ibid., p. 44.

98

Sati is likely to create the impression that Tilak was against the the principle of the Bill and did not make any effort to remove the evil for which the Age of Consent Bill was passed. Nothing can be further from truth. In a public meeting "Tilak proposed that people should voluntarily come forward to bind themselves to agree to certain measures of social reform and when the number reached at least 200, suitable arrangements should be made for legislation applicable only to the signatories. The measures of social reform that he proposed were, that girls should not be married before completing 16 years, that boys should be married before completion of 20 years, that men should not marry after 40 years of age and if they wanted to marry they should marry a widow, that there should be complete prohibition, that the custom of dowry should be put an end to, that a person should contribute 1/10th of his income for the promotion of these social reforms and that a widow should not be tonsured. This suggestion was not acceptable to the social reformers as being difficult of achievement."3

After explaining all these proposals in a speech Tilak requested his friends to take a solemn pledge to abide by them once they were considered and approved. It is noteworthy that G. K. Gokhale, Hari Narayan Apte and many others signed this pledge, but nothing came out of it. As regards the Age of Consent Bill, one of the reasons advanced by Tilak against it was that all such legislation would remain a dead-letter and that social reform should be primarily achieved by educating public opinion, the initiative in this respect being taken by the educated Indians. The result of the passing of the Bill certainly justified this view.

In conclusion it may be added that in his opposition to the Age of Consent Bill Tilak was supported by many eminent persons including Romesh Chandra Dutt, W. C. Bonnerjee and Surendra Nath Banerji.4 I have already pointed out that long before Tilak and since the days of Rammohan Roy there was a distinct school of opinion against legislation for social reform,5 and in opposing the Age of Consent Bill Tilak merely followed the tradition and cannot be held to be guilty of an unreasoning spirit of orthodoxy.

and Fres ed. throu

Early

and dustr the p have undis

D Saura gaps India. extrer new Stone

tion r

Indo-A Homeno Indian 3.

Dating

4.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., pp. 43-4.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., p. 44; T. V. Parvate, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, p. 40.

<sup>5.</sup> R. C. Majumdar, Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 68-9.

## Pre- and Proto-History in India and Pakistan: New Discoveries and Fresh Interpretations

BY

#### H. D. SANKALIA

Since 1962,1 new discoveries have been made both in India and Pakistan in the various branches of pre- and proto-history. Fresh interpretations of the old and new data have been attempted. Both these have helped in understanding the progress of Man through the millennia.

Early Stone Age

ist the emove othing

oposed

selves umber de for

res of

mared be-

after

marry

ustom

ribute

is and as not

hieve-

**iested** 

they

Gok-

ledge,

Bill, such

eform

, the

The

o the

rsons endra

Tilak chool

osing

and

loxy.

atury,

A deliberate attempt has been made in exploring new areas, and in trying to understand the evolution of the hand-axe industry, and further, as in Africa, efforts have been made to locate the primary sites, that is sites where Early Man was likely to have lived for some time and his traces (tools) have remained

Discoveries of hand-axes and cleavers on basalt and chert in Saurashtra<sup>2</sup> and South Gujarat<sup>3</sup> have demoved the two important gaps that existed in the distribution of this culture in Western India. Now only Kutch and Sind, which from the northern extremities of this area, remain. However, as a result of the new discoveries it has become feasible to connect, the Early Stone Age of India with that of East Africa,4 though this connection tion remains unsubstantiated geologically.

<sup>1.</sup> See, Sankalia, H. D., "Prehistory and Protohistory in India," The Indo-Asian Culture, Vol. XI, (1963), No. 3, pp. 269-78; No. 4, pp. 355-64. 2. Sankalia, H. D., "Early Stone Age in Saurashtra," Miscelanea en Homenaje al Abate Henri Breuil, tomo II, Barcelona, 1965, pp. 327-46 and Indian Archael.

Indian Archaeology — A Review, (IAR), 1963-64, 1-21 (cyclo-styled copy).

<sup>4.</sup> Dr. K. P. Oakley had suggested this possibility in Frameworks for Dating Prehistoric Man.

Intensive explorations have also been begun in Eastern India, Here recently the Districts of Bankura, Purulia and also Midnapore, West Bengal,<sup>5</sup> have yielded one of the finest collections of advanced Acheulian tools, and these too on refractory material like quartz. Having seen these quartz ovates one wonders how far raw material did really affect man's skill!

Pebble tools and hand-axes have also been discovered in the Banda, Mirzapur and Varanasi Districts of Uttar Pradesh, and Monghyr District of Bihar. Likewise, such explorations in the Upper Son Valley of Madhya Pradesh, parts of which are today heavily forested, in the East and West Khandesh Districts of Maharashtra, and in the Districts of Adilabad, Nalgonda, Nellore, Cuddappa and Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh, have brought to light genuine pebble tools (see Fig. 1) of true Soanian type, as well as small hand-axes, unfortunately all occurring together with hand-axes and cleavers of Abbevillio-Acheulian character.

The excavations in the pebbly gravel bed in the Nala, joining the Ghataprabha river from the left at Anagwadi in Bijapur District, Mysore State, 11 have shown that:

- (i) the lowermost pebbly gravel is the horizon of the Early Stone Age industry.
- (ii) the assemblage is made up of varied forms of handaxes and cleavers and other tool-types showing advance ed Acheulian characters and besides contains unusual and unique forms of tool-types showing clear evidence of hafting, notches in the anterior portion (Fig. 2) and beak-shaped points.
- (iii) all the tools are almost in mint condition, thereby suggesting little transport and the situation of factor site in the nearby surrounding region.

<sup>5.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, 1-83, 87, 94.

<sup>6.</sup> IAR., 1961-62, p. 54; 1962-63, pp. 32, 37.

<sup>7.</sup> IAR., 1962-63, p. 5.

<sup>8.</sup> IAR., 1961-62, p. 24; 1962-63, p. 11.

<sup>9.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, 1.47.

<sup>10.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, I, 1-3.

<sup>11.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, 1.55.

India,
d also
st colractory
es one

Il!
red in
radesh,
ions in
ich are
Districts
lgonda,
prought
n type,

cter. joining ur Dis

e Early

ogether

f handadvancunusualevidence 2) and

thereby factors Similarly, excavations on the Kan river, near Bhadne, Dhulia District, and at Gangapur, Nasik, both in Maharashtra, have helped to mark off the hand-axe-cleaver industry from the later Middle Stone Age culture. At Gangapur, the tools were associated with the remains of Bos.

Excavations at the famous site of Attirampakkam, Chingle-put District, Madras State, 12 showed that contrary to the prevailing opinion, the Acheulian hand-axes and cleavers were found embedded in the clay which is nothing but weathered basal shale and were quite fresh. This deposit in its turn was covered by detrital laterite gravel and contained tools like points, scrapers and longish flake blades. The overlying brownish silt was sterile, but had microliths right on the top.

The most intriguing has been, however, the excavation in the gravels at Mahadev Piparia, Narsinghpur District, Madhya Pradesh.<sup>13</sup> Earlier it had been claimed that the basal pebbly gravel rested against the red-greasy clay, and that this bed showed an evolution of the hand-axe industry from a pebble tool industry, here called Mahadevian—after the type site—to the developed Acheulian stage.

The excavation showed that the basal pebble bed is overlaid by two different silts which, in their turn, are capped by red kankary clay (Fig 3). Further though the percentage of pebble tools is certainly more, the pebble bed contains hand-axes and cleavers, and a small percentage of Middle Stone Age tools in chert and quartzite. That is a clear proof that quite early in its formation, this bed was contaminated, for it is capped by thick deposits of sand, gravels and silt. This serves as a lesson viz. that we should exclusively depend upon so-called in situ gravel deposits.

While trying to locate the primary site in the Narmada Valley, efforts were made to understand how the basal bouldery gravel was framed (Fig. 4), and thus have some idea of the location of the old bed of the Narmada. This preliminary investiga-

<sup>12.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, 1-37.

<sup>13.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, 1-26.

tion suggests that a part, at least, of the boulder gravel might have been deposited by colluvial action and not as river aggradation. A very recent re-examination of the Narmada at Maheshwar, Khargone District, by Dr. R. V. Joshi, Shri S. N. Rajaguru and the writer showed that in this region the huge boulder bed was largely of alluvial nature, having a width of nearly 3 to 4 miles. While on this point, it may be mentioned that huge deposits of silt, sand and coarse gravel occur in all the Peninsular rivers of India, almost right upto the sources of these rivers. And it is an important point to be decided, viz. whether these formations are due to river aggradation and if so what led to the aggradation—climatic or tectonic movements or both.

0

f

b fa

tr

fι

P

th

ca

A

39

lik

ha

th

a Cl

W

gra

giv

Sto

Res

#### Middle Stone Age

The Middle Stone Age identified as a separate phase in the Stone Age cultures of India, some 12 years ago, is also found to be of very wide extent. Not only a number of areas within India not hitherto known have given evidence of this culture, but excavations in the Sanghau cave, near Peshwar<sup>14</sup> in West Pakistan, have yielded stratified deposits of this culture. And it has been thought by the excavator that this part of Pakistan formed a link in the passage of this culture from Iran or West Asia to India. How far the prophecy will come true cannot be said. Professor Boriskovsky, a leading Russian palaeolithic archaeologist, having studied the collections at the Deccan College, thought that the Indian Middle Stone Age industries were comparable with those of Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. We should note in this context the occurrence of stratified tools in a terrace at Dehra, Kangra District, <sup>15</sup> East Panjab.

In South Rajasthan such stratified evidence of the Middle Stone Age has come from the Berach and Kadmali in Udaipur and Chitorgarh Districts. Here certain tool types of the Early Stone Age, such as hand-axe and core scraper, continue in the

<sup>14.</sup> Dani, A. H., "Sanghau Cave Excavation" in Ancient Pakistan, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 150 and p. 50 for contacts.

<sup>15.</sup> Mohapatra, G. C. et al. "Some Flake Tools in East Punjab etc." in Current Science, March 20, 1964, pp. 178, 180, and Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Silver Jubilee Volume, 1966, pp. 224, 228.

403

## PRE- & PROTO-HISTORY IN INDIA & PAKISTAN

Middle Stone Age as well. Stray tools have been noted in the Thar desert. 16 Such tools have also been discovered in Kutch. 17

The new distributional data from India have not only confirmed the stratigraphical succession of this culture, but have shown that in areas like the Narmada Valley, it might have developed from the Early Stone Age. For here are found large discoid cores of quartzite, the flakes from which seem to have been utilized for making scrapers, etc.

Explorations in Madhya Pradesh along the Narmada have shown that the tools of this culture, though usually small, could be fairly large and probably included burins as well. 18 Similar factory sites are situated elsewhere. One at Kovalli, Bijapur District, is amongst the outcrop of cherty limestone. Large and careful collection has given an insight into the nature of the industry. 19 Palaeontological evidence has also been accumulating for placing the culture in the late Pleistocene, whereas two C-14 dates of carbonized wood buried deep in the gravels of the Mula river, Ahmednagar District, have given the date between 31,000 and 39,000 B.P.<sup>20</sup>

Previously typical European Upper Palaeolithic blade tools like the Gravette and Chatelperronian blades and burins (Fig. 5) had been reported from Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. But these had occurred in a mixed deposit. Now on the Rallakalava, a small tributary of the Swarnamukhi, near Vedallacheruvu in Chittoor District,21 such tools have been found in a pure form, whereas the two earlier industries occur in the pebble and fine gravels respectively. Further work in 1967 has yielded over 600 tools along the foothills in the same region. Such an occurrence gives ground for assuming a cultural stage between the Middle Stone Age and the Late Stone Age.

ght

dash-

ru

ed

4

its

ers

is

ns

he

to

ia

ut

n,

en ık

a.

 $\mathfrak{r}$ 

ıg 1e

se

κt

a

e

ır y e

I,

n

<sup>16.</sup> Mohapatra, et al.

<sup>17.</sup> IAR., 1963-64, 1-21.

<sup>18.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, I-24.

<sup>19.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, I-56.

<sup>20.</sup> Information from Shri D. P. Agrawal, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. C-14 Date List — August, 1966. (Cyclostyled copy.).

### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Late Stone Age

Regarding the Late Stone Age varied evidence has come forth. Excavations at Sangankal, Bellary District,<sup>22</sup> definitely place it between the Neolithic and an Earlier Stone Age industry. (Fig. 6) Though this layer is not carbon-dated, the overlying Neolithic is now dated by C-14 dates around 2,000 B.C. So the Late Stone Age material found in a weathered soil, at the base of a colluvial deposit which on weathering afterwards developed a fairly mature red-brown soil, might be at least of 3,000 B.C. And this seems to be its age throughout the South. In fact, the evidence of the Teri Sites, Tinnevelly, District, indicates a much earlier age.

At Adamgarh, Hoshangabad District, Madhya Pradesh,23 microliths were found associated with pottery in black soil, whereas in another rock-shelter in Raisen District, near Bhopal, they were found with painted pottery and iron.<sup>24</sup> In a rock shelter at Lekhahia, Mirzapur District,25 Uttar Pradesh, a little pottery with very small microliths was found on the top layer in a thin section of three feet (over 1 m.) but lower down there was no pottery, and the tools were bigger and non-geometric in nature. Some climatic change is also suggested by the varying nature of the layers. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the full report on the excavations at Langhnaj,26 Mehsana District, Gujarat, dealing with the human skeletal materials, fauna and the archaeological material has been published in three parts. Though not yet absolutely dated, the fauna does not include domesticated species, and the culture seems to be of a hunting people, who lived at one place and buried the dead in a flexed posture.

Before turning to the Neolithic problem in Peninsular India, a reference must be made to the discovery of a rich Neolithic culture during the last 5 years, besides Burzahom, Anantpur Dis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

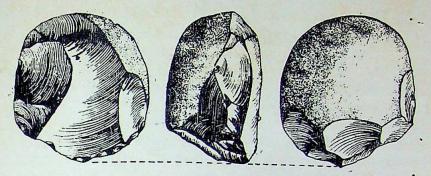
<sup>22.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, I, 53-55, and Sankalia, H. D., "Prehistoric Migrations in South India," Times of India, 28-3-1965.

<sup>23.</sup> IAR., 1960-61, p.

<sup>24.</sup> Information from Mr. J. Jacobson.

<sup>25.</sup> IAR., 1963-64, I-75.

<sup>26.</sup> Excavations at Langhnaj, Archaeology, Part I, by H. D. Sankalia; The Fauna, Part II, by Juliet Clutton-Brock; Part III, The Human Remains by Sophie Ehrhardt and K. A. R. Kennedy.



me ely ry. ing the ase bed

.C. the ich

oil, oal, ter ery hin no of full ija-the igh ted who

dia, thic Dis-

ions

alia;

ains

Fig. 1. Pebble tools of the Soanian type from Cuddappa

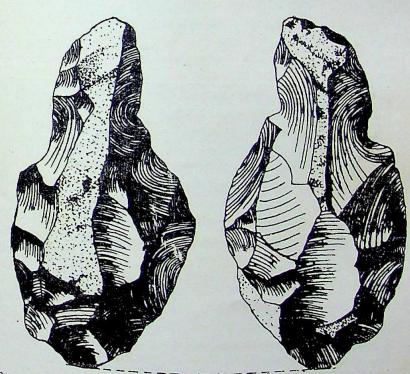


Fig. 2. Handaxe from Anagwadi, Bijapur District, with notches evidently for hafting

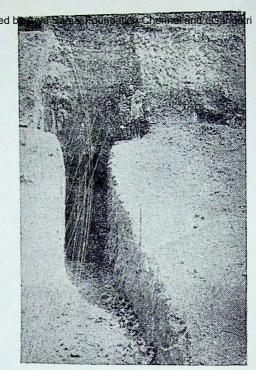


Fig. 3. Excavations at Mahadev Piparia, Narsinghpur District, M.P., showing from bottom upwards two silts capped by red-greasy clay

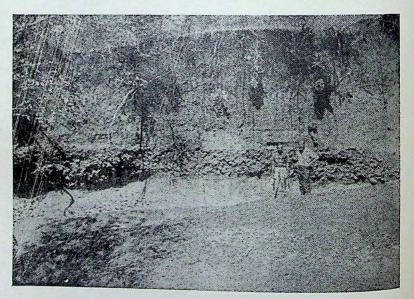
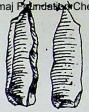


Fig. 4. Boulder bed resting over the rock and capped by red clay.
Pira Nala, Narsinghpur District, M.P.



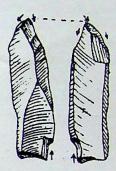


Fig. 5. Burins from Chittoor

owing

# BANGALTOTA, TRENCH I, BELLARY-MOKA ROAD 1965. SECTION FACING SOUTH

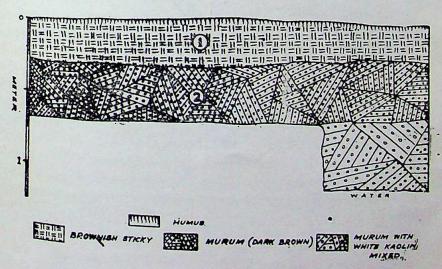


FIG. 6

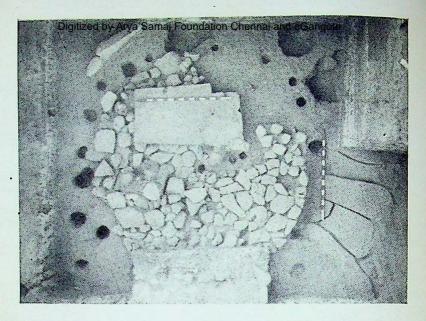
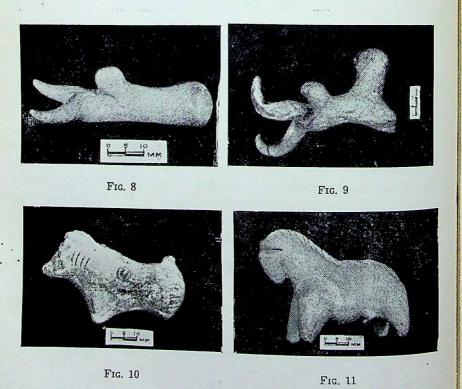


Fig. 7. Plan of a round hut exposed in the Early Neolithic levels at Sangankal, Bellary District



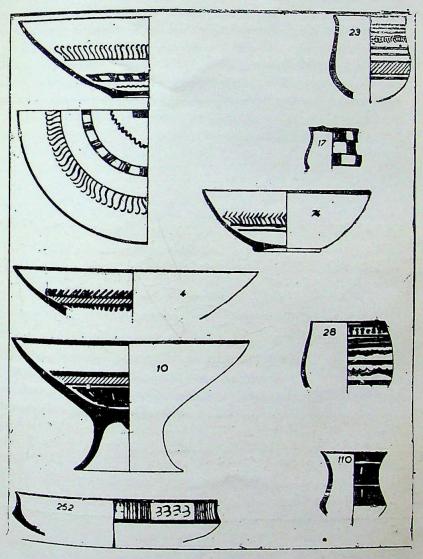


Fig. 12

tric of in Tak 1½ proby pla the sto aw ind tat:

ed pet the

Ch We to

Th

fro su de go: Ex an

Hil

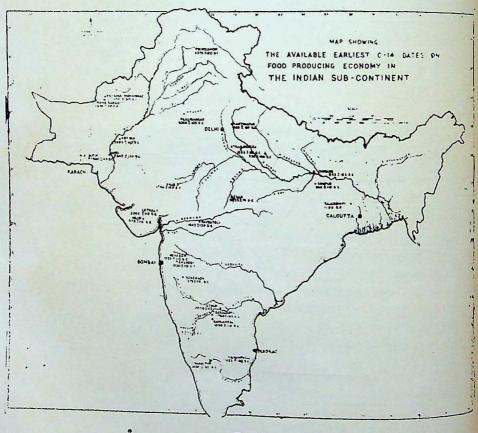


Fig. 13

trict in Kashmir.27 Excavations at the site, 24 km. North-West of Srinagar have given the first clear indication of a pit-dwelling in India. These pits are cut into the Upper Karewa (ancient lake-beds) and are roughly circular or oval in plan, and about 1½ to 2½ mm. (4 to 7 ft.) in depth. Postholes suggest that probably the roof which was presumably thatched was supported by wooden posts. In structures of Phase II were found mudplatform with partitions and storage pits. Burnt material over the successive floors suggests destruction by fire. Besides ground stone axes, black burnished pottery, occur bone tools, such as awls, harpoons and arrow-heads, finest so far found and they are indeed unique in India. The dead were buried within the habitation. On the five human skeletons in Phase II was found red ochre (Pl. XXVIA). Both primary and secondary interments, and in the former case crouched as well as extended, were followed. There is evidence of trepanning on the skill of Phase II. The pet animals—like wild dog, wolf and ibex—were also buried with the dead.28

It is certain that the Kashmir Neolithic has affinities with the Chinese on the East, and with Central Asian and Iranian on the West, but the exact role of these countries in its formation has yet to be determined.

#### The Neolithic

No clear evidence for a pure Neolithic culture is yet available from Peninsular India, though in all other respects it appears that such cultures denote primitive or early agricultural communities depending also on animal husbandry in which besides cattle, pig, goat/sheep, and probably also the horse, played an important part. Excavations at Tekkalakota<sup>29</sup> and Sangankal<sup>30</sup> in Bellary District, and at Hallur<sup>31</sup> in Dharwar District have exposed a few house plans, from which it is clear that the houses were usually round,

<sup>27.</sup> Nine sites have been discovered in the Jhelum Valley, IAR., 1962-63, p. 9, pl. XX-XXVII.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid., pl. XXVI.

<sup>29.</sup> IAR., 1963-64, I-43; and Nagaraja Rao, M. S., and Malhotra, K. C., Hill Dwellers of Tekkalkota, Poona, 1965.

<sup>30.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, I-53. 31. Ibid., p. 57.

J. 14

Po

at

tiv

Pe

pai

of

to

and

tho

bu

Sa

hea

ind

Ha

dis

pre

Dis

the Inc

rep

bor

sec

on

and

Ha Ha

fro affi Wh

has

an

Fig

raised on wooden posts (Fig. 7). These were covered with split bamboo screen, and occasionally the walls were fully or parily covered with clay mixed with cowdung. The roofs were presumably conical and invariably thatched. Some of these huts were 15 ft (5 metre) in width. The floors were levelled by placing tlat topped stones and then covered with clay and pastered with lime. The · minimum "furniture" inside these huts consisted of a fire place made of three stones and a storage jar which stood on three terracotta clay legs. Within the empty space (i.e. the base of the storage jar and the floor) were kept ground stone axes, and sling stones. Though a large amount of animal bones, mostly of cattle suggests dependence on animal food, still the discovery of Dolichos biflorus (hulgi) and Elcusine coracona (Ragi)32 from Hallur shows that these grains which form the staple food of the farmers in South India were probably first used in Neolithic times, i.e., about 1,500 B.C.

C-14 dates from Tekkalakota, Hallur and T. Narsipur along with the earlier ones from Utnur prove the existence of this culture during 2,100 B.C.—1,400 B.C.33 with a probable origin in the Bellary-Raichur area, and later migration to the South and North respectively.

However, most significant is the identification of small bones from Period I, Phase I, of horse by Dr. Alur.34 For this might help in associating these Neolithic folk with the Aryans.

Small-scale excavations in Maharashtra,34a and Madhya Pradesh confirm this northward movement of the ground stoneaxe culture, and also show the existence of several closely-knit cultures in which painted pottery and short blade industry figure invariably. C-14 dates for Eran, Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh are available, the earlier of which goes back to 1800 B.C.35

32. From a Ms. report by Dr. Vishnu-Mittre.

34. From a letter by Dr. Alur.

<sup>33.</sup> C-14 dates by Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. Some not yet published. For references see below.

<sup>34</sup>a. Deo, S. B. and Ansari, Z. D., Chalcolithic Chandoli, Poona, 1965, and Excavations at Songaon, Poona District, IAR, 1964-65, p. 1-48. (Cyclostyled copy).

<sup>35.</sup> See below for references.

h split

partly

ımably

15 ft.

topped

. The

place

terra-

of the

d sling

cattle.

olichos shows

ers in

about

along

is culin the

North

bones

t help

adhya

stone-

y-knit

figure

adesh

B.C.35

ombay.

5, and

Cyclo-

pottery fabrics still earlier than the Malwa have been discovered at Kaitha, <sup>36</sup> near Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, along with very distinctive tiny terracotta bulls and cows (Figs. 8-11) all belonging to period II, that is a culture in which a black—and—red pottery with paintings in white is a striking feature. First—hand examination of the pottery at Ujjain and the site at Kaitha induces the writer to say that Kaitha I definitely includes some pre-Harappan fabrics and shapes which help in linking Malwa with Rajasthan and Sind,

All these definitely pre-suppose the existence of cultures, though at lower economic level than the Indus or the Harappan but contemporary with its end phases, in Central India, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Maharashtra and Andhra-Mysore.

The existence of these Chalcolithic-Neolithic cultures in the heart of India has been hitherto explained in two ways, first, as independent cultures or secondly, as cultures started by the Harappan refugees. A third alternative is suggested by the affinity disclosed in forms and fabric and some of the designs from the pre- or proto-Harappan pottery found at Kalibangan, Ganganagar District, Rajasthan, at Amri, Dada District, West Pakistan, with those from Navdatoli (and now Kaitha and other sites) in Central India. Even Kot Diji will reveal some affinities when detailed reports are available.

Here two things may be cited (Fig. 12). First the graceful bowls with concavo-convex profile from Amri, Period I-III; secondly, the Crook-design, or Togau C design.<sup>37</sup> The latter occurs on a rare dish as well as on bowls at Navdatoli<sup>38</sup> in Central India and also on a dish at Amri, but it is not so far found in the Harappan, Jhukar and Jhangar or the Cemetery-H culture at Harappa. Though a distance of nearly 1,000 miles separates Amri from Navdatoli and other Baluchi sites with distinct Iranian affinities the resemblance is quite significant and may be used for what it is worth. It may be that the Harappans drove out the

<sup>36.</sup> IAR., 1964-65, I, p. 32. During 1965-66, even Painted Grey Ware an unique pottery sequence.

<sup>37.</sup> Casal, Fouilles D'Amri, Texte, Vol. I, Planches, Vol. II, Fig. 7, 7a.

Sa. Sankalia, H. D. et. al, Excavations at Maheshwar and Navadatoli.

earlier inhabitants from Sind and the Punjab, some of whom migrated to Central India. This view as mentioned above is now supported by the Phase I pottery from Kaitha.

ma

are

cor

Uti

Sou

thr

ins

res

rit

fea

a 1

the

ha

no

fea

wh

wi

sla

for

mı

on

an

de

sho

fin

lin

000

000

str sar Re

This naturally brings us to the Harappan problem. Renewed excavations at Kot Diji, 25 miles North-East of Mohenjo-daro and at Amri, Dadu District in West Pakistan, have revealed definitely pre-Harappan phases, and a few interesting features of the Harappan.

At Kot-Diji has been exposed a huge mud brick fortification, resting on a stone foundation.<sup>39</sup> This is attributed to the pre-Harappans. And though there is not much evidence of town-planning, still this pre-Harappan settlement has been described as a small town.<sup>40</sup> If this surmise is proved by subsequent work, then the Harappans would lose some of the credit for town-planning and fortification.

But as far as pottery etc. are concerned, the pottery is more akin to that of Baluchistan and distantly to that of Iran, than to that of the Indus plains, though it may be noted that in its later stages, it does show the famous "scale" pattern of the Harappans. It is said that this pre-Harappan culture was destroyed by the Harappans.

Amri<sup>41</sup> which is nearer to Kirthar Hills of Baluchistan exhibits still greater Baluchi features in its pottery. The pre-Harappan was definitely not a town or a city and probably quite illiterate. In its lithic industry, pottery, beads, terracotta, houses and brick-sizes, it is quite different from the Harappan. The same thing is witnessed at Kalibangan<sup>42</sup> across the border, in Ganganagar District, Rajasthan. Here there was a mud-brick settlement, with well-aligned lanes in the pre-Harappan phase. And in every way, pottery (which has some six different fabrics) lithic tools, agate and chalcedony beads, and brick-size—is different from the Harappan. Its pottery is derived from a common Baluchi-Iranian stock. One of the earliest C-14 dates for Kalibangan–I is 2290 B.C.

<sup>39.</sup> Pakistan Archaeology, No. 1, 1964, pp. 39-43, pls. VI-XA.
40. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, Civilization of the Indus Valley and Beyond, p. 58.

Casal, Fouilles D'Amri, 1964.
 IAR., 1963-64, I-56; 1964-65, I-66.

109

whom s now

newed o and initely f the

eation, e pretownoed as work, town-

nan to later opans.
y the

more

hibits appan erate. bricking is Dis-

with way, agate larapstock.

eyond,

Thus all these excavations do not help to understand the material origins of the Indus civilization.

As for the Harappan itself, every year more and more sites are being discovered in India and Pakistan. These not only confirm the wide range of this civilization embracing Western Uttar Pradesh on the East, and the Baluchistan coast on the South-West, but also its maritime activities through the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea as well as the land routes to Saurashtra through Kutch.

At Kalibangan,<sup>43</sup> a few features have been found. For instance, the preference for mud bricks, the baked bricks being reserved for drains, and bath-rooms, a wooden drain, a row of ritual fire-places with a central brick or terracotta pillar — a feature, be it noted, which also occurs in the Harappan at Amri — a road metalled with terracotta nodules, and a cemetery showing the normal extended burials in graves, and burials in urns, both having a varying quantity of funerary pottery.

In Kutch excavations at Deslpur<sup>44</sup> Nakhtrana Taluk, have not only revealed a full-fledged Harappan culture, but some new features as well. About 2 m. of the deposit belongs to the Harappan which is divisible into IA and IB. In Period IA houses were built with roughly dressed rubble stones, as well as with well-quarried slabs of shale or slate. There is also evidence of a massive stone fortification wall reinforced with corner towers and salients; and mud bricks platform. Two seals — one on steatite and the other on copper —and a lettered terracotta sealing, T. C. cakes, jasper and weights, stone blades as well as painted and unpainted pottery definitely establish its Harappan character. However, the pottery shows some special characteristics, the most noteworthy being a fine, thin grey ware, painted in bluish green colour with wavy lines on the outside of the vases. This pottery is said to have occurred at Mohenjo-daro, and called "Glazed Ware." In IB also occurs a bichrome ware, and a black-and-red ware with oblique strokes in white as in Ahar IB. The stud-handled bowl or handled Saucepan but with a channelled section is noticed right from IA. Remains of a rubble fortification have also been noticed at

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44.</sup> *Ibid.*, 1963-64, I, p. 16.

Surkotda<sup>45</sup> in Rapar Taluka, whereas various pottery fabrics show contacts with post-Harappan cultures already revealed in Saurashtra. The discovery of large Harappan sites in Eastern Kutch with Desalpar in the centre and not along the western coast definitely indicates that the Harappans and possibly earlier groups of people from Sind had colonized Kutch by land as well as sea, some of whom also proceeded to Saurashtra.

#### End of the Harappan Civilization

Though the origins of the Harappan civilization still remain obscure, its destruction is now attributed to repeated floods caused by tectonic disturbances in Lower Sind and the rise in sea-levels along the West coast of India. This view based on preliminary hydrographic surveys, though in need of confimation, seems most plausible.

From this new line of investigation many important conclusions have been drawn, particularly about the duration of the Indus civilization, which are here summarized. After a careful study from the geological and hydrological points of view supported by a few bore hole excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Raikes, hydrologist, suggests that

(i) the Harappan Civilization did not endure for a thousand years (c. 2,500-1,500 c. B.C.) but at the most for a few hundred years;

th

ci

ur

fu

da

ga

w

in

ed M

(a

flo

VI

- (ii) the so-called "early" and "intermediate" phases of Mohenjo-daro falling within this short chronology, and all other sites in the same general area of the Indus flood — plain were gradually engulfed by mud;
- (iii) this mud was deposited not by normal river floods, but by the creation of a dam or barrier on account of the uplift or a series of uplifts of the Indus Valley near Sehwan;

45. Ibid., I, p. 21.

46. Raikes, R. L. "Physical Environment...... A Hydrological Approach," East-West (Rome), Vol. XV, pp. 179-193, and "The end of the Ancient Cities of the Indus," American Anthropologist, Vol. 64, 1966, pp. 284-99, and "The Mohenjo-daro Floods," Antiquity, Vol. XXXIX, 1965, pp. 196-203.

46a. Raikes, R. L., "The end of the Ancient Cities of the Indus." Anthropo., 66 (1964), pp. 284-99, and "The Mohenjo-daro Floods," Antiquity, XXXIX, (1965), pp. 196-203.

fabrics
led in
Castern
cestern
earlier
us well

cemain loods<sup>46</sup> rise in sed on nation,

oncluof the careful v supikes,463 thou-

ses of y, and Indus

ls, but of the near

roach,"
Ancient
99, and
3-203.
" Am.

" Am.

- (iv) during this phase the inhabitants succeeded in keeping their city above the water and mud by successive reconstructions, including the use of mud-brick platforms;
- (v) some parts of the city might have been abandoned towards the end of this phase which would have occupied 100 years or so;
- (vi) the barrier was later breached and thus started a phase of rejuvenation of the river which made possible the re-occupation of parts of the city previously buried;
- (vii) there is no evidence for the abandonment of Mohenjodaro on account of the rising water-table and salinity (as inferred by Dales);<sup>46b</sup>
- (viii) since the uplift, the prehistoric ports of Suktagen Dor, Sotka Koh, and the one discovered by Raikes himself at Bala Kot, near Sonmiani, about 50 miles from Karachi, were far removed from the sea;
  - (ix) since the river and sea communications were thus interrupted the people were forced to resort to difficult caravan routes.

All these are certainly very important conclusions regarding the possible causes of the decline and destruction of the Harappan civilization. Raikes himself has suggested how very badly and urgently we need data regarding floods from Chanhu-daro, and further careful stratigraphical excavations and reliable C-14 dates.

Meanwhile, it may be noted that both at Lothal and Kalibangan houses had been built on a series of mud-brick platforms, which were raised successively. This feature indicates that the inhabitants were aware of the danger of floods before they founded these cities, and this knowledge might have been gained at Mohenjo-daro. Further if "the mud-brick platforms were built (at Kalibangan) in the recurrent endeavour to surmount the flood-level," could not these mud-bricks be used in a defensive

<sup>46</sup>b. Dales, G. F., "The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro," Expedition, p. 36.

Wheeler's46c argument in reject. wall against river-floods? ing the latter suggestion, while putting forward the former sug. gestion, seems to be inconsistent. Whatever it be,46d it should be added that extensive floods also seem to have been a cause of the destruction of the Harappan and later sites in the Ganga Valley, How these floods were caused is still unknown. But it is not impossible that memories of floods like these might have given rise to the stories we have in the Satapatha Brahmana and later Puranas. Similar events might have been responsible for the Sumerian and later Biblical legends.

g

tŀ

th

to

a

R

p

tl

1

d

g

t

C

0 F

p

The floods also seem to have destroyed the Harappan or late Harappan settlements in the Gangetic Valley where now only rolled ochre-coloured pottery is found. The most important sites to have given such an evidence are Ambakheri and Bargaon, Saharanpur District.47

Several C-14 dates from Lothal, Kalibangan and Kot Diji suggest that the end of the civilization came in about 1,700 B.C.45 and not in 1,500 B.C., as presumed. Hence it is not right to accuse the Aryans, for in defence of Indra, the Aryan War-God, it might be said that there is not only little evidence of a massacre10 at Mohenjo-daro, but no evidence for the presence of the Aryans there. In fact, they can plead a perfect alibi.

This Aryan question has been further complicated by the fact that the Painted Grey Ware which was attributed to an Aryan Group is now placed not earlier than 600 B.C. by C-14 dates at Hastinapur,50 though a date from Atranjikhera51 places it in the 11th-12th century B.C. However, other dates from the same site

46c. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, Civilization of the Indus Valley and Beyond, pp. 32-33.

46d. An alternative explanation has also been suggested. From the evidence at Kalibangan where all these platforms occur in the Citadel mound, and which is away from the river, it is felt that some important personages and public buildings were situated on those platforms.

47. IAR., 1963-64, I, pp. 82-84.

48. Agrawal, D. P., Science, 1964, p. 950.

49. Dales, George, F., "The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro," Expedition, No. 3, 1964, p. 37.

50. Agrawal, D. P., et al in Radio Carbon, 1964, pp. 226-32. 51. Agrawal, D. P., et al in Current Science, May 1964, pp. 266-69. reject. r suguld be of the Valley, ot imen rise later or the

or late y rollites to irgaon,

ji sug-B.C.48 accuse might re49 at Aryans

ne fact Aryan ates at in the ne site

Beyond, he evimound, sonages

Expedi-

3-69.

give much lower dates.<sup>52</sup> This again creates a wide gulf between the destruction of the Harappan Civilization and the arrival of the Painted Grey Ware people. No explanation can be offered tor this wide gap, except that the interval was filled up by the authors of the several Chalcolithic cultures in Sind, Saurashtra Rajasthan and Central India some of whom might be Aryans or peoples from Iran<sup>53</sup> though Raikes suggests that in Baluchistan the settlements were abandoned from about 2,300 B.C. until 1,100 B.C. as a result of natural disasters.

This work in India and Pakistan during 1962-64 has narrowed down a considerable part of the cultural gaps in terms of both geographical space and time. The general distributions of the three Stone Age cultures are now seen to cover most of the subcontinent, except the Gangetic plain and Assam. The progress of the earliest farming communities can also be traced from the Pakistan-Iran border to South India (see Map, Fig. 13).

Many C-14 dates have become known in this period. provide a fairly continuous chronological scheme for the first three and half millennia before Christ.

Earliest farming communities in Sind and Baluchistan 3600-2700 B.C. Pre-Harappan in Sind and Rajasthan ... 2700-2200 B.C. Harappan Civilization 2200-1700 B.C. . . Southern Neolithic Culture 2100-1400 B.C. Northern Neolithic Culture<sup>54</sup> 1800-1200/800 B.C. Painted Grey Ware Culture 1200/800-400 B.C. N.B.P. Culture 400--100 B.C.

52. Agrawal, D. P., et al in Current Science, January 1966, pp. 4-5.

53. Sankalia, H. D., "New Light on the Indo-Iranian or Western Asiatic Relations between 1700 B.C.-1200 B.C. in Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXVI, 1963, pp. 312-332 and Agrawal, D. P. "C-14 Dates, Banas Culture and the Aryans". in Current Science, March 5, 1966, pp. 114-117.

54. No separate category of the Chalcolithic has been made, because basically these cultures in Malwa, the Deccan, U.P., Bihar and West Bengal fulfil at these cultures in Malwa, the Deccan, U.P., Bihar and West Bengal fulfil the conditions laid down by Gordon Childe for defining a neolithic culture or stage. For all practical purposes these cultures were self-supporting peasant communities depending upon animal husbandry, primitive agriculture and some hunting, every settlement making its own lithic tools, pottery and beads of stone and clay. The tools of copper alone were imported, perhaps from a site like Ahar in Southern Rajasthan.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

P

th ra is ed th

th

pr Q of so th

st

m 'A

di tw sa so ele

th

## Reign of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah (1626-1672)

POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS

RY

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Hyderabad

Parentage and Accession

As has been mentioned elsewhere, Prince 'Abdu'l-lah was the son of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah and Hayat Bakhshi Begum, the daughter of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, founder of Haidarabad. He was born on 28-10-1023/21st November, 1614, and it is related that when the astrologers were consulted they predicted a great future for the young Prince but were unanimous that the Sultan should not see the child till he was twelve. Although the King would not see him, he made all arrangements for the proper education and bringing up of the Prince and appointed Mir Qutbu'd-din Comptroller of the Prince's household. At the age of five he was put under Mirza Sharīf Shahristāni who was the son-in-law of the Pēshwa Mīr Mu'min. Tutors were changed as the Prince grew up, and at the age of twelve he began to be instructed in important episodes of World History and "the experiences of kings".2

On his death on 13-5-1035/1st February, 1626, Sultan Muhammad had left three sons and one daughter, of whom the eldest was 'Abdu'l-lāh'3 who ascended the throne the next day. The first

<sup>1.</sup> Sherwani, Sultān Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, pp. 1 and 2.

<sup>2.</sup> Nīzāmu'd-din Ahmad, Ḥadīqatu's-Salātīn, p. 9. 3. There were three other sons and one daughter. The daughter, Khadijā Sultāna was married to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bījapūr (1627-57), one son T one son, Ibrāhīm Mirzā, died in the second year of 'Abdu'l-lāb's reign, while two sons by one Khurshid Bibi survived; Hadiqā, 25, 200-201. Thèvenot says that 'Abdu'l-lah was not the eldest but the second son, and was "the son of D., bushend" The son of Brahman lady, who had other princes by her late husband." The elder brother "was imprisoned and later poisoned." Apart from the fact that Thanker "was imprisoned and later poisoned." that Thèvenot and other European travellers of the period were ill-informed

potentates who sent their Envoys to condole the death of the late King and congratulate the new King were Ibrāhīm 'Ādīl Shāh II who sent a special Envoy Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan, and Murtaṇa Niṇām Shāh who sent Mīr Ja'far, both of whom brought with them most valuable presents for the new King. A few days later came Ikhlās Khān, Envoy of Prince Khurram, later Shāh Jahan, for the same purpose.<sup>4</sup>

### Foreign Relations

#### (i) Iran

The relations of the Qutb Shāhi monarchy with Iran had been intimate ever since the establishment of the dynasty, but with the intensification of the Shī'ah faith in Iran under the Ṣafawī monarchs these relations had become even closer. Muḥammad ibn Khātūn, who was destined to be the Peshwa of the kingdom, was sent by Sultān Muḥammad to Iran in 1024/1615, and he was there for two years. When he returned he was accompanied by the Iranian Ambassador Qāsim Bēg who was later suc-

regarding the events at the court, we have the testimony of Ḥadīqā, 200, where it is related how well the King treated his brothers even when one of them was inordinately rude to him. Muntakhabu'l-lubāb, 391, says that 'Abdu'l-lāh had an elder brother, Muḥammad Khudā Bandah, and Sulṭān Muḥammad had appointed him his heir and successor; but 'Abdu'l-lāh's mother brought round the other group composed of Gharībs (or afaqīs), Turks and some ḥabashīs and put 'Abdu'l-lāh on the throne.

Sultān Muḥammad Qutb Shāh

Khudā 'Abdu'l-lāh Khadīja Sultāna Ibrāhīm Sultān- Shahzāds Bandah. Qutb Shāh — Muḥammad Mirza Quli Mirza Mirza — Princess of 'Adil Shāh

Khadīja Sultāna's marriage to Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, Ṣafar 1047/June 1637; Basātinu's-Salātīn, 295. Khadija Sultāna was evidently 'Abdu'l-lāh's elder sister as he uses most respectful epithets of address in his letter to her; letter No. 19, Makatīb Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu mad 'Adil Shāh, 1626-56, Methwold (Moreland, Nathr Farsi, 295. Muḥamsays that 'Abdu'l-lāh had three atternation, Relations of Golkonda, p. 10)

says that 'Abdu'l-lāh had three other wives besides the princess of Bījapūr.

4. Ḥadīqā, 31, 32, Evidently not merely the Mughal Emperor but also 'Adil Shāh II, 1580-1627.

Frie whi was long like

he

sna

ceed

'Ab

ed

Khā

reac

mor

grap 'Ab

had

corp

dor

the

Frie

ence the Sha by

of the As app in fixe con rou tim

the 213 Jur

to

ne late
hāh II
Nizām
n most
came
un, for

n had y, but er the uhame kingand he compar suc-

qā, 200, en one ys that Sultān '1-lāh's afaqīs),

nahzāda Cirza

e 1637;

elder

i Urdu
uluamp. 10)
iijapūr.
it also
brāhīm

ceeded as the Iranian Envoy by Muḥammad-Qulī Bēg. It was on 'Abdu'l-lāh's accession that Muḥammad-Qulī Bēg was allowed to return, accompanied by the Qutb Shāhī Envoy Khairāt Khān with rich presents for the Shāh. When the Ambassadors reached Surat for embarkation for Iran they received urgent summons from Shāh Jahan at Agra who asked them to take his autograph letter to the Shāh. They embarked from Surat to Bandar 'Abbās, but when they reached there they found that the Shāh had already expired on 22-5-1037/19th January, 1628.

The Iranian Ambassador had precedence over the diplomatic corps, and he was always mentioned before the Mughal Ambassador even after the Deed of Submission of 1637 when the name of the Shāh of Iran was replaced by that of the Mughal Emperor in Friday sermons. As long as 'Abdu'l-lāh was independent in his internal affairs, the name of the Shāh of Iran was mentioned in Friday prayers before the name of the King. The high place which Iran had in the estimation of the King of Tilang-Āndhra was due entirely to the bonds of faith, as both the monarchs belonged to the Shī'ah faith. This rather invisible bond was disliked by Emperor Shāh Jahan, and when opportunity came and he got complete hold on the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, he had it snapped.

But 'Abdu'l-lāh was never free from the latent Iranian influence, and bided his time. The Deed of Submission of 1636 and the galling defeat of 1656 had left scars on the face of the Qutb Shāhī policy. Even before the Mughal Empire was rent asunder by the fraternal War of Succession 'Abdu'l-lāh wrote to "his uncle

<sup>5.</sup> Ḥadīqā, 81-83. Muḥammad ibn Khātūn, one of the renowned peshwas of the Qutb Shāhī monarchy, came to Haidarabad from Iran in 1009/1600-1. As is related in the text he led the embassy to Iran in 1024/1615. He was appointed Wakil and Peshwa on 9.10.1043/29th March, 1634. He was steeped in knowledge and, different to all other peshwas, his name is always prefixed by the honorific title, 'Allāmah. It is related that it was only after conversations and discussions with the learned that he began his official routine, while on every Tuesday, the official holiday, he spent most of his time in the company of the learned. In 1059/1649 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but he was not destined to reach Mecca and died at Mokha on 213, fol. 194 b — 201 b; Munshī Qādir Khān Bidrī, Tārīkh Qutb Shāhī, Salar Jung, MSS., Tarikh Fārsī, 116.

118

who was in Iran" to represent to the Shāh "with the great hum. lity" that Aurangzēb and Muḥammad Sa'īd had invaded his king dom and beg the Shah to go over to his rescue in case anything like that should take place again. In another letter, also to "his uncle", he said that the presents he had sent to His Majesty through his Envoy, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Khātūn were still lying with the Shaikh's representatives in Iran and they should be presented to His Majesty at once.6

The Mughal War of succession brought another opportunity for strengthening Ṣafawī relations. When the immediate pressure of the Mughals was removed, both 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh felt comparatively free to shape their policy vis ā vis the Shāh. The Shāh therefore wrote almost simultaneous letters to both that as the Mughal Empire was in a turmoil it was time that they should jointly face "the enemies of the Apostolic Household ('Ahl-i Bait') boldly and revive the glories of the Shī'ah faith." This must have partly led to the revocation of the religious clauses of the Deed of Submission of 1636.

## (ii) The Mughals

## (a) Up to the Deed of Submission, 1637

The year 1626 seemed to synchronise with the end of an epoch in the Deccan. It marked the death of the peace-loving Sultan Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, followed four months later by that of the war-like Mālik 'Ambar, while a little more than a year later the Emperor Jahangir too died. Shāh Jahan was well acquainted with the affairs of the Deccan, and it was not long after his accession that he sent Muhīyu'd-dīn as his Envoy to Gōlkonḍa and his brother Mu'īnu'd-dīn as his Envoy to Bījapur. The policy of the new Emperor was visibly an expansionist one, and while he wanted to curb whatever power was left with Ḥusain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, he also wished to have a foothold in Orissa and harass the Qutb Shāhī State from the North-East. He thus wanted to squeeze the two kingdoms into submission.

Jaha self of B retre Bir. He At I as Y

Marc accel agair line whic

Nizā Muh

Khāi

din Muhi rabād selve Mānj Manj

was of th

Way

8. Kamb State, 9. 10.

Qandi 18° 53 a bad belove June,

24.9.10

<sup>6.</sup> Makātīb, fol. 39(a). The Shāh was 'Abbās II who ruled Iran from 1641 to 1666.

<sup>7.</sup> Munsha'āt Tāhir Wahīd, quoted in Najīb Ashraf Nadawī, Ruqqa'āt 'Alamgīr, pp. 276-77.

at humi.

A his king.

Anything

to "his

Majesty

ere still

should

ortunity oressure nah and pe their t simulturmoil of the glories vocation 36.7

sultan cof the ter the ed with ecession and his of the wantshah of sa and

n from

want-

The excuse for invading the Deccan soon appeared, Khān-i Jahan Lodi, one of the foremost nobles of the Empire, allied himself with Husain Nizām Shāh and occupied the Mughal territory of Bālāghāt. On Shāh Jahan's ultimatum the Nizām Shāhī forces retreated, but one of their Generals, Syed Kamāl, would not quit Bir. The Emperor now decided to go to the Deccan in person. He reached Shādiābād-Māndū on 9-7-1039/12th February, 1630. At Mandu he gave audience to a number of Dakhni amirs such as Yāqūt Ḥabashī, Khalōjī Bhonslē, Udaya Jayarām etc., and received the homage of Sa'adat Khān, the Mughal Governor of Khāndēsh. The Emperor arrived at Burhānpūr on 26-7-1039/1st March, 1630.8 Once on the gateway of the Deccan Shah Jahan accelerated the pace of the Mughal armies. He sent three armies against what was left of the Nizām Shāhī possessions. Passing the line of the Painganga a part of the imperial army attacked Dharur which fell into Mughal hands early in 1040/1630-31.9

No doubt overawed by the success of the Mughals against the Nizām Shāhīs who had been left with only the fort of Daulatābād, Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh sent the Mughal Envoy Shaikh Mu'inu'ddin with pēshkash from Bijapur, while his brother, Shaikh Muhīyu'ddīn reached Burhānpūr with a pēshkash from Ḥaidarabād. But it was reported that the 'Ādil Shāhīs had allied themselves to the Nizām Shāhīs and had reached the banks of the Mānjira. They were pursued by A'zam Khān right up to Mangāon, the home of the Nizām Shāhī amīr, Tanaji Doria, which was captured. Nusairī Khān was sent to complete the conquest of the Tilangana country and the first citadel he captured on the way was Qandhār on 15-10-1039/18th May, 1630.10

<sup>8. &#</sup>x27;Abdu'l Ḥamīd Lāhōri, Badshāh Nāmah, 248, 240; Muhammad Ṣwāleḥ Kambo, 'Amal-i-Ṣwāleḥ, 215. Bir, headquarters of a district in Mahārāshtra, 550' N., 75° 46' E.

<sup>9.</sup> Lahori, I, 339. 10. Ibid., I, 374.

Dhārūr; Maḥbūbnagar district, Āndhra Pradēsh; 18° 45' N., 76° 10' E. 18° 53' N., 77° 12' E. The capture of Qandhār by the Mughals proved to be beloved Empress, "the Lady of the Taj", breathed her last on 17.11.1040/7th 24.9.1041/4th April, 1632, reaching Agra on 1.12.1041/9th June, 1632.

The

were

Amo

to S

whic

kind

that

coun

shou

domi

shou

of th

eleph

other

In th

Mulk

by the

who

Nizar

a nu

could

der t

had I

and (

forts

rial a

abjec

with who s King of Su

T

ed the

14.

J. 16

I

The days of the Nigam Shāhī dynasty were now numbered Daulatābād was captured by the Mughals on 19-12-1042/17th June, 1633 and Ḥusain, the last of the Nigām Shāhīs, was sent as a prisoner to Gwaliōr. 11

In the meantime considerable pressure was exercised on the Qutb Shahi territory in the North East. The fort of Mansurgarh was the last Qutb Shāhī outpost a few miles from the Orissa frontier, and Shāh Jahan, while still at Burhanpur, ordered Bagar Khān, Governor of Orissa, to advance into the Andhra territory and capture it.12 The fort was strongly garrisoned by 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot-soldiers. The first hurdle was the extremely narrow pass of Chatardada, "which is so narrow that even a few gunmen and bowmen can defend it". Two kos from Chatardadi was Khērāpāra and four kos from there was Mansūrgarh. Bāgar Khān reached Mansurgarh on 8-5-1040/3rd December, 1630, evidently without encountering much opposition. Bombardment of the fort began, and the Quib Shāhī army was scattered even on the first onslaught. "Many were killed, others taken prisoner, while many fled to the jungle". Bāqar Khān now gave the charge of the fort to Mīr 'Alī Akbar and handed over the general administration to Safī-Qulī.13

The Deccan was now hemmed in by the Mughal forces on all sides, and it was easy to lay real or artificial blame on the remaining two Deccan Sultānates. Shāh Jahān left the capital again for the South on 18-4-1045/21st September, 1635. His presence there once again produced an electrical effect. He sent two ultimata in the form of imperial farmāns, one to Muḥammad 'Adl Shāh and the other to 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh in which they were squarely reprimanded for their sins and admonished for the future.

<sup>11. &#</sup>x27;Amal-i Şwāleḥ, 436, 447, 483; Lahori, I, 496.

<sup>12.</sup> The Mansurgarh Campaign, Kambo, 396; Lahori, I, 332.

<sup>13.</sup> According to Kambo, 396, Mansurgarh was a fort constructed by Mansur, "z slave of Qutbu'l-Mulk". There are slight variations between Lahori, I, 332, and 'Amal-i Ṣwāleḥ, 396, e.g. with regard to the number of footsoldiers guarding the fort, but they are not very important. Both agree that resistance was meagre, which might have been on account of either pusillanimity of the garrison or the better equipment and morale of the invaders.

The farmans to "'Adil Khan" and "Qutbu'l-Mulk" respectively The Jarmane Tespectively were both couched in a language meant for just subordinate amirs. Among "'Adil Khān's" sins were the occupation of the Nizām Amous Shahi territory, the umbrage Muhammad 'Adil Shah had given Shahji and the non-payment of the pēshkash. The jarmān which was addressed to "Qutbu'l-Mulk" referred to the marks of kindness shown by the Emperor in the past; and he was warned that the Emperor belonging to the Sunni creed would in no case countenance that any Companions of the Prophet or his successors should be decried and scolded in public within "Qutbu'l-Mulk's" dominions. He was also told that the name of the Shāh of Iran should not be mentioned in Friday sermons. A demand was made of the arrears of pēshkash in the form of jewels of the finest water, elephants of the best breed such as Dak Samandar, as well as other presents which should be handed over to the imperial Envoy. In the end the farman categorically stated that in case "Qutubu'l-Mulk" continued to be recalcitrant his country would be attacked by the victorious army of the Empire and it would be himself who would be responsible for what might happen.14

In the meantime Shāhji had proclaimed an infant scion of the Nigām Shāhī dynasty Murtaza, King of Ahmadnagar and occupied a number of forts from Poona and Chakan to Bālāghāt but he could not withstand the Mughal might, and was forced to surrender the boy in December, 1636. Moreover Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh had been sending money to the commanders of the forts at Udgīr and Ossa surreptitiously and advising them not to surrender those forts to the Mughals. But the forts were occupied by the imperial army. On 11-8-1045/10th January, 1636, 'Ādil Shāh sent an abject 'arzdāsht or petition through his Envoy Mīr Abu'l-Ḥasan with costly presents, and this was reciprocated by the Emperor King five kos from Bījapur followed by the signing of the Deed of Submission on 25-12-1045/23rd May, 1636.

The Inqiyad Namah or the Deed of Submission which mark-the end of the independent status of Tilang-Andhra, was signed

bered.
June,
t as a

on the urgarh a fron.

Baqar rritory horse remely

ardādā Bāqar 1630, rdment d even risoner,

charge

a few

ces on on the capital is pre-

nt two
l 'Ādil
y were
future.

eted by between of the

<sup>14.</sup> Lahori, II, 129-33.

in the same month.<sup>15</sup> Like the *Inkiyād* Nāmah of Bījapur it was not a treaty between two independent sovereigñs at all. For, one of the two parties was the *murīd-i-maurūsī* or "hereditary disciple," 'Abdu'l-lāh "Qutbu'l-Mulk" and the other was "the preceptor", the Emperor. "Qutbu'l-Mulk" thereby promised on his behalf as well as on behalf of his progeny the following:

- (i) The names of the twelve *Imams* would be replaced by those of the four Caliphs, in Friday sermons, while the name of the Shāh of Iran would be replaced by that of Emperor.
- (ii) Gold and silver coins would be struck according to the formula passed by the Emperor.
- (iii) As from the ninth regnal year, two lacs of hons would be sent annually to the Emperor which would now total 8 lakhs, provided that the price of jewels, costly presents, elephants etc. already sent would be accounted for.
- (iv) 'Abdu'l-lāh would consider His Majesty's friends as his friends and His Majesty's enemies as his enemies.
- (v) 'Abdu'l-lāh swore on the Qur'ān in the presence of the imperial Envoy, 'Abdu'l-Latīf that he would abide by every word of the document, and if he were to stray from the right path then the Emperor would be justified in ordering his servants to conquer the kingdom.
- (vi) If "'Ādil Khān" were to try to conquer the Qutb Shāhī territory 'Abdu'l-lāh would seek the help of the Emperor to drive him out; but if the representative of the Emperor in the Deccan would not forward his petition and he would be forced to pay indemnity to 'Ādil Khān then the amount so paid would be deducted from his pēshkash.

Even a cursory glance at the articles of the Deed would show that henceforward the Qutb Shāhī State had become, as Jadu Nath Sarkar says, a vassal of the Emperor. 'Abdu'l-lāh's abject-

15. Full text of this decisive "Deed of Submission"; Lahori, II, 177-81. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 36, is wrong when he says that the Quib Shāhī monarch became "a vassal of the Mughal Empire" in April, 1636.

Udgīr; headquarters of a taluqa in Osmānābād district, Mahārāshtra State; 18° 24' N., 77° 7' E.

Ossa; headquarters of a taluqa in Osmānābād district, Mahārāshtra State; 18° 15' N., 77° 30' E.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

dives ditar own ror. kings to th servi

ness

frien the have out.

T

now

Shāh Mans that t of the for 'A protect

I

ficant

now Parer to the 'Adil ed,"16 lah v

the je assess they v a fine fifty t

existe: should peshki

> 16. 17.

ness as is evident from the very first sentence, was such that he ness as is evident from the royal title and called himself the "here-divested himself of the Emperor. He was no more master of his ditary disciple of the Emperor. He was no more master of his own mint as the coins were to be struck in the name of the Emperor. He had thus given up one of the great privileges of medieval kingship. He was willing even to change the Khutba according to the dictates of the Emperor thus completing the circle of subservience. He ceased to be the arbiter of his foreign policy, for, now onwards, he would consider Shāh Jahan's friends as his friends and Shāh Jahan's enemies as his enemies; and even when the 'Adil Shāhi troops were to attack his dominions he would have to crave the help of the Emperor's Viceroy and drive them out.

It is remarkable that the only direct pressure exercised by Shāh Jahan on Tilang-Āndhra was at its furthest corner at Mansūrgarh. The effeteness of the State had reached such a level that the fear of the Mughal Empire consequent on the elimination of the Nizām Shāhi rump, and the pressure on Bijapur were enough for 'Abdu'l-lāh to change the status of his dominions to a mere protectorate of the Empire.

The aftermaths of the two Deeds of Submission are significant. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh had shown some resistance, and now the Emperor ordered the restoration not only of the fort of Parenda but also of the Konkan coast including the port of Chaul to the 'Ādil Shāhī territory. He also promised that "so long as 'Ādil Khān remained faithful" his territory would not be touched on the other hand the treatment meted out to 'Abdu'llah was rather shabby. The Mughal Envoy, 'Abdu'l-Latīf and the jeweller, Nihāl Chand, were sent to the Qutb Shāhī capital to they were at the court they saw on 'Abdu'l-lāh's finger a ring with a fine studded ruby, twelve rattis in weight and estimated to cost existence of such a valuable ornament, he ordered that the ring pashkash. To the capital and its value be deducted from the

it was

dispreon his

ed by me of

to the

lakhs, s etc.

as his

ce of every right evants

Qutb peror n the orced would

show Jadu bject-

77-81. Qutb 36. āshtra

āshtra

<sup>16.</sup> Lahori, II, 204-205. The treaty is dated 3.12.1096/19th April, 1637. lbid., II, 209-10. Ratti equals 8 barley-corns.

Al

Pri

me

vis

Mu

kin

cou

per

can

dor

Mu

affa

cha

zēb

ces tha

cha

cha

is r

he

not

and

lett exp

agr

Was

nat

fun

Bij

Rā

hou

The final treaty, 'Ahd Namah (this time it was not a farman though the "treaty" was unilateral), was signed by Shah Jahan on 7-4-1046/29 August 1636 in which "Qutbu'l-Mulk" was lauded that he had accepted the position of "subservience and humility" to the Throne. His past sins were forgiven as he had introduced the names of the four Caliphs as well as the name of the Emperor in Friday sermons, had already coined gold and silver coins with the imperial formula, had sent the arrears of pēshkash and agreed to pay an annual tribute of two lakh hons. The Emperor was also gracious to assure that as long as Qutbu'l-Mulk did not deviate from correct conduct the integrity of his territories would be guaranteed. This treaty was accompanied by the Emperor's portrait studded with precious stones and pearls. 18 On his part 'Abdu'l-lah sent his own portrait studded with gold and jewels to the Emperor along with presents worth forty lakhs of rupees and a letter owning allegiance to him. It was peculiar that this letter filled 16 lines with the Emperor's titles without daring once to name him.19

Shāh Jahan left Daulatābād for the North on July 11, 1636; three days later he appointed the seventeen year old Prince Aurangzēb, Viceroy of the four Provinces of the Deccan.<sup>20</sup>

### (b) From 1636 to the defection of Muhammad Sa'id in 1656.

The two decades beginning with the Deed of Submission of May 1636, and ending in the defection of Muḥammad Sa'id Mir Jumlā to the Mughal camp in 1656, are dominated by that intrepid Ardistānī, who had created a virtual State within the Qutb Shāhi kingdom for himself, mocked at the dwindling power of his master

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid., II, 210-11. 'Abdu'l-lāh actually went to the Jāmi'Masjid of Haidarabad to see that the change in the Khutbah was actually made; Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb, 393.

<sup>19. &#</sup>x27;Abdu'l-lāh's 'Arzdasht, ibid., 212-15.

<sup>20.</sup> Lahori, II, 211-15. The four provinces constituting the Viceroyalty of the Deccan were (i) Khandesh, (ii) Berar, (iii) Daulatābād, (iv) Tilangana, which was the name given to the territory lying South of Berar from the line of Painganga to the Northern and North-Eastern frontier of the Qub Shāhī kingdom which stretched up to the river Mānjira to the North-West of Haidarabad. Sarkar, I, 43, Lahori, I, 205.

'Abdu'l-lāh and then crossed over to 'Abdu'l-lāḥ's deadly enemy, Prince Aurangzēb, Viceroy of the Deccan. It is necessary to remember that the receding authority of the Qutb Shāhī monarchy vis à vis the Mughals was finally brought to a breaking point by Muḥammad Sa'īd.

With the signing of the Deed of Submission the Qutb Shāhi kingdom lay so low that probably no campaign worth the name could be undertaken without the connivance of the Mughal Emperor. We have evidence of Shah Jahan having directed the great campaign headed by Mir Jumla which finally eliminated the kingdom of the Karnāṭak, the name now given to the remnant of the erstwhile Empire of Vijayanagar. One of the reasons why the Mughals did not seem to be exercising a direct influence on the affairs of South India immediately after 1636 was the continuous change in the Viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan after Prince Aurangzeb's "retirement" in 1644. As many as five Viceroys were successively appointed between 1644 and 1652, the longest term being that of Shāistā Khān, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who held charge of the Southern Provinces from 1549 to 1652. These rapid changes worsened the economic structure of the Provinces, and it is no wonder that only after the appointment of Prince Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan a second time in 1652, a charge which he kept till the War of Succession in 1658, that a spurt was made to revivify Mughal influence in the Deccan.

Meanwhile 'Abdu'l-lāh was wooing the favours of the Emperor not merely by giving inordinate respect to the Imperial Envoy and personally receiving him five miles from the capital, but also by continuing to write most abject letters to the Emperor These letters were in the form of petitions with himself as the suppliant, expressing sense of service ('ubūdiyat == slavery) and actually agreeing to pay His Majesty two thirds of the booty which was acquired from "the Rāyal of the Karņāṭak". One of these letters was evidently written after a partial or total conquest of the Karnāṭak, for he stated therein that the Emperor had appointed certain land signal but they had treacherously allied themselves "with the however, been overpowered by Mīr Jumlā. All this, the Sultān

arman

Jahan

lauded ity" to

oduced

nperor

s with

agreed

as also leviate

ild be

s por-

s part

vels to

es and

letter

nce to

1636;

Prince

ion of d Mir

trepid

Shāhi

master

sjid of : Mun-

royalty Tilan-

er from

e Quib

h-West

said, only "in order to bring the matters to the notice of His Impeperial Majesty."<sup>21</sup>

'arzo Mu'

the

Aur

Khā

Gan

in th

Aura

after

sight

Saic

alrea

Com

and

king

that

jagir

broad

Quth

mana

24

pagnie

MSS

gir N

Karnā Mugh:

taram

Telugu

is exp

behalf there : on bel one fe

under betwee

the for

Emper

at his

Which

The Emperor's eldest son Dārā Shikōh, nominally Governor of the Punjab, was always at the elbow of Shāh Jahan, and was virtually his chief adviser even before he fell ill and the great struggle for succession began ending in the Battle of Samūgarh on May 29, 1658. We have a number of letters or rather "petitions" ("Arzdāsht) written by 'Abdu'l-lāh to Dārā when he was in power at Delhi in which he called himself the murīd or disciple of Dārā, and begged him also as "a disciple in perpetuity" to use his good offices with the Emperor for the just apportionment of the booty of the Karṇāṭak. In another letter to Dārā he filled three pages delineating the titles of the Emperor and said that it was a matter of the highest honour that his letters had been read by the Emperor's Majesty.

Apart from the gradual subservience of the Qutb Shahi monarchy to the Mughals as evidenced by 'Abdul'l-lah's letters to Shāh Jahan and Dārā Shikōh, there is another indication of the way the wind was blowing. The onslaught of Bijapur on what was left of the erstwhile Vijayanagar Empire began in 1031/1622-23 when Karnul was conquered and annexed to the kingdom. This was followed some time later by the capture of Ikkeri (which, however, changed hands more than once), Sīrā and Bangalore.22 It was not till April 1642 that 'Abdu'l-lah ordered his army to march into the territory of the Rāya, Venkaṭa III.23 The Gölkonda forces were, however, not uniformly successful, and in 1645 'Abdu'llāh issued orders for the cessation of hostilities. Shāh Jahan now seems to have asserted his authority in the Karnāṭak and commanded both 'Abdu'l-lah and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah to conquer and partition the Karnāṭak territory among themselves. There are also other instances of such an exercise of authority. Thus in an

Basātīn, 273. See Further Sources, I, 337-38.
 Ikkērī, Shimoga district, Mysore State, 14° 7' N., 79° 19' E.
 Sīrā, Tumkūr district, Mysore State; 13° 45' N., 76° 57' E.

<sup>21. &#</sup>x27;Arā'iz wa Ittihad Namajāt Sultan 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh, MSS. Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu, Karachi, No. 14; Makātīb.

<sup>23.</sup> Venkata III, died in October 1642, and as he had no legitimate children he was succeeded by his nephew Srīranga III, the last scion of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagar.

writisht to the Emperor, Prince Aurangzēb said that Muḥammad Muˈmin was appointed the Emperor's personal representative in the Karṇāṭak, and this greatly upset 'Abdu'l-lah. In 1069/1658 Aurangzēb, who had now crowned himself Emperor, sent Musṭafā Khān and Saif Khān Bījapuri to supervise the administration of Ganḍikōṭa. These tendencies show a remarkable acceleration in the Mughal authority in the affairs of the Karṇāṭak and perhaps Aurangzēb's ultimate intention to be the overlord of the far South after the elimination of the Sulṭānates which seemed to be in sight.²4

The fuse was ignited in an unexpected corner. Muḥammad Sa'īd Ardistānī, who had joined Qutb Shāhī service when he was already middle-aged, had risen to dizzy heights as Mīr Jumlā and Commander-in-chief of the Qutb Shāhī forces in the Karṇāṭak and had created a special place for himself in the economy of the kingdom. After the conquest of Gaṇdīkōṭa in 1650 he had made that great fortress the centre of his activities as well as his vast jagirs which extended to an area 300 miles long and about 60 miles broad. He kept a personal body-guard, 5,000 strong, besides the Qutb Shāhī forces which were under his command. He had managed to amass prodigious wealth, and his diamonds could only

24. Further Sources, I, 353, quoting Macleod, De Oost-Indische Com-Pagnie, pp. 180-190. Appointment of Muhammad Mu'min; Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī, MSS. Aṣafiyah, Inshā-ī Fārsī No. 86, fol. 74 (a); Muhammad Kāzim, 'Ālamgir Nāmah I, 440.

There is little doubt that the campaigns in Western and Eastern Kanalak by Bijapur and Golkonda were undertaken at the instance of the Mughal Emperor. The Gandikōtā Kaifiyat, translated in part by Dr. Venkataramanayya in his article on "Mir Jumla's Conquest of Karnataka from Telugu Sama in his article on "Mir Jumla's Conquest of Karnataka from 221-2. Relugu Sources", Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume, pp. 221-2, is explicit 41. is explicit that "Mir Jumla, a wazir of the Padshah, came to the south on behalf of Alarman (p. 223) that behalf of Alamgir Padshah". Dr. Venkataramanayya says (p. 223) that there is a "palpable mistake" in this statement, for Mīr Jumlā did not come on behalf of the mistake behalf of the court o on behalf of 'Alamgir but as a "servant of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shāh". But the feels that the part of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shāh". me feels that while Mīr Jumlā was "a wazir of the Padshah," he was acting mer the order the order differentiation under the order of the Mughal Emperor. There is a clear differentiation between "Padebal". hetween "Pādshāh" and "Ālamgir Pādshāh." Under the Deed of Submission, the foreign affairs of the kingdom had come under the sway of the Mughal Emperor, and, as the Gandīkōtā Kaifiat says the campaign was undertaken at his instance. This is further corroborated by a copper-plate grant in thich a certain in the corroborated by a copper-plate grant grant in the corroborated by a copper-plate grant grant grant gra which a certain incident is referred to in the time of the occupation of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

mpe-

ernor was great igarh

'petiwas sciple

o use nt of filled

that been

Shāhī rs to the what 22-23

This hich.

y to onda du'lnow

and also an

ISS.,

chilthe be weighed in maunds.<sup>25</sup> His influence at the Court was so great that Tavernier, who traded in diamonds and other precious stones, had to go from Masulipatam to Gonḍīkōṭa before going to Haidarabad simply because his diamonds had to be passed by Mīr Jumlā before being shown to the King, and it was after a full fortnight's stay at Ganḍīkōṭa that he was allowed to proceed to Haidarabad²ō. Quite naturally Mīr Jumlā's great power and authority exercised the jealousy of the royal entourage which reacted on the haughtiness and sense of independence on his part as well as on the part of his family.<sup>27</sup>

Bija

evid

carr. Aura

to il

dom

Secr

to de

to th

not (

mad

prop

Muh

same

bād

and him

Nort

of th

'Abd

safet

28

negot

Inaya

Jumi

the cr

There

Juml

COTTO

30.

31.

tol. 7

in thi

J. 1

It was a silly and very untoward episode which set the State ablaze. Puffed up with pride Muḥammad Sa'īd's son Muḥammad Amīn would not be under anybody's discipline especially when his father was away at Ganḍīkōṭa. It is related that once he dared to go to the Palace dead drunk and was sick while he was lying on the velvety tapestry of the Throne in the very sanctum of the Palace. Mīr Jumlā had already sensed the danger that lay in his path and had informed the Shāh of Iran as well as the King of

region by "the Nawabu of Golkonda on behalf of the Pachchayi" or the Emperor; A.R.E., 1920-21, no. 10., referred to in Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume, p. 225. See n. 68 below, and 'Abdu'l-lāh's letter to the Shāh of Iran, Makātīb, letter 1, extracts in n. 39 below. Of course the Emperor at the time the campaign was initiated was Shāh Jahan not 'Alamgīr.

25. Bernier, 17; Thevenot, 144, says that he owned 20 maunds of diamonds.

26. Tavernier, pp. 200-32.

Gandīkōtā, Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 47' N., 70° 16' E. 27. Muḥammad Sa'īd was born about 1591. Various dates are ascribed to his arrival in the Deccan, and range from the later period of Sultan Muḥammad Qutb Shāh's reign (Tavernier, Ball's edition, 165) to 1630 (Sarkar, Aurangzeb, I, 193). Ḥadīqā, 215, says that Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd was appointed Sarkhel in R.Y. 14 or 1048/1638-39. Tavernier and other European travellers are not very reliable regarding their historical perspective or events at the Court. Thus Bernier, 18, says that Muḥammad Sa'īd was intimate with the King's mother (Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam) and this was one of the causes of the growing estrangement between the King and himself. This is incomprehensible as the venerable lady was born in 1001/1592-93 and must have been past 60 when the rift between Mīr Jumlā and the Sultān took place. Muḥammad Sa'īd also must have been over fifty when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Qutb Shāhī army of the Karṇāṭak. See Jagadish N. Sarkar, Life of Mīr Jumlā, p. 2, n. 2.

Bijapur that he wanted to seek asylum in their dominions,28 but evidently neither of them was willing to accept him. He had carried on negotiations with Prince Aurangzeb who was then at Aurangābād, and it is reported that he had actually asked him to invade Golkonda and make short work of the tottering kingdom.29 He had informed the Prince that the Dabir or Chief Secretary of the kingdom was a relation of his, and undertaken to defray the expenses of the Mughal army marching on the capital to the extent of fifty thousand rupees per day.30

'Abdu'l-lāh summoned Mīr Jumlā to the Court, but as he did not comply with the royal command the King imprisoned Muhammad Amīn at Kovilkondā for his insolence and confiscated his property.31 On his part Shah Jahan granted a mansab of 5000 to Muhammad Sa'id and that of 2000 to Muhammad Amin. At the same time Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to march on Haidarabad with the avowed object of the collection of arrears of peshkash.

Aurangzeb now sent his son Muhammad Sultan in advance, and ordered Hādīdād Khān, Governor of Mughal Tilangāna, to join him at Nāndēr with his forces. This joint army reached the Northern tip of Ḥusain Sagar lake, above five miles from the centre of the city, on 5-4-1066/22nd January 1656. It became clear to Abdu'l-lāh that he could not face the Mughal army, and he sought safety in flying to the ancient capital, Golkonda, with his entou-

28. Sarkar: Aurangzēb, I, dilates on this aspect a good deal. Secret negotiations with Prince Aurangzeb, ibid., 221. See also 'Inayat Khan: Shahishan-Namah, E. and D., VII, 108 ff. The dates given here are according to 'lnāyat Khān's version.

29. Gribble: History of the Deccan, I, 173, where the translation of Mir Junda's letter as given in Bernier, I, 38-39, is quoted. This is followed by the curious episode of Aurangzeb visiting Haidarabad dressed as an Ambas-sador with at sador with the purpose of "seizing" 'Abdu'l-lah, and the ruse leaking out.

There is no double purpose of "seizing" 'Abdu'l-lah, and the ruse leaking out. There is no doubt that Aurangzeb carried on secret negotiations with Mir Junda, but his coming to Haidarabad incognito is improbable and is not corroborated by other authorities.

30. Bernier, p. 18.

31. 'Inayat Khān, 108, Imprisonment at Kōvilkonda, Ādāb-i 'Alamgīrī, 15(a) who imprisonment tol. 75(a) where Aurangzeb informs Shah Jahan of Amin's imprisonment to that fort. Route Andhra Pradesh, 17° 45' in that fort. Kovilkonda, Mahbūbnagar district, Andhra Pradesh, 17° 47′ E.

when dared lying of the in his ng of

great stones.

Taida-

Jumla

night's

bad26

rcised

ughti-

e part

State

mmad

or the Comter to course n not

16' E. cribed Sultan

f dia-

(Sard was opean events timate of the his is

must took point-Jaga-

req

nov

hor:

tory by

Shi

now

and

to '

that

kno

in-la

Kin

the

Sul

viev

cam

had

face

mis

Aur

if s furt the

duc

agre Göl

1650

'Abo

3

3

of C

Khar

Ashi

rage.<sup>32</sup> The King now released Muḥammad Amīn with some of the belongings of Mīr Jumlā, but Muḥammad Sultān continued his march to the fort and ordered trenches to be dug and mines to be laid. Haidarabad was occupied the next day, but the army was forbidden to do any harm to the city as it was the object of the Prince to conciliate the people as far as possible.<sup>33</sup> The city and the palaces were nevertheless pillaged. Evidently 'Abdu'l-lāh had lost his morale, and he now sent 200 caskets full of priceless gems and other presents in order to conciliate Muḥammad Sultān. But just then Aurangzēb appeared on the scene. He came by forced marches from Aurangābād, having covered nearly 630 kilometres in just eighteen days. He reached Gōlkonda on 10-4-1066/28th January 1656, and immediately began to engage the Qutb Shāhī defenders.

'Abdu'l-lāh had no alternative left except to beg for a cessation of hostilities. But the battle raged and the siege of the citadel was further tightened and continued for nearly seven weeks. There were many sorties and daily battles particularly opposite Mūsā Burj of the citadel. At one stage 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered the fighting to stop and sent Mīr Faṣīḥ as his Envoy to the Mughal camp with four boxes full of jewels and elephants and horses with gold trappings, with the request for the grant of an interview to his venerable mother Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgum with Aurangzēb, but the

32. Ibid., 111. Khāfi Khān says that 'Abdu'l-lāh retired to Golkonda when he heard that the Prince had reached Mēdchal, while Sarkar, Aurangzeb, I 229 says that he fled to the citadel on 22nd January, 1656.

There is a discrepancy of one year between the dates given by 'Ināyat Khān on the one hand, and Muḥammad Wāris (Shāh Jahān Nāmah) and Muḥammad Swāleh ('Amal-i Swāleh) on the other. The episode of the invasion of Gōlkonḍa and the occupation of Haidarabad is placed by 'Ināyat Khān in 29 R.Y., while the other two chroniclers have placed them in 30 R.Y. See E. and D, VII, 109, n. 1. I have kept the dates but applied them to 30 R.Y., i.e. 1066/1655-56.

Medchal, town in the north-east of Haidarabad district, Andhra Pradesh; 17° 36' N., 78° 27' E.

33. The motive; 'Ināyat Khān, 112. The royal palace at Haidarabad pillaged; Aurangzēb, op.cit., 232 quoting, Adāb-i 'Ālamgīrī, fol. 110(a). According to Sarkar Aurangzēb reached Gölkonda on 6th February, 1656, but 'Ināyat Khān is clear that he was already there on 10.4.1066/28th January, 1656.

request was turned down and fighting restarted.34 Aurangzeb request was Mirza 'Abdu'l-Latīf to go to the Karnātak with 2000 horses and bring Muhammad Sa'id to the Mughal camp.

And now an event took place resulting in a diplomatic victory for Aurangzeb. Evidently the Emperor Shah Jahan lured by 'Abdu'l-lāh's petitions to himself and to his favourite son Dārā Shikoh, was perhaps feeling for him in his utter helplessness. He now sent his brother-in-law Shā'ista Khān with a robe of honour and a rank of 7,000 for Muḥammad Sultan as well as a farman to 'Abdu'l-lāh granting him a free pardon. But like the diplomat that he was, Aurangzeb simply suppressed the farman.35 Not knowing what had happened, 'Abdu'l-lāh now sent his eldest sonin-law, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, who was the right-hand man of the King, "with jewels, elephants and horses", and with an offer of the marriage of the King's second daughter to Prince Muhammad Sultan. The Prince now persuaded his father to grant an interview to Hayat Bakhshī Bēgum, who was brought to Shā'istā Khān's camp on 22-5-1066/8th March 1656.36 She was treated well and had the audience of Aurangzeb the next day. When she came face to face with the Viceroy, she begged pardon for her son's misdeeds and also requested the Prince to be considerate to him. Aurangzeb made it plain that an armistice could only be granted if she offered one crore of rupees on 'Abdu'l-lāh's behalf. On further entreaties on the part of the Queen, Aurangzeb agreed that the amount might be paid in three instalments, and further reduced his demand by two lakhs of hons.37 Consequent on this agreement the imperial army evacuated the trenches opposite Golkonda on 19-5-1066/5th March, 1656. On 19-6-1066/4th April, 1656 took place the marriage of Prince Muhammad Sultan to 'Abdu'l-lāh's daughter, and it was decided that 'Abdul'l-lāh on his

ne of

inued

mines army

ect of

e city

l'I-lāh

celess

ultan,

orced

etres

/28th

Shāhī

cessa-

itadel There

Mūsā

hting

with

trap-

vene-

t the

when

zeb, I,

en by

imah) of the

nāyat in 30

them

Pra-

rabad

10(a)

1656, Janu-

<sup>34.</sup> Khāfī Khān, 397.

<sup>35.</sup> Ināyat Khān, 115.

<sup>36.</sup> Thus 'Inayat Khān, 116. This was another insult to the royal house Golkonda in a Khān, 116. This was another insult to Shā'istā of Golkonda that the venerable queen should be brought merely to Shā'istā Rhān's camp Khan's camp in the first instance.

<sup>37.</sup> Qābil Khān, Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī, Salar Jung Library, Adab Nathr Farsi, No. 132. This valuable manuscript has been quoted profusely by Najīb Ashraf Nadam. Ashraf Nadawi in his excellent (though partisan) book, Ruqqaʿāt-i-ʿAlamgīr.

A'zamga-l A'zamgarh, n.d. The manuscript contains 39 letters from Aurangzeb to "Qutbu'l-Mulk."

death would be succeeded by his Mughal son-in-law. The Princess brought with her gems and other valuables worth ten lakhs as a present from her father, while it was agreed that the dowry of the bride should be two and a half lakhs of hons as well as the fort of Ramgir and the adjoining district. It was only now that the imperial farman pardoning 'Abdu'l-lah for his misdeeds, which Aurangzēb had received on 9-5-1066/24th February 1656, was handed over to 'Abdu'l-lah.38

Sa'i

111011

of C

diate

letter

to th The

and

Sultā stand

order

from

marc

happe

parts of th

than

shut

Aura not e more

press

to the

highly

Which

a trib

Auran

mone

he ha

again

the to

Haida

apologe

ment

mad

Muha

(i) th

Abdu

40. 16, an

mad ] Mugh

In the meantime Muhammad Sa'id had arrived near the capital and pitched his camp four kos from Husain Sagar somewhere near the modern Bolaram. On the 18th of March he received the imperial farman and robe of honour sent to him by Prince Aurangzēb from his camp. The Prince was already expecting him, and had sent Mālōji Nusairī Khan and Shamsu'd-dīn to him. He now proceeded to meet the Viceroy of the Deccan "accompanied by his army, consisting of 6000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry. 150 elephants and an excellent park of artillery together with his goods cash. material, furniture, gold. embroidered weapons, diamonds. rubies and other acquisitions."39 With this defection of Muhammad

38. Full text in Girdhārīlal Aḥqar's Tārīkh-i Zafarah, p. 31. See also Tavernier, p. 137 and Manucci, I, 235. The bride was given the title of Pādshāh Bībī after her marriage; see Grant Duff, History of the Marathas. I 209. Date and detail in 'Ināyat Khān, 117. Khāfī Khān, 400. says that the amount of the dowry was 14 lakhs of rupees. The title, "Pādshāh Bibi" did not prove to be auspicious to the Princess, as her husband was imprisoned for life by his father for siding with Shujā' in 1660 during the War of Succession; he died in prison in 1087/1677. It was rather unbecoming that after having transferred Ramgir as a part of the Princess's dowry 'Abdu'l-lāh wanted it back in his petitions to Dārā Shikōh, who was still in power; see, for instance letter to Dārā, 'Arā'iz, letter No. 5, fol. 14(b). Evidently he could not budge from Aurangzeb's orders when he was on the spot, but surreptitiously approached Dārā against Aurangzēb's verdict

'Abdu'l-lah's "misdeeds" are enumerated by Khāfī Khān, p. 401. Apart from Mir Jumla's affair he was squarely blamed for helping "'Add Khān" of Bījapur when his capital was invested by imperial forces, and for according asylum to Shivaji after his escape, under the delusion that he would hard over the forts conquered from "Adil Khān" and "Nizāmu" Mulk" to 'Abdu'l-lāh. This is how 'Adil Shah and Nizām Shāh are named

in the Mughal chronicles.

39. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Mīr Jumlā, p. 80. There is a graphic description of the complicity of Muhammad Sa'id with Aurangzeb in the pathetic letter 'Abdu'l-läh wrote to Shah 'Abbās II of Iran (1641-66) immeincess

of the cort of

ie im.

which

, was

capi-

where

ed the

rang-

i, and

now

ed hv

hants

cash.

ubies

nmad

e also

itle of

thas. I

at the

Bībī"

s im-

g the

ecomdowry

s still

14(b). as on erdict.

. 401. ''Adil

id for

that

mu'l-

amed

aphic

n the

mme-

Sa'id, who was no more Mīr Jumlā but Mu'azzam Khān, a Mughal mansabdar of 6000, a page of his life as well as that of the history of Golkonda — Haidarabād had been turned.40

diately after the "treaty" between himself and the Mughals. It is the first letter in Makātīb, op.cit. It is a long letter describing the stages which led to the annihilation of the freedom of the Qutb Shāhi State by the Mughals. The letter begins with the religious ties (of Shī'ism) which bound Iran, and the Qutb Shāhī dynasty. It then continues:

"When Muhammad Sa'id's son was imprisoned for his imprudence, Sultan Khurram (Shāh Jahan) set aside all previous treaties and underslandings and sent 30,000 horse under Prince Aurangzeb to the Deccan in order to 'liberate' Mīr Jumlā and his family. While Aurangzēb marched from the North (sic.,) Muhammad Sa'id, who was in league with him, marched from the Karnatak with 6000 horse and 70,000 foot soldiers. It so happened that just then the units of my army were distributed in different parts of the State, the two (invading) armies joined hands in the vicinity of the city of Haidarabad where my army could not be counted to more than four or five thousand horse. There was thus no alternative except to shut myself up in the fort of Muhammadnagar also called Golkonda. Aurangzeb's army was consequently able to occupy Haidarabad which had not experienced foreign rule for 170 years. The battles which ensued lasted more than three months. The fort was besieged and the defenders hard pressed while there was absolutely no hope of any external help. Money to the tune of thousands, lakhs and crores, jewels, gold and silver utensils, highly valuable china, priceless manuscripts collected for generations, which could not be carried to the Fort, have been looted. It was only after a tribute of 20 lakhs of hons had been paid that I was relieved. Sultan Aurangzeb left Golkonda accompanied by Muhhammad Sa'id with all the money, jewellery, diamonds, rubies and all the rest of the moveables which he had acquired through sheer embezzlement and treachery...

In the end I beg your Imperial Majesty to open a front at Qandhār against the Mughals who had conquered the Karnātak with the help of the traitor, Mīr Jumlā Muḥammad Sa'īd, and played havoc on the city of Haidarabad."

The whole letter is pathetically worded and 'Abdu'l-lāh's tone is nent about the advance of the joint forces of Prince Aurangzēb and Muḥam-Muḥammad Sa'īd on Gōlkonda, but they have been made in order to enhance (i) that the Karnātak was conquered at the instance of Aurangzēb; (ii) that 40. Makātīb, op.cit., p. 81. Muḥammad Sa'īd left Haidarabad on April

40. Makātīb, op.cit., p. 81. Muḥammad Sa'īd left Haidarabad on April had Bēg handed over to him Shāh Jahan's farmān conferring on him the Mu'azzam Khān

via t

by th

the !

the f

Shāh

quest

medi

distri

"as a

cut b

tion o

ed or that t

the A

mad Mu'az

a par

of fiv

Sultār

lare K

mad

Krish

barrin

Were

over t

Khān

elimina attacki the E

merely

district,

see n.

for his

#### (c) From 1656 to 'Abdu'l-lāh's death in 1672

The period covered by the last sixteen years of 'Abdu'l-lah's reign was full of revolutionary changes all over the country. The illness of Shāh Jahan leading to the complete control of Dara Shikoh on the administration of the State to the extent of poison. ing the Emperor's ears against Aurangzēb, caused a turmoil in the Empire. Aurangzēb left Aurangābād on February 5, 1658, along with his youngest brother Murad, defeated Jaswant Singh at Dharmatpur or Dharmat near Ujjain, inflicted a decisive defeat on his elder brother Dāra-Shikōh at Samūgarh on June 8, 1658 and assumed the reins of Government on July 31. He confined his aged father to a part of the Agra fort. He defeated his second brother Shujā at Khajwā near Banaras on January 14, 1659 and Dārā at Deorāi near Ajmer on March 24, 1659, while his youngest brother Murād was held in the Gwālior fort. It was after the battle of Deorāi that Aurangzēb formally crowned himself Emperor on June 5, 1650. Dārā was executed in September, Shujā had to fly to Arakan where he was murdered by the local ruler in 1661 and Murād was done to death the next year.41

In the Western hinterland another revolution was being wrought, and that was the rise of the Marāthas under Shivāji. It is not necessary to detail here the slow but sure rise of this diplomat and strategist from his first clash with the Mughals on the occasion of their invasion of Bījapur in 1657 right up to his accession as Mahārāja Shivāji Chatrapati in 1674. His murder of Afzal Khān in 1659, his mutilation of the Mughal Governor Shā'ista Khān in 1663, his two sacks of Surat in 1664 and 1680, the treaty of Purandhar and his submission to Rāja Jai Singh in 1665, his summons to and escape from Agra, from where he returned home

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>41.</sup> We have a number of interesting letters from Aurangzeb to his father as well as his brothers written before and during the War of Succession, and while Shāh Jahan was confined in a corner of Agra Fort. They throw a flood of light on the inner politics of the period. They are included mainly in Ādāb-i 'Alamgīrī, Aṣafīyah MSS. Inshā, 87. The have been utilised profusely by Najib Ashraf Nadawi in Muqaddama Ruqqa'at-i 'Alamgir, pp. 334-406, and those covering the period ending in the War of Succession, partly copied in Ruqqa'āt-i 'Alamgir, Vol. I. There are also a number of letters included in general chronicles as well as in some other collections which have been so utilised.

tia the Qutb Shāhī territory in 1666 and his recognition as Rāja by the Emperor are well-known. But the continued struggle with the intrepid Marātha, coupled with campaigns in other parts of the farflung Empire, left little time for Aurangzēb to turn to Qutb Shāhi territory immediately.

ı'l-lāh's

. The

f Dārā poison-

in the

along

igh at

defeat

3, 1658

ned his

second

59 and

ungest

er the

Empe-

jā had

ler in

being

iji. It

s dipon the

acces-Afzal

ıā'ista

treaty

5, his

home

father

n, and row a nainly tilised

r, pp.

oer of

When Muhammad Sa'id crossed over to the Mughal camp the question of the ownership of the vast Karnātak territory came immediately to the fore. The cession of the Rāmgir (or Ārāmgīr) district, between the Painganga and the Godavari, to the Mughals 'as a part of the dowry of 'Abdu'l-lah's daughter" provided a shortcut between Mughal Tilangana and the Karnatak, and the question of the ownership of Mīr Jumlā's conquests more or less hinged on the possession of this district. While 'Abdu'l-lah claimed that the Karṇāṭak had been conquered by Muḥammad Saʻid, then the Mir Jumlā of the kingdom, Aurangzēb averred that Muḥammad Sa'id was now a nobleman of the Mughal Empire entitled Mu'azzam Khān, and as such Aurangzēb claimed the territory as a part of the Empire. But in spite of the offer of a pēshkash of five lakh hons as well as other manoeuvring on the part of the Sultān, Shāh Jahan was perhaps prevailed upon by Dārā to declare Karṇāṭak to be a  $jar{a}gar{u}r$  of the Empire and confer it on Muḥammad Sa'īd. Mughal armies under Muḥammad Hāshim and Krishna Rao actually marched into the territory and occupied it, barring the great fortresses of Siddhout and Gandikōṭa which were occupied by 'Abdu'l-lāh's army.42

The continued preoccupations of Aurangzēb were too varied for him to attempt a final blow on the Qutb Shāhi State. Morewer there was a clash of the policies of Aurangzēb and Muʻazzam khān regarding the priority of invasion. Aurangzēb wanted to eliminate Gōlkonḍa first, while Muʻazzam khān would begin by the Emperor Shāh Jahan and he actually persuaded him not merely not to molest Gōlkonḍa for the present but actually to

<sup>42.</sup> Adāb-i 'Ālamgīrī, letters 56(b), 59(b) etc., referred to in Sarkar, Siddhout or Siddle.

Siddhout or Siddhavatam, headquarters of a taluq in the Cuddapah For the Part of the Mughals in initiating the Karnāṭak campaign

allow 'Abdu'l-lāh to reoccupy Udayagirī<sup>43</sup> on the pretext that the territory never belonged to Muḥammad Sa'id. Aurangzēb there upon appointed a one-man commission to enquire into the affair and when the commission reported that Udayagirī had been a part of the territory conquered by Muḥammad Sa'id he ordered that the town in dispute should be restored to Muḥammad Sa'id's officers and only a Quṭb Shāhī Qil'ahdār should remain at Udayagirī.<sup>44</sup>

humb

"the

Aurai

march

possil

satisfa

care t

impos

to me

concer

the N

rial of

kash s

ing M

the se

the D

battle

nity b

but o

realise

he offe

the po

Prince

45.

Shah vi

letters.

obviousl pressure

a marri

which le

These le

Pradesh

Mughal

J. 18

46. A

T

'Abdu'l-lāh's strength lay in the continued authority wielded by Dārā at the Mughal Court. As long as Aurangzēb had not crushed his authority at Samugarh and at Deorai he had a lever with which he could attempt to turn Shah Jahan's policy in his favour. We have a series of his "petitions" addressed to Dārā in which he flattered him as the heir to the imperial throne and called himself as "the disciple who reveres ("worships") his murshid (spiritual guide), the Emperor", he also considered it "a matter of high honour" that his letters should reach the Emperor's presence at all and said that the peshkash which "this servant has sent to His Majesty is as utterly humble as the gift of a mere ant to the Presence of the Abode of Solomon himself". In another letter to Dārā he requested that (1) The Province of the Karnāṭak which had been acquired after spending lakhs and crores should be restored to him; (2) that the fort of Ramgir, which had been his property by right of inheritance, should be given back to him; and (3) that the amount of peshkash which had been paid into the imperial treasury should be set off against the total demand, and he should be allowed to pay it by instalments. In one of the few dated letters to Dārā, written in Shawwal 1065/July-August, 1655, 'Abdu'l-lāh thanked him for the presents and the robe of honour which a messenger had brought from the Prince, and requested that everything which might mar the good relations between the two States should be removed. In another letter 'Abdı.'l-lāh said that he offered his

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid., 89(b); Sarkar I, 245-6. Udayagirī (not Udgīr, as in Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Mīr Jumlā, 106) in the Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 52' N., 79° 19' E.

<sup>44.</sup> Ādāb, letters, fol., 160 a-b, 89 b-90 b etc. utilised in Mir Jumla, op.cit, p. 107.

bumble duties in the path of service and obedience to His Majesty the Refuge of the Khilafat", the Emperor.45

There are three interesting letters from 'Abdu'l-lah to Prince Aurangzeb which show that the Sultan had been alerted by the march of Aurangzeb northwards and had begun to think of the possibility of his success. The first letter significantly expressed stisfaction at the confinement of Muhammad Sa'īd at Daulatābād, which occurred in December 1657. Evidently Aurangzeb took care to inform 'Abdu'l-lāh of this, and the Sultān said that it "is impossible to thank your Imperial Highness for the service done to me". In the same vein of flattery 'Abdu'l-lah showed his "deep concern" at the news that Aurangzeb was leaving the Deccan for the North. The letters ended with the complaint that the imperial officials were not paying heed to the Prince's orders the peshkash should be levied in instalments and stated that he was sending Mir Fasiḥu'd-dīn to represent the true facts of the case. In the second letter he "humbly" entreated the Prince to return to the Deccan. The third letter was evidently written after the battle of Samugarh and before the assumption of the royal dignity by Aurangzeb. He was addressed with almost royal titles but only as Pādshāhzāda Muḥammad Aurangzēb. 'Abdu'l-lāh realised that all along he was backing the wrong horse, and now he offered his "humble thanks to God in words which are beyond the power of the tongue to translate", for the success which the Prince had attained,46

45. Makātīb, op.cit., fols., 9(a)-27(a). The humility of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Ståh vis-à-vis Dārā Shikōh could not be more pronounced than in these letters. The petition for the restoration of Rāmgīr and the Karṇāṭak was obviously a counter-move to Aurangzeb's action in the Deccan, as it was his Ressure which made 'Abdu'l-lah cede the important district of Ramgir as a marriage portion of his daughter, and it was Aurangzeb's pressure again These letters at virtual annexation of the Karnatak to the Mughal Empire. These letters show the double dealing on the part of 'Abdu'l-lah as well as lack of famous the double dealing on the part of 'Abdu'l-lah as well as his lack of foresight. When the change at the imperial capital suddenly after Samuel after Samue or foresight. When the change at the imperial capital loss to his self. less to his self-respect and independence.

Rāmgīr or  $Ar\bar{a}mg\bar{\imath}r$ , Manthani taluqā, Karīmnagar district, Andhra 18° 47' N Pradesh 18° 47′ N., 79° 30′ E.

46. Makâtib, op.cit., 33(b), 36(b), 39(b). It was characteristic of 'Abdu'l-have rolled or of the Makatib, op.cit., 33(b), 36(b), 39(b). It was characteristic of the line to have rolled over completely with nonchalance. In the case of the campaign have rolled over completely with nonchalance. In the case campaign against Bijapur I have followed the dates as given in

thereaffair een a dered Sa'id's

in at

at the

ielded d not lever in his Dārā e and ) his

ed it

Empes serift of self". ce of s and mgir,

ld be vhich gainst nstaln in

had vhich d be 1 his

for

adish desh;

p.cit.,

138

The Bijapur campaign of 1657 and the initial success which was attained was to a large extent Muhammad Sa'id's work though it had the cooperation of Prince Aurangzeb as well. The reason for the aggression given by the imperialists was the thin veneer of the supposed question of the parentage of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh II who had succeeded his father Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh on 4th November 1656. Muḥammad Sa'id reached Aurangābād on 18th January 1657, the strong-hold of Bidar was occupied on the · 31st of March, Kalyani on the 29th of July, while Muhammad Sa'id's recall to Delhi put an abrupt stop to the whole campaign This was the second time within eighteen months that Aurang. zēb's ambitions were nipped in the bud, and he now realised that he must proceed up North to try his luck at the gamble for power. 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was much too weak and prostrate after the events of previous years even to hint at helping his brother-in-law of Bījapur in his fight for independence.

The :

Abdu

Minis

had ( ("Rāj

two S

comm

other

cavalr

the gr

the D

'Abdu'

enemy

wished

thereu

Khān,

strateg

Singh

Mugha

the 'A

major

thence

In spite

quo an

(iii) B

'Abdu'l

Muham

reign of

alliance

'Adil S

Chand

dynastic mad 'A

49. B

he numb

50. 'A

Th

Aurangzēb was safely on the throne as Emperor 'Ālamgīr in 1658. His preoccupations with Shivaji came to an end for the time being with the Treaty of Purandhar which was signed in June 1665. By a stroke of diplomacy, Rāja Jai Singh, the Mughal Commander-in-Chief had drafted the treaty in such a way that Shivajī, who had so long been fighting the Mughals in alliance with Bijapur, now became an ally of the Mughals, and at their instance began to harass and annex the Konkan forts. It is significant that in a secret letter to Aurangzeb Jai Singh writes that it would be "highly expedient to show imperial favours to Quib Shah now, and to induce him to give up the idea of joining the Bījapurīs."47 Jai Singh started from Purāndhar on 19th November, 1665 and the first contact with the Biījapurīs was made on 25th December. In four days' time Jai Singh was within twelve miles of Bijapur. It was probably now that 'Abdu'l-lah Quth Shah began to feel strong enough to help his brother-in-law, and the rumour that the Quib Shāhi army was approaching Bijapur to help the 'Adil Shāhi army must have taken Jai Singh aback."

Basatīn, 365; they are at variance with Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, II 262, 276, and with Mīr Jumlā, 12 by a few days.

48. Sarkar, op.cit., 114.

<sup>47.</sup> Jai Singh to Aurangzeb, end of August 1665, Haft Anjuman, 72(a) quoted in Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, IV, 106.

The rumour hardened into facts, and we have a letter from The land of 'Ali 'Adil Shah which was sent through the Prime Minister of Bijapur, 'Abdu'l-Muhammad, in which he said that it had come to his notice that the "Rāja of bad temperament" (Rāja-i bad-riwāj") had taken up arms against Bījapur and the wo States had been joined by treaties in a bond of unity and common purpose in such a way that they coalesced into each other as if they were one body. "So I wish to send a possé of cavalry and infantry under one of our officers in whom I have the greatest confidence so that the enemy may be driven out of the Deccan". In reply to his letter 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh assured 'Abdu'l-lāh that his army was equal to the task of driving the enemy out and no help was really needed. But as 'Abdu'I-lāh wished to send his troops he was most welcome to do so. He thereupon sent 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry under Neknam Khan, "who was known for his foresight, his bravery and his strategy" to Bijapur".49 The two armies moved to surround Jai Singh in a pincer movement. In a series of engagements the Mughals were certainly victorious on the field but could not crush the Adil Shāhī-Qutb Shāhī armies. There was practically no major fighting and the Mughal army retreated to Dhārūr and thence to Aurangābād where it arrived on 20th November, 1666. h spite of protracted fighting the Mughals had to agree to status que ante, and the Quib Shāhī forces were ordered home.50

# (iii) Bījapur

s which

work,

he thin

li 'Adil

il Shāh

abad on

on the

ammad

mpaign.

Aurang.

ed that

power.

fter the

-in-law

ngīr in

for the

ned in

Mughal

y that

lliance

t their

s signies that

Quib

ng the

lovem-

ade on

twelve

Qutb

v, and

ijapur

oack.48

ēb, III

72(a)

This episode naturally leads us to the relationship between Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh and his contemporary rulers of Bījapur, reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II. Ever since the alliances between the 'Ādil Shāh there had been a series of marriage 'Adil Shāh II had married Muḥammad-Quli Qutb Shāh's sister dynastic union was further cemented by the marriage of Muḥam-Madi Shāh to 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh's sister Khadīja Sultāna

<sup>49.</sup> Basātīn, pp. 412-13, Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb, E and D., VII, 278, gives 50. 'Alamgīrnāma, 1019,

Al

fo!

fol

art

w

ful

of

Ev Sh

be;

sai

me

Ni

Sh

son

acc

pes

Mu

Wa

and

wh

tra:

thr

kor

and

cap

Wall Wol or

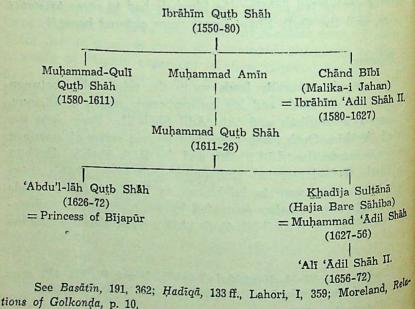
Ap

in t

which was celebrated with great éclat in February, 1633.51 These unions were not merely mariages de convenance but were, in a way, natural, as both were the only remnants of the five Bāhmani Succession States and both were the bulwarks of the Shī'ah persuasion after the elimination of Ahmadnagar. There was again a lateral relationship between the ancestors of the two dynasties, as Chānd Bībī, Queen of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh I, was the direct descendant of Qarā Yūsuf's son, Jahān Shāh, while the Qutb Shāhīs traced their descent from his other son, Mirza Sikandar.

But there was a pull in another direction as well. The expansionist tendencies of the Succession States after the disruption of Bāhmani Deccan had left a tradition of frontier clashes which proved to be their bane and persisted right through their history except during short periods when they were endangered by strong external pressures. The League of the Four Sultāns, the appeals of Chānd Bībī and Malik 'Ambar and the alliance of Bījapur and Gōlkonda at the time of grave peril were exceptions rather than the rule. This attitude of temporary understanding is well described by Faizī Sarhindī who observes as early as the reign of

51. The following table would show the relationship of the two dynastics:



141

These re, in a Sāhmani persu. again a

nasties, descen-Shāhīs

expanption of which history strong appeals pur and er than ell deseign of

dynas-

i) āh II.

iā pa) Shāh

II. RelaAkbar that the settled rule among dakhni States was that "if a foreign army entered their country they united their forces and foreign notwithstanding their dissensions and quarrels they had mong themselves." 52 among themselves." 52

The Mughals perceived this spring-like attitude especially when both the States were in their downward trend, and successfully put an end to their autonomy simultaneously, so that neither of them should be able to help the other in any effective manner. Even the demands for pēshkash were made simultaneously. When Shāh Jahan sent an ultimatum to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in the beginning of 1631 he mentioned that his overlordship extended both to the territories of Bijapur and Gölkonda and it was necessary that both should coin money in his name and have his name mentioned in the Friday sermons.53 After the elimination of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, which had close relationship with the 'Adil Shāhis, the latter were the natural butt of the Mughals. After some struggle, however, Muhammad 'Adil Shah was forced to accept the hegemony of the Emperor and agree to 40 lakhs as pēshkash.54 But the final curtain was drawn in 1637. While both Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh were blamed for not submitting their pēshkash it is significant that 'Abdu'l-lāh was further charged with "having broken the bonds of servitude and to have prepared the way for an alliance with 'Adil Khan", who had in his turn made common cause with Shāhji the sequestrator of the Nizām Shāhī territory. The two imperial farmāns which were virtually an ultimatum were sent simultaneously, through Mukarramat Khān to Bījapur and 'Abdu'l-Latīf to Gōlkonda.55 It is again significant that both the Kings of Bijapur and Golkonda had to travel more than five miles from their capitals to meet imperial Envoys, and both the Kings were rewarded by Shāh Jahan's bejewelled portraits. In both cases the word Inqiyad or "Submission" was used and the unilateral treaties or farmans, that of 6th May 1936, with "Adil Khan" and that of April May 1936, with "Adil Khan" and that of April-May 1636 with "Qutbu'l-Mulk" were more or less identical in their purport. But what is interesting from the point of view

<sup>52.</sup> Faizī Sarhindī: Akbarnāmah, E. and D., VI, 131.

<sup>54.</sup> Lahori, I, 302. 55. 'Amal-i Şwāleḥ, II, 148-50; Lahori, II, 126-27.

of Gölkonda-Bijapur relations is that while "'Ādil Khān" was pampered as the strongest ruler (duniyādār) of the Deccan and the chief potentate of the region", he was ordered not to send anything in money or in kind ("naqd-o jins") to "Quṭbu'l-Mulk". On the other hand a wave of suspicion was created in the mind of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh who was made to say in the Ta'ahhud Nāmah or "Deed of Agreement" of April-May, 1936 that "if 'Adil Khān tries to conquer my country, I would request you to come and help me", and in case the Emperor or his Viceroy by-passed his entreaty and he was made to pay to "'Adil Khān", then an amount equal to such a payment would be deducted from his pēshkash. 56

sh

of

alc

up

Sa

the

an

pro

tha

ma

164

and

Bīj

wa.

con

Sha

sieg

'Ad

war bet

hon

Bija

50utl

part

wher

to th

large

in 15

to fo

60

app.

a ref

IL 50

18.2.1

Kapu

pensa

61

On the first such contacts came with the invasion of the Karnāṭak by the armies of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shāh and Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh. The scions of the great dynasty which once ruled Vijayanagar, Venkaṭa III and his successor Srīranga III, were fast losing ground and their small kingdom was being swallowed up slowly but surely by their vassals as well as their enemies.<sup>57</sup> It was therefore only natural that both Bījapur and Gōlkonḍa-Haidarabād should try and fill in the vacuum. The first to step in was Bījapur, and it was at the instance of one of the warring local chiefs, the ruler of Tarikere, that Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh sent an army under Randaula Khān who captured Ikkēri with the help of Kenge Ḥanuma in December 1637. Sira followed, where he appointed Shāhjī as the Governor of the district, and Bangalore and many other forts were taken the next year.<sup>58</sup>

56. The negotiations as well as the farmāns and "agreements" are interspersed in Lahori, II, 130-204. These are all Deeds of Submission and Deeds of Promises following what are really farmāns or orders issued by Shāh Jahan leaving no loopholes for any discussion. What is significant is that there was no possibility of the two Sultānates joining hands in any venture except at the instance of and with the consent of the Emperor.

57. Venkata III, 1630-42, Srīranga III, 1642-1681. Neither Venkata nor Srīranga ruled their small States effectively upto the end. Venkata III, ed in a helpless condition for some time and died on 10 October, A.D. 1642, while as to Srīranga, "though he continued to rule probably till A.D. 1681, the information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre, and no definite conclusions are possible in the present state of our knowledge"—Further Sources, I. 347 and 369 respectively.

58. Further Sources, I, 343; Basātīn, 345-46.
Bangalore; now chief town of the Mysore State; 12° 58' N., 77° 38' E.

Was

and

send

ılk"

nind hud

Adil

ome ssed

an his

the

am-

nce III,

val-

neir

and

The

the

dil

čeri red. and

er-

eds

nāh

hat

ure

nor III,

n-

2", 81,

no

E.

These sweeping movements of the Bijapur army, which made short work of resistance in the Karnāṭak, were not to the liking of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah. In 1542 the Golkonda army marched along the East coast and subdued a number of coastal towns right upto Pulicet and Armagon. But it was not till Muhammad Sa'id Mir Jumla was commissioned by the King to march into the interior of the Karnatak that an effective advance was made and far reaching results were accomplished.<sup>59</sup> The diplomacy and progress of Mir Jumla were so definite and the clash so imminent that Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh had to make an agreement ("'Ahd Namah") in Safar 1056/March-April, 1646 to the effect that "the territory, spoils of war, goods, jewels and cash of Srī Ranga Rāyal were to be amicably divided between Bijapur and Gölkonda in the proportion of 2:1". This agreement was regarded as of supreme importance and was the subject of a considerable amount of communication between 'Abdu'l-lah and Shah Jahan.60 The immediate effect of the agreement was the siege of Vellöre in April 1649 by the combined Qutb Shāhi and 'Adil Shāhi armies and the promise of the Rāyal to pay a large war indemnity. But this unity almost immediately led to discord between the two as the whole indemnity to the tune of fifty lakh hons and a large number of elephants was taken over by the

<sup>59.</sup> The word "Karnāṭak" as used for the country of Mīr Jumlā's advance southwards is a misnomer as, for the most part, it covered the southern part of the present Andhra Pradesh and the northern part of the region where Tamil was spoken. The reason why the name Karnatak was given to the reason. to the region was purely historical. Originally Kannada was spoken in a large part of the old Vijayanagar Empire, but after the fall of the capital in 1565 the Empire gradually receded into the Telugu and the Tamil regions. Still the name "Karnatak" stuck to the receding kingdom, even when it had to forgo broad. to forgo practically all the territory where Kannada was spoken.

For Mir Jumlā's campaigns see below. 60. The 'Ahd Nāmah; Jagadish Narayan Sarkar: Mir Jumlā, pp. 15-16; app. A, p. 298. The date is derived from Golconda Letters, 5(a)-7(a) where a reference to Shāh Jahan's shikār near Kabul is read along with Lahori, II, 500-1 and 509 mentioning that Shāh Jahan left Lahore for Kabul on

<sup>61.</sup> Mir Jumlā, op.cit., 17, referring to Zuhūri's Muḥammadnāma, MSS. Kapurthala State Library, 276-85, which, Jagadīsh Sarkar says, is "indispensable for Mir Jumla's campaigns in the Karnatak."

and i

basec

hent

nther

eithe

notice

by th

by th

to see

and i

"dual

to inf

I take

the p

Shāh

Shāh

of Pā

uniqu

even

by th

on 24

ed to

ed Ga

other

his Er

King ever.

King

attack

proper

64.

65.

of Gan

Jumlā.

1648 (t

Mustafi

his hold

1. 19

B

The rift seemed to be permanent, and as the representatives of the two Sultanates overshadowed the authority of the local Nāvaks, the latter were also divided into two warring groups. The Nayak of Tanjore "threw himself at the mercy of Mir Jumia" and the Nāyak of Jinjī "also solicited his protection." On the other hand Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, who did not see eve to eve with the Nayak of Tanjore, appealed to Muhammad 'Adil Shāh for help. It was in 1647-48 that 'Adil Shāh sent Muzaffaru'ddin Khān Muhammad to enter the Qutb Shāhi territory and raze the border forts to the ground.62 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah immediately appealed to the Emperor to intervene. In a series of despatches to his Envoy at the Mughal Court, 'Abdu's-Samad Dabiru'l-Mulk, the Sultan complained to Shah Jahan that while no attention was paid to the agreement by Bijapur, "even the territory which was Golkonda's share" had been taken over by the Bijapuris. In a despatch to Mir Fasihu'd-din, who had apparently succeeded 'Abdu's-Samad at the Imperial Court the Sultan asked him to approach Shah Jahan that a farman be issued under which both "'Adālat Panāh" (meaning 'Ādil Shah) and himself should be bound by the agreement and the territories pertaining to Tanjore and Jinji be partitioned accordingly. He also wanted the Emperor to appoint two officers, one accredited to Golkonda and the other to Bijapur, to settle matters. He further expressed his willingness to modify the agreement, if necessary, in such a way that 'Adil Shah might be allowed to keep all the moveable spoils of war while the territory taken from the Rāyal and his confederates might be divided equally between Bijapur and Golkonda,63

'Abdu'l-lāh also sent a number of despatches to his Envoy at Bījapur, Ḥājī Naṣīra, in which he commanded him to see Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh as well as the Queen of Bījapur, his sister,

62. Mīr Jumlā, 18, relying upon Muḥammadnāma, 362-79; Golconda Letters, 5(a)-7(a), 25(a)-(b), 151(b)-153(9).

Jinjī, headquarters of a taluqa, South Arcot district, Madras Pro-

vince, 12° 15' N., 79° 25' E.

<sup>63.</sup> Makātīb, op.cit., 73(b), 74(b). For the history of Jinjī especially its conquest by Bījapūr see Srinivasachari, History of Gingee and its Rulers, 153-182, which is a lucid account of the operations among the Nayaks of the various parts of the Vijayanagar rump. See Basātin, 317-321, 328; also Vriddhagirisan: The Nāyaks of Tanjore, 330 ff.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and Gangotti

# ABDU'L-LAH QUTB SHAH (1626F1672NCE BOOM

and remind them that the high poney of the two kingdoms was based on their mutual regard for each other, and it was incumbest that they should hold mutual consultations and keep each other informed of any matter which might affect the welfare of one of the despatches asked Hājī Nasira to bring it to the notice of the King of Bijapur how greatly hurt 'Abdu'l-lah was by the occupation of certain parganās near Gandīkōtā and Guttī by the Bijapuri forces. In another letter he again asked the envoy io seek special audience of His Majesty "and my revered sister" and impress upon them that there should be no question of any "duality" in the matters pertaining to Karnāṭak." "I undertake to inform His Majesty (Muhammad 'Adil Shah) of every action I take in the matter, and in the same way I expect reciprocity on the part of His Majesty as well".64

But this peaceful—or weak-kneed—policy of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shah could not prevent war with Bijapur. Muḥammad Ādil Shah must have been rather puffed up by the grant of the title of Pādshāh by Shāh Jahan in 1061/1651, an honour which was unique on the part of Delhi as no other southern potentate—not even the Sultan of Bijapur—had so far been recognized as King by the Delhi rulers. 65 The capture of Gandīkōṭā by Mīr Jumlā on 24-8-1652 was a thorn on the side of 'Ādil Shāh, who complained to Shāh Jahan that 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh's army had captured Gandikōtā "without the knowledge of the Emperor." On the other hand 'Abdu'l-lāh tried to clear his conduct by instructing his Envoy at Delhi that Gandīkotā was within his sphere and the King of Bijapur should have no objection to its capture whatsoever. He also instructed his Envoy at Bijapur to impress on the King the wrong that Siddi Raihān had done him by unlawfully attacking the territories of Gandikōṭā and Guttī and he should be Properly warned not to commit such encroachments in future. 66

atives

local

oups.

mia",

1 the

e eye

'Ādil

ru'd-

raze

nme-

des-

Dabī-

e no terri-

the

ently

sked

hich

ould

Tān-

the

and

l his

way

poils

ede-

da.63

1404

see

ster,

onda

ially ilers,

the the

rid-

Pro-

थह पुस्तक विंतरित स का जाय CC-0. In Public Domain, Gurukul Kalan Collection, Haridway Accountation, Haridway Assessment of the Control of

<sup>64.</sup> Makātīb, 75(b), 76(a).

<sup>65.</sup> Basāţīn, 346.

<sup>6.</sup> Mir Jumlā, 27-29; Makātib, 73(a), 75(b). The date of the capture Gandikotā 220. of Gandikōtā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Appendis Services of Gandikōtā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in Mir Jumlā, Appendis Services of Gandikotā as mentioned by Gandikotā as mentio Junio, Appendix B. It had been agreed before 3-11-1058/9th November, the date on B. It had been agreed before Mustafa Khān died) that lag (the date on which the Bijapur Commander, Mustafa Khan died) that Mustafā Knan cuec, Mustafā Knan cuec, his hold on Gandal, should be kept in occupation of Jinjī while Mīr Jumlā should keep his hold on Gandīkōṭā; Basāṭin, 327.

Both the Gölkonda and Bijapur forces were in war array, and a clash was only to be expected. Khān Muḥammad of Bijapur besieged the stronghold of Guttī but soon abandoned it to pursue Mīr Jumlā at Gandīkōtā itself which he had made the centre of his government. It fell to Raja Ghōrpādē of Mudhol to dislodge Mīr Jumlā from Gandīkōtā, and to make him sue for peace. After fairly long pourparlers it was agreed that he should pay an indemnity of two lakh and fifty thousand hons, while on the other hand Gandīkōtā and Kokkanūr were to be returned to Mīr Jumlā. The terms were agreed to by Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in January-February 1652.67 The sum total of the treaty was that the flag of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh was again flying on the ramparts of Gandīkōtā, and except for a loss of some prestige Mīr Jumlā's diplomacy had won the day.

Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was succeeded to the throne of Bijapur by his nineteen year old son 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, on 26-1-1067/4th September, 1656. He had to encounter many difficulties during his reign of sixteen years. The title of Pādshāh granted to his father by the Emperor did not prove auspicious to the Mughal-Bījapur relations and the war which followed proved to be a cementing force between 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh and his nephew 'Ali: Ādil Shāh II, leading to the withdrawal of the Mughal forces. 'Ali died less than four months after 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh's death on 21st April 1672.

Progress of Quib Shāhi arms in Eastern Karņāṭak

We have dealt with the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of Golkonda and Bijapur as well as the conflict between these two kingdoms consequent on the penetration of Golkonda

67. Mīr Jumlā, 30-31, based on Muḥammadnāma, 406-15, and Foster. English Factories in India, IX, 99, 111. Bāji Rao Ghōrpādē of Mudhol was a scion of the Ghōrpādē family who had cordial relations with the Bahmanīs and after them with the 'Adil Shāhīs. See Apte: Mudhōl Sansthānchya Ghōrpādē Gharānchya Itihās; for their relations with the 'Ādil Shāhīs, see specially ch. 4, pp. 93-164. The Persian 'Ādil Shāhī farmān in favour of Bāji Rāo Ghōrpādē is reproduced in extenso on p. 37 of the appendix, followed by its Marathi and English translations. See also Sherwani: Mahmūd Gāwān the Great Bahmanī Wazir, Appendix V, pp. 242-44. Kokkanūr, in the Raichūr district, Mysore State, 15° 27' N., 70° E.

tern
explo
politic
June
earlie
and th
Emper
actual
quer a

arms

sible kingdo the To

Karnā

was p

ranga

when

was in Muḥar perhar which Muḥar again. 1048/1 and he

honour

68. 1
in Furth
69. 1
Gölkond
were: (
trate the
to help
avers th
was stro

Empire, 70. F traced to of his ru

mainly in Eastern Karnāṭak and of Bījapur mainly in Wes-It is clearly difficult to extricate the military tem Kanagania in the time of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah from political pressures, especially when the Deed of Submission of June 1637 on the part of 'Abdu'l-lah and its prototype five weeks earlier on the part of 'Adil Shah had made both the Qutb Shahi and the 'Adil Shāhī monarch subservient to the fiat of the Mughal Emperor. We have it from the Dutch sources that the Emperor actually "commanded the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda to conquer and partition the Karnāṭak between themselves."68 It is possble that the Mughals foresaw the final elimination of the two kingdoms and the subsequent annexation of the country south of the Tungabhadra by themselves. 69

ay, and

Bījapur

pursue

ntre of

islodge . After

oay an

e other

to Mir

Shāh

y was

on the restige

f Bija-

L-1067/

culties ranted

to the

ved to

nd his

of the

u'l-lāh

in the

tween

konda

Foster:

ol was

Bah-

inchyo

is, see

our of

x, fol-

ahmud

kanūt,

The period of the advance of the Qutb Shahi forces into Eastern Kamatak was practically covered by the reign of Venkata III who was proclaimed Raya at Vellore in 1635, and his successor Sriranga III about whom practically nothing is known after 1658 when his capital, Chandragirī, passed into Qutb Shāhi hands.70 It was in 1052/1642 that 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh commissioned Mīr Muḥammad Saʻīd Ardistānī to advance into the Karṇāṭak as perhaps a counter-move to the advance of the 'Adil Shāhi army which had penetrated into large parts of the Western Karnatak. Muhammad Sa'id had proved his loyalty to the Throne time and again. He had filled the post of Sarkhēl with distinction since 1048/1638-9 and impressed the Sultan with his qualities of head and heart. The King summoned him and granted him robes of honour, while orders were passed to the officers of several batta-

& Macleod: De Oast-Indische Campaigne, (ii) pp. 180-90, referred to Further Sources, I, 353. See also n. 24 above.

8) Bernier has some interesting observations regarding the reasons why Golkonda was spared for such a long time. According to him the reasons was spared for such a long time. According to him the late the Dans Mughals were busy elsewhere; (2) they preferred to penetale the Deccan step by step; (3) the Kings of Golkonda were wise enough b help the Kings of Bijapur secretly against the Mughals. Bernier also areis that there was no fortress between Daulatabad and Golkonda which Travels in the Mogul Empire, Oxford, 1914, p. 192.

70. Further Sources, I, 368, where the rest of Srīranga's life history is tracted to 1681, but it is stated that "information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre".

## 148 Digitized by Arya Sarra Evandation Changiand Gangottion Y

lions and companies to join him in his great work. 'Ali Raza Khan sarlashkar of Kondavidu-Murtazānagar, the head of the Royal Guards, Ghāzī 'Alī Baig, the head of the Marātha cavalry, Dādāji Kantia, 'Alam Khan Pathān, Naikwārīs like Asīr Rāo who had shown his mettle in previous reigns, Venkata Reddy, 'Ainu'l-Mulk Shujā'u'l-Mulk and others with numerous cavalry and artiller were commanded to proceed to the front. Orders were further issued that articles of food for soldiers, followers and steed should be procured mainly from Masulipațam, Kondapalli and Kondavidu and "should be paid for according to the price current in the market", while the vendors were required to accompany the army. In order to expedite and organise the work at the front, a regular postal system was established between the camp and the capital by means of dak chowkis and arrangements were made to send daily news from the army headquarters to the capital by means of fas messengers and pigeons.71

1/8

th

Th

w

to

ar

ar

lai

Da

lo 16

kō

sh

Ch

for

ca

str

of

pla

K

Bi

an

wh

000

Ra

"S

loc

lar

176

per

Sir

tric

tric

140

The army thus collected consisted of 40,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 horsemen. It was concentrated at Murtazānagar-Konļavidu the headquarters of the Province adjacent to Eastern Karņaṭak. From Konḍavīḍu it took the straight road South, and by forced marches, evidently without any opposition, it reached Nellōre on the third day. Nellōre is situated in a vast plain stretching North and South and was protected by a large fort with strong circum-

71. Date of Muhammad Sa'id's appointment as Sarkhel; Hadiqa, M. The superiority of foot-carriers of official mail through dāk chowkīs is thus described by Tavernier (Travels in India, Calcutta, 224): "As a matter of fact foot messengers are faster than horsemen, for, at the end of every two leagues, when the runner reaches the stage but he throws his letter in the hut, but they are immediately picked up and carried by another fast runner to the next stage." Hadīqā, 295-302.

72. Strength of the Qutb Shāhi army, Macleod, op.cit., (ii) 167, 17. English Factories, 1642-45, pp. 44-5. For the capture of Nellore see Hadiqi. 302-3.

Nellōre; headquarters of a district in Andhra Pradesh; 140° 27' N,  $^{9/}$  2' E

Kondāpallī; Vijayawada taluqa, Krishņa district, Āndhra Pradesh, 16 37' N., 80° 33' E.

Kondavīdu; Narasaraopēt taluga, Guntūr district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 16′ N., 80° 16′ E.

Masūlipaṭam; headquarters of the Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh; 15 9' N., 81° 12' E.

vallation and battlements. There were a number of sorties by the garrison but they were all repulsed and the fort occupied. the garrier strong fort on the way South was Damlūr or Dandalūrū, which was so strong and so well guarded that Muhammad Sa'id had to write to the capital for a large body of mine-layers. On their arrival trenches were dug and fired on 20-1-1052/11th April, 1642 and the fort was occupied. Venkata now gathered together a large force consisting of his own army as well as Velugōti Timma, Damerla Venkata of Madraspatnam and Poonamalle and other local chiefs. But the allies were defeated on 1.2.1052/21st April. 1642 and Muhammad Sa'id was able to occupy the large Sriharikota island and a number of other forts. Highly strung by the shock of this defeat, Venkata fled 'to the mountain tracts in the Chittoor district" where he died on 10th October, 1642.73

Ghazi 'Ali Baig was acting Commander of the Qutb Shāhi forces in the absence of Muhammad Sa'īd who had gone to the capital to pay homage to the King. 'Abdu'l-lah was anxious to strengthen Ghazi'Ali Baig's hands and he now sent other picked officers to help him such as Syed Muzaffar (who was destined to play an important part in Qutb Shāhi politics) Shāh Ghazanfar Khān, son-in-law of Randaula Khān, Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapūr army, and others.<sup>74</sup>

After the rains had subsided, the Qutb Shāhi army left Nellore and proceeded to the fort of Nakbat, the defending garrison of which left the fort in the middle of the night leaving it to be occupied by the invaders. Three days later the army reached Rapur. It was brought to the notice of the royal army that "Sangrezraj" who was one of the most powerful rayas of the locality, was bringing ten or twelve thousand horse and a very large number of foot soldiers to defend Rāpūr.76 As the fort was

zā Khan e Royal

, Dādāii

who had

u'l-Mulk

artillery

further further

d should

ndāvidu

t in the

he army.

regular

apital by

nd daily s of fast

iers and

n lavidu.

rnatak."

v forced

ellore on

g North circum-

diga, 190

is is thus

matter of

of every is letters

other fast

167, 17 e Hadiqi,

7' N., 80'

desh. 16

h, 16° 16

desh; 16

<sup>73.</sup> Hadiqā, 303-4. Further Sources, I, 347, referring to Macleod, op.cit., and E. Dundaluru, 176-67, and English Factories, 1642-5, pp. 44-5. Dumrūlū or Dundalūrū, perhaps Gamel 1642-164 N. 79°7' E. perhaps Gandalūrū, Rājampēt taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 16' N., 79°7' E. Siriharikota Siriharikōta, island lying length-wise astride the Pulicat lake, Nellōre dis-

<sup>74.</sup> Ḥadīqā, 306.

<sup>75.</sup> Nakbat, perhaps Nagulapad, in Atmākūr taluqa, Cuddapah dist.

<sup>76.</sup> Rāmpur, no doubt Rāpūr, headquarters of a taluqa, Nellōre district; 14° 12' N., 79° 36' E.

150

in the centre of a large forest and it was risky to depend on such a vast jungle, it was decided to construct two small forts from which attacks might be made. It is recorded that the foundation stone of these forts was laid by the Commander himself and it was he who struck the first tree with his hatchet which led to the clearing of the forest around. It is worth noting that we come across the names of Venkaṭa Reddy, his brother Timmā Reddy and Rāwalji Kāntia as officers who were placed in charge along with Khairāt Khān and Syed Muḥammad Mazendrāni. The great fort at Rāpūr was entered on 19.10.1052/31st December, 1642. The next large fort, Kullūr, was reached five days later (24.10.1052/5th January, 1643). There seems to have been a considerable struggle and the fort was not occupied before the end of Shawwāl 1052/January, 1643.77

Sid

kee

jeal

164

sold

disl

But

Jun

nana

him

onw

Cud

Port

Ana

town

by 1

this

The i

ed at

came

Qutb

this c

title c

80.

in Mi

conqu

Pp. 22

81, ferred

82. to in

83.

Chenn

quarte

in the

of a ta

district

Moving further North, thus completing three quarters of the circle with its apex at Nellore, the army reached the great redoubt of Udayagirī which had changed hands a number of times previously.78 There was only one entrance to the fort, which was constructed on an eminence of the Velikonda range. There was a chasm five hundred yards wide and a few thousand yards in depth which precluded any attempt to scale the fort. It so happened that Srīranga III the Rāyal, who had come to the tottering throne on 29th October, 1642, was facing an internal crisis by the rebellion of Damarla Venkața of Kāļāhastī and of Krishnappa of Jinjī. It was, however, not an easy matter to capture the fort. It appears that Muḥammad Sa'īd somehow won over the Rāya's Commander, Mallaiya, who pointed to him a secret passage to the great fort. The Quib Shāhī army took immediate advantage of the pointer and captured the fort without any resistance. The news was whisked to the capital which it reached on 10.4.1053/18th June, 1643. The Sultan was so pleased with the Commander's success that he presented him with robes of honour and made him Mir Jumlã, a title with which he is generally known in history.<sup>79</sup>

78. Udayagirī, wrongly named "Udgīr" in Hadīqā, 314-16.

<sup>77.</sup> Ḥadīqā, 307-10. Kulūr or Kulūrū, in the Atmākūr taluqa, Nellōre district; 16° 29' N., 79° 22' E.

<sup>79.</sup> It is this title by which Muhammad Sa'id is generally known in the history of South India. The title is generic and pertains to the highest administrative office in the land, and there have been many others who bore

such

from

lation

t was

o the come

Reddy

along

great

The

1052/

rable

wwāl

f the

loubt

ious-

cons-

as a lepth ened

rone

llion

. It

ears

ider,

fort. nter

was

une, cess

Mir

llore

a in

hest

bore

Mir Jumla's victory naturally led to the occupation of Siddhout.80 But it was not without further struggle that he could keep his hold on Udayagiri. Sriranga was able to excite the jealousy of the Sultan of Bijapur and obtain from him in June 1643 considerable help in the shape of 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot soldiers. With this array he "marched against Udayagiri, and dislodged the Golkonda forces from the fort" in January 1644.81 But Sriranga had only a breathing time, for early in 1645 Mir Jumla again attacked the citadel, and the Raya's General Chinnana, whom he had sent as the head of an army of 50,000 to oppose him, quietly surrendered it to the Qutb Shāhī Commander. 32

This second capture of Udayagirī naturally led Mīr Jumlā onwards, and he was able to annex a number of fortresses in the Cuddapah district such as Kalitūr, Duvvūru, Chennūru, Badvēl, Porumamilla and Kamlāpuram, while the Maṭlī Chief, Kumāra Ananta II who was the overlord of the territory where these towns were situated, had to pay a considerable amount of money by way of tribute.83 From Udayagiri the road was clear to the

this title; but Muhammad Sa'id may be called Mir Jumla par excellence. The fallacy has permeated South Indian History to the extent that the learned author of the Life of Mir Jumlā has given him this title before he ever came to the Deccan (Ch. I) and continues it even after he had left Quib Shāhī service (Ch. IV ff). Of course he was not "Mīr Jumlā" before this conquest of Udayagiri in June 1643 and ceased to hold that office on his crossing over to the Mughal camp in March 1655 when he was granted the

80. English Factories, VIII, 24-6; Hague Transcripts, Series 1, referred to in Mir Jumlā, 15; Yazdānī Commemoration Volume, op.cit., p. 224, where the conquest of Siddhout is described as in the Kaifiyat of Cittavelli, L.R. 22,

81, Macleod, op.cit., ii, pp. 180; English Factories, 1642-5, pp. 115-116, referred to in Further Sources, 351.

& Macleod, op. cit., 394, 400; English Factories 1646-50, pp. 25-6, referred to in Further Sources, p. 357.

8. Duvvūrū, in Prodattur taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 50′ N., 78° 39′ E. Chennuru, in Prodattur taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 50 N., 10 quarters of a tal. Cuddapah taluqa; 14° 34′ N., 78° 48′ E. Badvēl, headquarters of a taluqa, Cuddapah taluqa; 14° 34′ N., 78° 48′ E. Ducco, in the Badvel taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 45′ N., 79° 4′ E. Porumamilla, in the Badvēl taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 45′ N., 79° 4′ E. Formula district; 14° 45′ N., 78° 40′ E. Formula district; 14° 45′ N., 78 of a taluqa; 15° 1′ N., 78° 40′ E.

Further C. dapah district 14° 36′ N., 78° 40′ E.

Further Sources, I, 357, refers Mir Jumla's progress in the Cuddapah district to document it. district to document No. 240 in Vol. III, but the actual description happens

Kha

of t

Dell

Nort Muh

Rão

into

Masi

influ

in t

of th

great

had

Grea

Khāi pute:

the .

junk

and

85.

86. Bahm

disple

secret

Khān. rabād

consta

upon

Shāhī

to ent

the re

and g

when

Qutb

He wa

to hel

savant

Salar .

Econor

J. 20

87. has be

letter

South by the East coast. Mīr Jumlā circled the English factory at Fort St. George and occupied Tirūpatī and Chandragirī. He had to negotiate with the officers of the Dutch factory at Pulicat, and the town was occupied on 11th December, 1646. He finally captured San Thome, South of Madras and Chingleput "which in strength and impregnability was equal to the seventh heaven" San Thome and Chingleput were the farthest points reached by the Qutb Shāhīs, for although there was little obstruction on the part of the Rāya or his feudatories, the Bījapurīs barred the way, and as we have already seen, this led to the partition of the Karṇāṭak country. In the end Ganḍīkōṭa and Kokkanūr were occupied by Mīr Jumlā, who made the former the chief town of his considerable conquests.

The period from the defection of Mīr Jumlā to 1662, when we first meet his astute successor Rizā Qulī Bēg, entitled Nēknām

to be in document No. 241 on p. 303, namely the Kaifiyat of Cīttavēlī, L.R. 22, pp. 223-26.

The Chiefs of Matlī, now a small village on the Mandavi river in the Rāyāchotī taluqa, Cuddapah district (14° 6′ N., 78° 48′ E.), exercised considerable power and assumed the title of Rājā or Rāju about the middle of the 17th century. They extended their authority over the three taluqas of Badvēl, Siddhout and Pollampēt. The Chief who had to bow before Mir Jumlā was Kumāra Ananta. The Matlīs now onwards became the feudatories of Gōlkonḍa and after the fall of the Sultānate they enjoyed the same status under the Mughals. See Brackenbury: Cuddapah District Gazetteer, 1915, pp. 38, 39. See also Venkaṭaramanayyā: History of Cuddapah District, (typescript) pp. 142-45; Further Sources, I, 357 Venkaṭaramanayyā: "Mir Jumla's conquest of Karnataka", Yazdāni Commemoration Volume, p. 224, where the Kaifiyat of Chittiveli is translated nearly in extenso. The relations of Mīr Jumlā with Madras and Fort St. George are described in detail by Srinivasachari in his History of Madras, pp. 53-55.

84. Mir Jumlā, 16, 17, based on Thèvenot, 102; Epigraphia Carnatica, VI, Introduction 24; English Factories, 1646-50, 70; Golconda Letters, 150 (b)

151 (b), 69 (b)—70(a).

Tirūpatī; Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh; 13° 38' N., 79° 24' E. Chandragirī; headquarters of a taluqa, Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh; 13° 35' N., 79° 24' E.

Pulicat, Chingleput district, Madras State; 13° 25′ N., 80° 21′ E. San Thome or St. Thomas' Mount, about 3 miles, South of Fort St. George, Madras, now a suburb of Madras city; 13° N., 80° 14′ E.

Chingleput, headquarters of a district, Madras Province, 12° 41' N., 80° 1'E.

For the farthest limits of the Qutb Shāhī dominions in general and its southern boundaries in particular see Sherwani: "Reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh, Economic Aspects, II," J.I.H., December 1964, map opposite p. 680.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ABDU'L-LÄH QUTB SHÄH (1626-1672)

Khan, was taken up by an attempt to make Karnāṭak an appanage the Mughal Empire by Aurangzeb. But his pre-occupations at Delhi and the shifting of Muhammad Sa'id's interests first to the North and then to Bihar and Bengal, made the Karṇāṭak a far cry. Muhammad Sa'id had left Tupaki Krishnappa of Jinjī<sup>85</sup> and Bālā Rão as his representatives in the Karnātak, and they soon came into conflict with the assertive Dutch and English factories at Masulipatam and Madras. But with the decline of Mughal influence in the kingdom 'Abdu'l-lah tried to regain his authority in the region, and in 1662 appointed Neknam Khan, Governor of the Karnatak.86 The English factors at Masulipatam were still greatly concerned with the question of Mir Jumla's junk which had been captured by the English and renamed St. George or the Great George. The English were so much perturbed at Neknam Khān's "harsh demands" that they now wished to square the disputes with Muhammad Sa'id's representatives. On 24th May, 1661 the Agent at Madras wrote to Masulipatam that "the Nabob's junk should be satisfied to him or to his factors at Masulipatam and the ship handed over to his representatives".87

85. The name has evidently been distorted to "Tappa Tap" in Chamber's letter dated 24-5-1661; English Factories, 1661-4, p. 40.

86. Nēknām Khān's original name was Rizā-Qulī Bēg. His father, Bahman, was in the service of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī but he got into the Shāh's displeasure and was executed in 1004/1595-6. Rizā-Qulī wended his way secretly to India and took service with the Mughāl commander Mahābat Khān, On Mahābat Khān's death in 1045/1535-6 Rizā-Qulī came to Haidatabad and was appointed on the staff of Muhammad Sa'id Mir Jumla. He was constantly working with him till his defection in 1066/1656. Rizā-Quli thereupon retired. On seeing that the Karnātak was slipping from the Qutb Shahi grasp, those in authority advised the Sultan that it would be better to entruct at to entrust the reconquest of the country to Rizā-Qulī as he knew all about the region tr the region. He was thereupon made the Commander-in-Chief in that region given full the King. Later, and given full powers of appointment and dismissal by the King. Later, when he had brought the Chiefs and Zamindars under the aegis of the Quit Shahi sceptre the King bestowed on him the title of Neknam Khan. He was a man of benevolent disposition and opened out his purse strings to help the internal disposition and opened the learned, the to help the indigent and the needy. He also patronised the learned, the labounts and the needy. He also patronised the leave, MSS Salar Jung Tarrell Doets = 'Alī b. Taifūr Bustāmī; Ḥadā'iqu's- Salatīn, MSS Salar Jung, Tārīkh Fārsī, 213, fol., 201(b)—204(b).

87. English Farsī, 213, fol., 201(b)—204(b).

has been fully discussed in Sherwani, "Reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh,

J. 20

Aspects, I", J.I.H., August, 1964, pp. 464-7.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ectory
He
ulicat,
finally
which

n the
way,
f the
were

en we knām

.R. 22,

in the l conldle of qas of e Mir

same etteer, istrict, "Mir o. 224, lations

ea, VI, (b)—

ail by

Pra-

eorge,

nd its
Qutb

We have a series of letters from the English Agent at Madras to his Chief at Masūlipatam which clearly show the tussle which was going on between Nēknām Khān and the English over the question of customs as well as the demand for the stationing of the Qutb Shāhī officers and troops at Madras. Nēknām Khān had his camp at Tiruvallur, about 25 miles West of Madras, and from there he exercised pressure on the English. He had already demonstrated his mettle by laying siege to San Thome which seems to have slipped away from the Qutb Shāhi grip, and by forcing the Portuguese garrison into surrender in May, 1662. The English were, in a way, hemmed in by Nēknām Khān from the South as well as from the West. They had coveted this "neglected east coast town" to the extent that they would not have minded exchanging it for Bombay, but their hopes were now shattered.

The star of the English seemed to be on the wane right along the Gölkonda coast. The Qutb Shāhi Governor of Masūlipatam is reported to have come to Pēṭāpōlī and occupied a garden belonging to the English Company. When Salusbury, the English Agent, protested to the Governor "he bade him be silent". 89 The pressure from "the new Nabob" was so great that Winter wrote on 7th January, 1664 that he was nervous as he had come within five miles from Madras. 90 However he had the hardihood to detain two elephants belonging to "the Nabob", but on receiving a "sharp letter" from him he had to return them forthwith. The English were afraid that Nēknām Khān would stop provisions from reaching Fort St. George and make the English accept their demands. 91

While the English were not prepared to make an offensive and defensive alliance with 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh as it was their desire "not to be engaged in any act of hostility", they had to approach Nēknām Khān to protect Fort St. George. There is a letter from the Company to the Agent and Council of Madras dated 18th December, 1665 that, lest the fort should be attacked

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

of Go
the po
Něknä
guese
Sth Ji
farmā
"on po
tened

by the

the pr King farmān shippin of Gin

In

author

their spointe to acc to blood of the lasted ghorne able to which

of Mar Th Shāhī

entitle

includ

92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97.

the for was a nivasac

<sup>88.</sup> Tirūvaļļūr, Chingleput district, Madras Province; 13° 9' N., 79° 57' E See Srinivasachari, History of Madras, 58; English Factories, 1661-4, p. 147. 89. Winter's letter to Oxendon at Surat, dated 2.4.1663; English Factories, 1661-4, p. 147.

<sup>90.</sup> Ibid., p. 368.

<sup>91.</sup> English Factories, 1665-7, p. 118.

by the Dutch, French or others, "we desire you to engage the king by the Dutch, his Nabob or any other of the natives that have the power near the fort to assist you in the preservation thereof".92 Neknam Khan had actually to protect the fort against the Portuguese by means of a "siege" which lasted from 19th June 1666 to 8th July 1666.93 Following the same policy, the King issued a farman forbidding the Dutch to show any hostility to the English on pain of our displeasure", and when some Dutch ships threatened an English ship her captain averred that he was "under the protection of the King of Golconda".94 The authority of the King had increased to such an extent that according to another farmán the Dutch were forbidden to meddle in any of English shipping on the whole of the coast from Manikpattan to the coast of Gingerlee beyond St. Thome".95

In spite of these good turns on the part of the Qutb Shāhī authorities the English at Madras remained adamant regarding their share of customs, and Foxcraft, who was the first to be apminted Governor of Madras by the Company, was still refusing to accept the terms offered by Nēknām Khān. He had therefore to blockade Madras again in 1670, this time to enforce the demands of the Gölkonda administration on the English. The blockade lasted a month.96 The dispute finally came to an end when Langhorne assumed the Governorship of Madras. Nēknām Khān was able to issue a "Cowle" (Qaul) dated 23rd February, 1672 under which it was stipulated that the Qutb Shāhī Governor would be entitled to only half the customs of the town of Chennapatam, including the arrears which were paid forthwith, while the town of Madraspatam was to remain with the English in perpetuity.97

This was the last important act of Něknam Khan as the Qutb Shāhi Governor of the Karṇāṭak. He had turned the scales in

ladras

which

er the

ng of

Khān

s, and ready

seems

orcing

m the

eglect-

inded ered,83

along

patam

en be-

nglish

The wrote

within

to de-

eiving

The

risions

their

ensive

their ad to e is a

Iadras

acked

57' E.

p. 147.

ctories,

The

<sup>92.</sup> Ibid., 109, 239-41.

<sup>93.</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>94.</sup> Ibid., 242-43.

<sup>95.</sup> Manikpattan, on the southern tip of Lake Chilka in Orissa.
96. Sriniya 96. Srinivasachari, op.cit., 66.

<sup>97.</sup> Document in Love, Vestiges of old Madras I, 344-45. "Chennapatam or Srīrangapattanam was the town growing up round the while the contract of Madraspatnam." the fort, while the older and the already existing village of Madraspatnam was a separate but Was a separate but approximately contiguous, village to the north." — Srinivasachari, op.cit., p. 41.

favour of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh in a miraculous way and extricated Qutb Shāhī authority from the quagmire in which it had fallen after Muḥammad Sa'īd's treason. He died almost at his desk on 10-1-1082/19th March, 1672 a little over three weeks before the Sultān's death. His mortal remains were taken to Gōlkonḍa with great pomp and buried in the royal necropolis on a platform outside the mausoleum of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh and almost facing the tomb of Muḥammad Amīn, father of Sultān Muḥammad Qutb Shāh.98

98. Nēknām Khān's grave is distinguished by his tombstone on which is inscribed the Sultān's farmān in toto. The farmān is dated 12.6.1084, i.e., the second year of Abu'l-Hasan's reign, and is virtually the grant of the village of Mangalwāram, renamed Ḥasanābād, for the upkeep of the tomb and distribution of alms for the repose of the soul of the deceased. It is also unique as the posthumous titles of "Ghufrān Panāh" and "Maghfirat Panāb" were accorded to him, an honour which is usually bestowed on a deceased monarch. The inscription on the tombstone is copied verbatim and translated into English in S.A.A. Bilgrami's Landmarks of the Deccan pp. 176-78. The date of his death, 10.12.1082, is inscribed on the tombstone and corresponds to 29th March 1672, not "12th May 1672 (1083)" as in A. M. Siddiqui's History of Golcunda, p. 181; Nēknām Ķhān died a little over three weeks before, not after, 'Abdu'l-lāh's death.

#### APPENDIX

#### MILITARY ORGANISATION

The picture of the military organization in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh is far more clear than that under his grandfather Ibrahim, although the Telugu kaifiyats, the Ta'rif Husain Nizam Shāh and other documents give us a fairly clear view of the great battle fought on 23rd January, 1565 at Banihati South of the Krishņa, 32 miles South of Talikoṭa.¹ In 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign we have the testimony not only of the European travellers who had their friends in the army especially its artillery establishments but also of the Mughals who began to exercise their increas

ing co
a live
Masuli
who w
the gr
sand I
left to
at ma
observ

A

army

partly Financ length levies, by the cavalry thirty powerf king o rate al the "C for five levies . (who a mont servan to carr Ta

> 2. If 3. 7 correct is quite a 1 paign ag consistin

1639 ar

sion W

barely

most o

<sup>1.</sup> For this battle, wrongly called the Battle of Talikota and the Battle of Rakshasi Tangadgi see Sherwani, The Battle of the Krishna, J.I.H., December, 1957. For military organisation and equipment under Ibrahim Quib Shāh see J.I.H., April 1962.

d ex-

t had

et his

veeks

en to lis on

nd al-

ultān

which

4, i.e.,

of the

tomb It is

hfirat

on a

n and

n pp. e and

A. M.

three

e of

· his

l'a'rif

clear

hatti

lāh's

llers

lishreas-

Battle

De-

Quth

ing control over the affairs of South India. Then we have rather ing control over the affairs of South India. Then we have rather live account of the progress of the King from Haidarabād to Masulipaṭam and back in 1639 left to us by Nizamu'd-din Ahmad who was an eye-witness to the pomp and glamour which attended the great procession consisting of as many as forty or fifty thousand military and civil officers and followers. The vivid account left to us by the European travellers is sometimes prejudiced and at many places incorrect but it can be made the base of our observations with regard to the military equipment of the period.

As was the case with most of the countries of the world the army of Tilang-Andhra was based partly on feudal levies and partly on soldiers paid by the King. In his letter to Colbert, the Finance Minister of Louis XIV of France, Bernier speaks at great length about the military organisation of the Mughals, their feudal levies, the pay of the soldiers and their uniform etc. It is only by the way that he says that "in the Deccan alone, the (Mughal) cavalry amounts to twenty or twenty five thousand, sometimes to thirty thousand, a force not more than sufficient to overawe the powerful king of Gōlkonḍa and to maintain the war against the king of Bijapur and the Rajas".2 Thèvenot who is not very accurate about historical facts relating to the Deccan, says that while the "Omrahs" or feudal lords are paid (in terms of their land) for five lakhs of troops they pocket half the amount and provide levies only to the extent of half. He further says that "a trooper who ought to be a Mughal or a Persian) is paid 10 chequins a month and for that he has to keep two horses and four or five servants. A footsoldier is paid five chequins and for that he has to carry a musket and keep two servants".3

Tavernier, who was in the Deccan a number of times between 1639 and 1662, says that the common soldiers of the infantry divibarely enough to cover their front and back." It appears that the soldiers were Hindus, for Tavernier says that their

<sup>2.</sup> Bernier, Travels in the Moghul Empire, O.U. Press, 1914, p. 218.

3. The Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Careri, p. 140. Thèvenot is not suite à large number of the highest officers who were Hindus. "In the cambraisting of Moghals, Afghans, Pathans and Rajputs;" Mir Jumla, 41, 42.

hair was tied in a knot on the top of the head. Their main weapon was a "broad sword like the Swiss.... The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours and much neater", for the iron with which these arms were made was of a superior quality. Horsemen carried bows and arrows, a buckler, a battle axe, a head piece or helmet and a jacket of mail which hung from the head piece to the shoulders.<sup>4</sup>

A

which

Tilang

hill,

wells it sho

sand (

He al

fort.8

calls '

which

eight

tembe

one g

large

Taver

gunne

Bourg

Taver: Italian

also u

Karnā

ed pro

ners 1 Eviden

took

gunne

"great at the natural

9.

10.

in Indi

17

by the

A

There were definitely vast stores of fire-arms which must have accompanied the armies undertaking various campaigns. Bernier says that Mīr Jumlā kept a formidable body of troops, with a corps of artillery which was "composed principally of Franks and Christians." When there was an immediate danger of the Deccan being attacked by the Mughals 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered the strengthening of the border fortresses specially Qandhār. Its sixty battlements were strengthened by five or six large cannon each, which could fire as much as four or five maunds of stone missiles at a time, and a number of minjanīqs or catapults. Moreover orders were sent that the Superintendent of the royal arsenal should issue quilted cloaks, coats of mail, helmets and armlets.

There are gleanings of the military organisation of the Sultānate in the diary of the progress of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh to the East coast in 1639 kept by Mirza Nizamu'd-din Ahmad who accompanied what may be termed a moving court and a moving city. The hundred palanquins carrying the royal ladies and their entourage were accompanied by one thousand horsemen, one thousand footsoldiers, lancers and carabineers. In the order of precedence in the procession which was formed on the emergence of the King from his capital we find the Lashkar Khāṣa Khēl or the Royal Body Guard placed immediately after the "Majlisis" of the Privy Councillors. On the other hand the members of the Corps of Body Guards had to be careful on pain of death, and it is reported that when the cavalcade stopped at Amankal which was two gao or twelve miles from Pangal, seven soldiers of the Khāṣa Khel were found negligent in their duties and were executed.

<sup>4.</sup> Tavernier, 127, 128.

<sup>5.</sup> Bernier, 17.

<sup>6.</sup> Hadiqatu's-Salatin, p. 120.

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid., 232.

eapon

mus-

With

semen

ece or

ece to

have ernier vith a

ranks

of the

d the

r. Its

annon

stone

More-

arse-

nlets.6

f the

Shāh

who

oving

their

thou-

f pre-

gence

iel or is" of

of the

and it h was **Zhāsa** 

d.

A number of forts came to be inspected on the way, one of which was Mustafanagar-Kondapalle, "one of the greatest forts of Tilang" amidst "a range of hills covering about 40 farsakh." The hill, on the top of which the fort was constructed, was "full of wells and tanks and of greenery all round". The King ordered that it should be further strengthened by the addition of a few thousand carabineers and that the godowns should be filled with grain. He also ordered that an arsenal should be constructed within the

Another typical fort was that of Gandikōta which Tavernier calls "one of the strongest cities in the kingdom of Golkonda" and which had been captured by Muhammad Sa'id Mir Jumla "only eight days" previous to Tavernier's arrival on the 1st of September, 1652. The fort was situated on a high mountain with only one gate which was about 25 feet broad. On the top there were large rice and millet fields which were watered by local springs. Tavernier noticed that there were many French soldiers, mainly gunners, and one of the French engineers, Claudius Maille of Bourge, had been employed to cast brass cannon. At Gandikōṭa Tavernier was the guest of an English gunman as well as an Italian gunman.9 There were quite a number of English gunners also who had left Fort St. George to join Mīr Jumlā's army of the Kamatak because they had better prospects, and he "readily offered protection to any runaways from Fort St. George garrison."10 This process seems to have continued, for we find English gunhers like Christopher Wilkins in Quib Shāhi service in 1662.11 Evidently when Mir Jumla crossed over to the Mughal camp he took with him his artillery "manned by English and French

In spite of the growth of professional soldiers who were paid by the State treasury through their commanders, feudal system

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., 190, 244. Methwold says (Relations, 11) that Kondapalle had Reat ponds of water", scores of fruit and other trees and large rice fields ponds of water", scores of fruit and other trees and large restate the top, while 12000 soldiers guarded the fortifications which were both natural and artificial.

<sup>9.</sup> Tavernier, op.cit., p. 198-200.

<sup>10.</sup> Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Mir Jumla, p. 42, quoting English Factories in India, 1651-54.

<sup>11.</sup> English Factories, 1661-64, p. 175. 12. Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, p. 370.

still continued to some extent. During the Sultān's progress to Masūlipaṭam the concourse passed by the Muqāsās of Pithoji Kantia, of Khān A'zam Rashid Khān and of 'Ali Akbar 'Ainu'l- Mulk where they made presents of 1500, 1000 and 1500 hons respectively. It is however, not clear whether these Muqāsādārs had to provide army personnel or not. 13

Thus it may be averred that the army was well equipped both in arms and in general equipment. It is no wonder that even with the waning of the Qutb Shāhī power on account of lethargy, inertia and the increasing power of the Mughals, coupled with the defection of Mīr Jumlā and many other nobles of the kingdom, the army gave such a good account of itself almost everywhere. Its organisation was so well conditioned that even after Mīr Jumlā's treason it remained a force to be reckoned with, and the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Nēknām Khān could advance to San Thome and expel the Dutch from there.

ither rent free or at low quit-rent on condition of service, or a village held khas by the State, the revenue being paid to the Government direct"; Gune The Judicial System of the Marathas, p. xxiv. Nawab 'Aziz Jung defines Mukasa as the grant of a part of a village as a jagir the rental of the whole of the village being collected from the rest by the State direct; A'zamu'l-'Atiyat, p. 41. It differed from jagir in that it was not a part of the village which was responsible for the rental but the jagirdar who held the whole village.

Som

As i covery a monarch ing the gress. It into one XIX cen Gaüdavā literary filled up

Duri subject h

construct still going ed. These ed. These ed. These ed. These ed. These ed. The ed. Th

1. Vale with an in XXXIV, 2r or Yasovar dan, 1908), Conquest, J. 21

### Some Fresh Reflections on Yaśovarma of Kanauj and Muktapida of Kaśmir

BY

Jan Yun-hua, M.A., Ph.D.
Viçva-Bharati University, India

As in the case of some other Rajas in Indian history, the discovery and reconstruction of the story of Yaśovarma, the great monarch of Kanauj and a dominant ruler of Northern India during the VIII century A.D., constitute a fascinating process of progess. It is a story from unknown to known, gradually developing into one which is still better known. During the last part of the XIX century, historians first noted him from a Prākṛt poem, the Gaudavāho by Vākpati,¹ and then piecing up with other evidences, literary and archaeological, indigenous and foreign, ultimately filed up a gap in Indian history.

During recent decades, the discovery of new material on the subject has rather come to a stop. Nevertheless, the work of restruction and reassessment on this chapter of Indian history is still going on. There are certain conclusions that have been reacherson, his dominant position in the age and his final defeat by the Kasmir King. There however, still remain certain other points dates relating to Yasovarma and his opponent, Muktāpīḍa of the Would discover that one of the major causes responsible for the Confusion is the different interpretation of the Chinese sources,

vidual
e held
Gune
lefines
whole
imu'l-

illage

whole

ess to tithoji

Mulk

ively. covide

ipped

that

int of

of the

every-

after

i, and

could

<sup>1</sup> Väkpati, Gaüdavaho, A Prakrit Historical Poem by Väkpati, ed., kkly, 2nd ed. by N. B. P. Pandit, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series (A. 1808), pp. 784 ff. and R. S. Tripathi's History of Kanauj to the Moslem (Benares, 1937) are still important.

which are an important factor in determining the dates of the Kings of both Kanauj and Kaśmīr.

Previously, on account of lack of first-hand knowledge of Chinese language and historiographical practices, most research scholars in Indian history indulged more in speculations than in a careful examination of those sources. And, consequently instead of the old problem being solved, now controversies were rather brought into the field. Under such circumstances, a fresh reading of the records written in Chinese on the subject and their comparison with Indian sources and recent interpretations, would be helpful in clarifying several matters.

When one discusses the Chinese sources on Yaśovarma and his contemporaries, it should be remembered that most of the scholars in Indian history depended only on the translations made by A. Rémusat<sup>2</sup> and Ed. Chavannes respectively.<sup>3</sup> But none of the scholars was in a position to know exactly the texts, their sources and authenticity, compilers and dates. Thereafter, whenever these works were cited, they were merely referred to a 'Chinese Annals' or 'Chinese Chronicles' or 'Chinese Records, without any distinction.

Actually, there are, so far as we know, five works relating to Yaśovarma and Muktāpīḍa. The earliest one is the Hui-ch'ao wang Wu T'ien-chu-kuo chuan (Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India), written by Hui-ch'ao, a monk from Silla kingdom in present Korean peninsula, during 727 A.D., when he completed his journey to the Indian subcontinent and Central

2. Abel Rémusat, Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques. (Paris, 1829).

3. Ed. Chavannes, transl. Documents sur les Tou-kine (Turcs) occident

taux. (Petersburg, 1903).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Pelliot.5 and a fu out in 1 and firs in India

YASOV

Asia. I

work, b

of the T Historia and it v (The St (922-982 (The m

their co Hsin-T'o compiled (1007-10

compile

The relating pare the tions, so the topi

Amo of the of Accordinate reigned

5. P.
Française
6. W
tral-Asien
7. He
trad in ti
8. Te
hua shu-

9. He 1754 A.D. 10. He

<sup>4.</sup> A full English translation with a study of this Memoir is being prepared by me. The book will be published under the title of On Hui-ch'a0's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India. Parts of the work have been published in the form of articles, namely, "Hui-ch'ao's Record on Kashmir", Kashmir Research Biannual, (Srinagar), No. 2 (1963); "Hui-ch'ao and His Works: A Reassessment", Indo-Asian Culture, (New Delhi), Vol. XI (1963-64); "Some New Light on Kuśinagara from 'the Memoir of Hui-ch'ao's Oriens Extremus (Wiesbaden), Vol. XII (1965); and "West India According to Hui-ch'ao's Record", Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta), Vol. XXII (1966).

YASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTĀPĪŅA OF KASMĪR 163

The Memoirs was at one time regarded by scholars as a lost but luckily it was rediscovered from Tun-huang by P. pellot. A number of books and articles have been published, pada full translation in German by W. Fuchs has also been brought out in 1938 and 1939.6 It is rather strange that this important and first-hand Buddhist record has yet to be noticed by scholars in Indian history.

Among other four works, the Chiu-t'ang-shu (The Old History of the Tang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.) was compiled by a Board of Historians under the titular leadership of Liu Hsü (887-946 A.D.) and it was completed during 945 A.D.; the second, T'ang-hui-yao The Statutes of the T'ang Dynasty),8 was compiled by Wang P'u (922-982) in 961 A.D. The third one is the Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei (The most Important Documents from the Imperial Archives),9 ompiled by Wang Ch'in-jo (962-1025), Yang Yi (974-1020) and their colleagues between 1005-1013 A.D. And the fourth, the Hin-Tang-shu or The New History of the T'ang Dynasty 10 was compiled by the T'ang History Board headed by Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) and Sung Ch'i (998-1061) during 1060 A.D.

The main aim of this paper is to narrate these Chinese records relating to Yasovarma and his rival, Muktāpīda of Kasmīr, com-Mere them with Indian sources along with the author's own reflections, so as to solve certain problems or clarify certain doubts on

Among the problems relating to Yasovarma of Kanauj, those of the chronology and extent of his territory are controversial. According to S. P. Pandit, "Yaśovarma must, accordingly, have reigned in the latter part of the seventh century and the first part

& W. Fuchs, "Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zen-7. Hereatt 26", Sitzung. der Phil. -hist. Klasses v. 22 (1938-1939).

1. Hereafter, it is referred to in this article as CTS. The edition that is in this paper is the Pai-na-pen.

& Tang-hui-yao, hereafter referred to as THY, new reprint, (Chunghia shu-chü, Shanghai, 1955), pp. 1786-1787. Hereafter ref. to as TFYK, Wu-hsiu-t'ang wood block ed. printed in

Hereafter ref. to as HTS, the Pai-na-pen edition.

of the

edge of esearch ian in a instead rather

reading ompariould be

ma and of the is made none of s, their whend to as ecords',

ating to o wang nage to k from , when Central

occiden-

ing prei-ch'ao's he work ecord on lui-ch'ao Vol. XII

-ch'ao, ccording XXXIX

<sup>5</sup> P. Pelliot, "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée", Bulletin de l'Ecole Rengaise d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. VIII (1908), pp. 511-512.

YA

ind

Col

beli

Noi

wit

var

his

Cal

to '

his

hav Mer

Silli

than

of t

led

the

ider

1

1

2

Hui

Peki

of the eighth century,"11 as dated by the Kaśmīr historian, Kalhan, during the middle of the XII century. In contrast to this traditional date, V. A. Smith assumes "that Yaśovarma ascended the throng of Kanauj between 725-731 A.D., in or about 728 A.D."12 And an earlier date, apparently between 730-740 A.D., Yaśovarma had himself indulged his ambition and led victorious armies to distant conquests."13 R. S. Tripathi suggests that if one were to place the reign of Yaśovarma between 725 and 752 A.D. there would be "little margin for error". A. C. Majumdar states that "the date of Yaśovarma is not definitely known, but his reign may be placed between A.D. 700 and 740." In a recent book, Buddha Prakash also holds the traditional date, saying that "Yaśovarma rose to power in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D."

The extent of Yaśovarma's kingdom is less controversial, but the exact date of his conquest of East India and the identification of the places he conquered are uncertain. V. A. Smith has accepted the description of Vākpati, and said: "There is nothing incredible in the assertion that a powerful king (i.e., Yaśovarma) occupied at Kanauj a good central position, should have carried his arm eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmada and northwards to the foot of the mountains." R. S. Tripathi, however, holds a critical view of the information furnished by Vākpati; thus he considers that the ambitious monarch, perhaps, only attempted "to regain the control of the lower course of the Ganges. And it may be that the complete success of his campaign

11. S. P. Pandit, op.cit., pp. lxvii.

12. V. A. Smith, op.cit., J.R.A.S. (1908), p. 775.

13. Ibidem, p. 777.

14. R. S. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 200.

15. R. C. Majumdar, et.al. The Classical Age, The History and Cultur of Indian People, vol. III, (Bombay, 1954), p. 129. Buddha Prakash, Aspect of Indian History and civilization, (Agra, 1965), p. 103. A Cālukyan inscription records the fighting between Vijayāditya and the Lord of Uttarāpatha There are scholars who think that this Lord of the whole of the North India was Yaśovarma and this was the reason why they dated the starting of Yasovarman's reign before 700 A.D. This speculation, however, still lacks definite proof. I would prefer to accept the theory put forward by H. C. Raychardhuri, that the North Indian lord was one of the later Guptas. Cf. Political Hist. of Ancient India (6th ed.), pp. 610 f.

16. V. A. Smith, op.cit., J.R.A.S. (1908), p. 779.

17. R. S. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 200.

YASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTĀPĪŅA OF KASMĪR 165

induced his panegyrist to invest him with the halo of a World-Conqueror,"18 R. C. Majumdar, on the one hand, rather dis-Conquered that Yasovarma had conquered all the regions in the North and South India as claimed by Vākpati; on the other hand, with the help of epigraphical evidence, he accepts that Yasovarma might have extended his authority over Magadha, carried his arms as far as Bengal, and might have come into conflict with Calukyan King.19

In the Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao, though no date is mentioned as to when he visited Kanauj, it is yet deducible from the date of his return to Kucha in 727 A.D. In other words, he seems to have travelled to Kanauj sometime in 723 or 724 A.D. In the Memoirs, he states:

"Further from Vārānāsī country [walked] westerly for .... month, I arrived at the residential city of the Central Indian king, it is named Ke-na-chi-tzu (Kanyakubja). The territory of this Central Indian king is very broad, the inhabitants here are populous. The king possesses nine hundred elephants, the rest of great chiefs each possesses two to three-hundred elephants. The king himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with [other] rulers, and the Central Indian king is always victorious."20

Although no name of this Central Indian king is given by the Sillian monk, since the time of his visit was about 723-24 A.D. the powerful ruler whom he described should have been no other than Yasovarma. Moreover, the descriptions such as "the territory of this Central Indian king is very broad", "the king himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with [other] rulers, and the Central Indian king is always victorious", etc. are very much identical with the expressions of Vākpati.<sup>21</sup>

Kalhana

aditional

e throng

And "at

rma had

distant. to place

e would hat "the

may be

Buddha

śovarma

A.D."

sial, but

ification

has ac-

nothing

ovarma) carried

armada.

Pripathi, shed by

perhaps,

e of the

ampaign

Culture , Aspects

inscrip arāpatha rth India

of Yaso

s definite Raychau

Politice

<sup>18.</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19.</sup> R. C. Majumdar, loc-cit.

<sup>20.</sup> Quoted and translated from Fujita Toyohachi, Hui-ch'ao wang wu-t'ien-chu-kuo chuan chi'ien-shih (Expository notes on the Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India, ed. by Ch'ien Tao-sun Peking, 1923), pp. 10 b, ff.

<sup>21.</sup> Cf. S. P. Pandit, loc.cit.

The part relating to East India in the *Memoirs* of Hui-ch'ao is damaged, and the situation in that region and its relation with Yaśovarma are not definitely recorded. Notwithstanding, there are still helpful references in the *Memoirs*, which are precious for tracing the date of Yaśovarma's eastern campaign.

YAS

risin

mak

ing .

with

ties

of t

varn

Mag

Foll

he s

Chir

for

ed in

ed b

Upp

hero

enjo

25

name

po-ta

both

are dis give

trans

title

With

of th

pe Le

days.

Which

op.cit Studi

26

In one place of the *Memoirs*, Hui-ch'ao states that all the four holy *stupas* erected at Kuśinagara, Sārnāth, Rājagrha and Mahābodhi are "situated within the territory of Magadha kingdom." In another place, he says that "within the territory of the Central India, there are four great stupas; [of them,] three are situated on the north of the Ganges: the first one is at Anāthapiṇḍika garden of Srāvasti, the second one is at Amrapali-aram garden of Vaiśālī, and the third one is at Kapilavastu. The fourth one is lying between the two streams of the Ganges, i.e. the stupa of the Triple Precious Stairs."<sup>23</sup>

Here, the Sillian monk has clearly made a distinction between Central India and Magadha. This distinction is further re-affirmed in another place. When he describes the territory of South India, he states that it is "adjoining the borders of the Central India, the West India and the East India in the north." Should Yaśovarma have already conquered Magadha and the East India at the time of Hui-ch'ao's visit, to say about 723-24 A.D., there would be no necessity for him to record the discrimination. The only reasonable explanation may be that, at the time of his visit to Central India, Yaśovarma, though he was already powerful and

22. Quoted and translated from Fujita/Ch'ien Tao-sun, op.cit., p. 8a.

23. Ibidem, pp. 13 a-15 b. A few months ago, when I wrote the paper "the Korean Record on Vārānāsī and Sārnāth" (published in the September issue of the Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal (Hoshiarpur, India, 1966), I was still unable to find out the significance of discrimination of Magadha and Central India as recorded by Hui-ch'ao. The view presented here is my latest opinion.

24. Ibidem, p. 17 a. Some argument may be put forward, saying that this reference of Hui-ch'ao might be merely geographical, and without any political significance in it. But if one studies the Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao carefully, one would find that the Sillian monk's reference to the Five Regions of India always related with political situation of the country. For example, he recorded that Central, South and West India as well as North India, all had their own Kings. Therefore, the division mentioned by him meant both political and geographical.

YASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTAPĪDA OF KASMĪR 167 rising, had not yet conquered the East. He was, perhaps, just making himself a mighty figure in Indian politics, busily administermaking his kingdom. He "often led troops in battles, frequently fought with [other] Indian rulers" and won most, searched for opportunities to expand his authority, but not yet achieved the great glory of the 'World Conquest'.

h'an

with

are

for

four

ahā-

n."22

ntral

d on

rden

iśālī,

veen

ious

veen

med

idia.

idia,

aśoa at

ould

only

t to

and

a.

aper

nber

966),

adha

e is

this

any

are-

ions

am-

idia,

eant

It was probably after these preparations and trials, that Yasovarma had finally succeeded in overruning the territory of Magadha and the Gaiida land, sometime between 726 and 731 A.D. Following that triumph, he felt settled, dominant and safe; thus he sent his Minister Bhadanta Po-ta-hsin (Bhattasena?) 25 to the Chinese Emperor, Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty and prayed for diplomatic recognition. This event has been carefully recorded in the official documents. The Chinese records may be translated here as follows:

"During the tenth month of the XIX year of the K'ai-yüan age (i.e. November 4 to December 3, 731 A.D.), the Central Indian king, Yi-sha-fu-mo (Yaśovarma), sent one Bhadanta named Po-ta-hsin to the court with the presents of local product."26

It seems that after his victorious expedition to Magadha and Upper Bengal in East India, Yaśovarma, like many other fallen heroes in history, gave less attention and effort to his armies, enjoyed himself with "ladies of his harem" and played "loves to

25. R. C. Majumdar noted: "Chavannes and Dr. P. C. Bagchi give this name (Buddhasena) of the envoy. But other authorities named him Seng-Po-ta (Sanghabhadra)". R. C. Majumdar op.cit., p. 130, fn. 2. However, both the both the reading of original texts and identification of the envoy's name are doubtful. According to CTS ch. 148, p. 12 a, only the title of Ta-te-seng is given, but the name of the envoy is not mentioned. The title is a Chinese translation of the envoy is not mentioned. translation of Sanskrit honorific title Bhadanta. In TPYK ch. 971, both the title and port title and personal name are given. As the Chinese historians were familiar with Indian and personal name are given. with Indian subject — this is evident from the use of Bhadanta — the name of the envoyed the name might of the envoy cannot be Buddhasena as suggested. Otherwise, the name might be rendered as Fo-t'o-szu which was more familiar to the Chinese in those days. Seno-no Fo-to-szu which was more familiar to the Chinese in those days, Seng-po-ta is a misreading and abbreviation of Ta-te-seng Po-ta-hsin which I restored as Bhadanta Bhattasena.

26. Quoted as Bhadanta Bhattasena.

cit, p. 25 c and translated from TFYK ch. 871. Comp. Ed. Chavannes, oncit, p. 25, fn. 2 and P. C. Bagchi, "Sino-Indian Relations", Sino-Indian Studies, (Calcutta), vol. I, p. 71.

YAS

As fa

politi

Chin

theor

defea

varm

certa

posse

posse testif

varm

cours Yaso

ımpr

eleph

with

of th

300

Kaśn

subc

1

India

are 1

the (

(of t

Yaso

of K

Acco

35

(Long

37

Indian

Resea

38

1. 2

I

young women".27 So, "Yaśovarma was sitting full of joy over his victories",28 and going "to live outside the city in a summer retreat"29 with beautiful and young damsels. Under such circumstances, Vākpati informs us that "after 'having thus conquered the world', he dismisses to return to their homes, the numerous kings whom he had compelled to accompany him after they had been conquered by him."30 And "the wives of Yasovarma's soldiers enjoyed themselves in the rains, after the return home of their husbands."31 "Yaśovarma's victorious war elephants having no more enemies left to conquer, try their strength with the sides of the hills."32 All these clearly indicate that after the victory over Magadha and the Gauda land, the great monarch of Kanauj had disarmed himself and lost vigilance and vigour. It was probably under that circumstance, that he was defeated by Muktāpīda of Kaśmīr. The event probably took place in August 733 A.D., as suggested by H. Jacobi.33

What happened to Yaśovarma after he was overrun by the King of Kaśmīr? The Chinese sources have no definite and direct record. However, there is a reference to Central India, which states:

"On the Yi-wei day in the third month of the XXIX year of the K'ai-yüan age (i.e., April 4, 741 A.D.), Li Ch'eng-en, a prince of the Central India, came to the court. He was given the title of the Raiding General (Yu-chi Chiang-chün) and sent back to [his homeland]. Envoys from that country successively came during the Tien-pao age (742-755 A.D.)."34

28. Ibidem, p. xxxii.

31. Ibidem.

copied the third month as the second month).

About the title of Yu-chi-chiang -chiin or Raiding General, cf. Robert des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée, traduits de lo nouvelle histoire des T'ang (Chap. XLVI — L). (Leiden, 1947-48), 101.

<sup>27.</sup> Quoted from S. P. Pandit, op.cit., p. XXIII, for original Prākṛt verse, cf. verses 738-749.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibidem, p. xxxiii and verses 777-787.

<sup>30.</sup> Ibidem, pp. xxxii and verses 689-694.

<sup>32.</sup> Ibidem, pp. xxxiii and verses 698-699.

<sup>33.</sup> Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, (1888), pp. 67-68.

34. Quoted, collated and translated from CTS chuan 148, u. 13 a; THY ch. 100, p. 1787 (which miscopied Wang-tzu or prince as Wang or king); and TFYK ch. 975 (which supplies the cyclical indication of Yi-wei, but mis-

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
YAŚOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTAPIDA OF KASMIR 169

As far as this record shows, there seems to have been no drastic As far as this perhaps gives on it. political change. This, perhaps, gives an indirect support to the theory that Yasovarma was not slain by Muktāpīda though he was defeated by the latter.

In the past, our knowledge of the military strength of Yasovarma was rather vague. Hui-ch'ao's Memoirs has now supplied certain precise information in this regard. He states: "The king possesses nine-hundred elephants, the rest of the great chiefs possess two to three-hundred elephants, each."35 This statement testifies to the poetic description of the war elephants of Yasovarma as found in Gaüdavāho, but in a more precise manner. Of course, from numerical viewpoint, the elephants possessed by Yasovarma himself and the great chiefs subject to him were not mpressive, and indeed incomparable with the six-thousand elephants of Harsha.36 Yet, if this strength is to be compared with that of other contemporary Indian rulers, i.e. 800 elephants of the South Indian King, 500 to 600 of the West Indian King, 300 each possessed by the North Indian King and the King of Kaśmir,<sup>37</sup> Yaśovarma's position as a paramount monarch in Indian subcontinent during the time becomes clear and indisputable.

In another place, when Hui-ch'ao records his travel to North India, he states that "this land is very narrow, its armed forces are limited and the land was frequently invaded and annexed by the Central India and Kasmir. This is the reason why the king of this North India] resides in a city near by the hills (Jālandhara)...."38 This reference leads to two other questions, namely, Yasovarma's northern campaign and his relation with the King of Kaśmīr.

Our knowledge about the first question is still inadequate. According to the books on the subject published so far, his

35. See note 20.

his mer

such

conthe

after

aśo-

turn

ants

with

the

n of

It by

gust

the

rect

nich

rear n, a

ven

and

itry

1134

erse,

ch.

and

nis-

pert

lo

36. S. Beal, transl. Su-yu-ki, Buddhist Record of the Western World. (London, 1883), p. 213.

37. See my article, op.cit., Indo-Asian Culture, XII, p. 184 a and op.cit., Historical Culture, VIII, p. 184 a and op.cit., Indian Historical Quarterly, XXXIX, p. 34, fn. 16. Also comp. Fujita/Ch'ien Tao-sun, op.cit., pp. 17 a, 20, 21 b and another paper by myself in Kashmir Research Biannual, No. 2. 38. Translated and quoted from Fujita/Ch'ien Tao-sun, op.cit., p. 21 b.

1. 23

conquest of the Punjab region is often vaguely placed after his eastern expeditions. This is probably due to the impression given by Vākpati in the *Gaüḍavāho*, which narrated Yaśovarma's campaign to the Punjab after his conquest of Magadha and the Gaüḍa land.<sup>39</sup> Now, from Hui-ch'ao's statement, we come to know that even before his successful expedition to the East, he had already "invaded and annexed" part of the Punjab plain.

YASO

differ

are a

T'ang

the e

end (

place doubt

A

one l

to giv

rate

almos

works

of the

corde

Yüan

Archi

Dynas

follow

(

(;

Historic

Ray, E

44.

45.

T

The reference to Kaśmīr raises another controversy, i.e., the relation between Yaśovarma and Muktāpīḍa or Lalitāditya, the great ruler of Kāśmīr, who destroyed the empire of Kanauj. As has been referred to, there can be no doubt about Muktāpīḍa's victory over his opponent, but the date of the former's reign is a subject of great debate. Since the chronology of Yaśovarma is very much related to and dependent on the date of Lalitāditya, a discussion on the date of the latter seems unavoidable.

According to Kalhana, Lalitāditya had succeeded to the throne of Kaśmīr in 695 A.D., which S. P. Pandit thinks, is correct and valid. A. Cunningham, on the other hand, thinks that if the Chinese sources have to be taken into consideration, the accession of Lalitāditya falls in 727 A.D. In A. Cunningham's opinion, this is because the Chinese historiography is 'more precise in their system of chronology', and, therefore, the date mentioned in the Chinese history should be more acceptable. This view has been accepted by G. Buhler and A. Stein as well as many other historians. In some recent publications, historians are still confused about the date of that great Kaśmĭr King. The dates vary from 724-760 A.D. as held by R. C. Majumdar and P. N. K. Bamzai, to the dates of 724-755 A.D. or 699-736 A.D. as held by Bharat Singh and S. C. Ray respectively. Whatever

42. R. C. Majumdar, op.cit., pp. 133 ff. and P. N. K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, (Delhi, 1962), p. 111

<sup>39.</sup> S. P. Pandit, op.cit., pp. xxviii and xxix

<sup>40.</sup> Ibidem, pp. lxxi — lxxiii, xcii — xcv.
41. Cf. A. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 90-92. Also see A. Stein, transl. of Kalhana's Rājataranginī, A Chronicle of the kings of Kaśmīr, (Delhi reprint, 1961), p. 124, fn. 45.

<sup>43.</sup> Bharat Singh, Ancient Kashmir upto 940 A.D., (Political and Cultural). Ms. of a doctorial thesis recently presented to the Agra University. A summary of the thesis has been published in The Quarterly Review of

VASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTĀPĪDA OF KASMĪR 171

difference may exist, there is one point on which all the scholars

life and a Lalitāditva had deputed his ambassador to the

difference has a difference has a difference has a difference has a greed, i.e., Lalitaditya had deputed his ambassador to the are agreed, i.e., Lalitaditya had deputed his ambassador to the Tang court of Emperor Hsüan-tsung in 733 A.D. In other words, the embassy was sent to China during the middle or towards the end of Muktapida's reign, and, in any case, it could not take place at the beginning of his rule. But, this view seems very

doubtful, and possibly incorrect.

As the matter much depends

As the matter much depends on the Chinese sources, unless one has a clear picture from the Chinese texts, it is impossible to give a definite conclusion. Unfortunately, there exists no accurate translation from these Chinese records, and consequently, almost all historians on the subject depended on second—hand works. Under such circumstance, it is necessary to have a glimpse of the Chinese reference.

The relations between China and Kaśmīr were mainly recorded in two Chinese official documents, namely, the Ts'e-fu
Yuan-kuei (the Most Important Documents from the Imperial
Archives) and the Hsin T'ang-shu or the New History of the T'ang
Dynasty. Extracts from these two works are translated as
follows:

- (1) "In the beginning of the K'ai-yüan age (circa 713-18 A.D.) an envoy arrived at the court from Kaśmīr. During the eighth year (720 A.D.), an Imperial edict proclaimed its King Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li (Candrāpīḍa) as the King of Kaśmīr."44
- (2) "On the 8th month of the eighth year [of the K'ai-yüan age, i.e., from September 7 to October 5, 720 A.D.], an envoy was deputed to Kaśmīr, to proclaim Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li as the King of Kaśmīr."
- (3) "During the intercalary third month, [with the cyclical order of] Hsin-mao (i.e., May 10, 733 A.D.), in the XXI year of K'ai-yiian age, the King of Kaśmīr named Moto-pi (Muktāpīda) sent his envoy Bhadanta Wu-li-to to

Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, (Calcutta, 1957), p. 47.

44. Quoted and translated from HTS ch. 164A, p. 12a.

Quoted and translated from TFYK ch. 964.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

er his given rma's d the

d the know had

the as, is hinks ation, nam's pre-

rians
The
and
A.D.

tever

This

1924), onicle

story

Culrsity. w of present a memorial to the Emperor. Under an edict, an audience was granted to Wu-li-to and he was entertained with a banquet at the Royal palace. Five hundred pieces of thin silk were bestowed on him and he was sent back to his own country after a few days."46

YAS

F

recog

durin

the F

the I

usual

to be

from ed th

influer lin, or

system Cultur

49

- (4) "On the 5th day of the fourth month in the XXI year of the K'ai-yüan age (i.e. May 22, 733 A.D.), an Imperial edict proclaimed Mo-to-pi (Muktāpīḍa) as the King of Kaśmīr." 47
- (5) "After the death of Tien-mu, his younger brother Muto-pi has succeeded to the throne. [The latter has] sent an envoy named Wu-li-to to the court. In a memorial presented to the Emperor, [the new King of Kaśmir] stated: 'Since the establishment of my country, [all kings] sent tributes to Your Majesty Emperor, the Heavenly Khan, obeyed and acted upon under your order. In this country, there are three armies, namely elephant corps, cavalry and infantry. I, a humble subject of Your Majesty, along with the King of Central India, control the five principal routes of communication of Tibet, fought against the Tibetans with constant victories. If Your Majesty, the Heavenly Khan, will despatch the Imperial Armies to Po-lü (Polo). I would be able to supply food to two hundred thousand soldiers. 'Moreover, there is a dragon pool in this country named Mo-ho-po-to-mo (Mahāpadma). I wish to build a memorial building for Your Majesty, the Heaven ly Khan. I, therefore pray for an Imperial Appointment by proclamation."

"The Department of Diplomatic Receptions (Hung-luszu) translated and forwarded the memorial to the Throne. Wu-li-to was summoned to the palace and entertained with a banquet. Generous gifts were bestowed on him. Mo-to-pi was made the King of Kaśmīr by an

<sup>46.</sup> Ibidem, ch. 975. According to B. Karlgren, the ancient Chinest pronunciation of Wu-li-to would be Minet-lji-tâ.

<sup>47.</sup> Ibidem, ch. 964.

YASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTAPĪŅA OF KASMĪR 173 Imperial proclamation. Thereafter, he sent tribute regularly."48

(6) Text of the T'ang Imperial Proclamation:

"On the XXI year of the K'ai-yüan age, the order of the year is Kuei-yu, in the fourth month which initials with Ting-yu, on the fifth day with the cyclical order of Hsin-ch'ou (i.e. May 22, 733 A.D.), His Majesty Emperor proclaimed: 'Oh, you, Mu-to-pi, the King of Kaśmīr. Alas, your country has shown allegiance throughout generations, expressed faithfulness on your duty from afar, cultivated the propriety of tribute and accepted the position as tributary.

'As time changes, the elder brother passed away and the younger brother inherited [the kingship]. Protect the land and river within the borders, unite and lead the people. There is a system of administration in your country, and custom there honours purity and peace. How can this virtue remain unadmired? 'Now, you are appointed the King of Kaśmīr. You should receive this proclamation-order with reverence when it reaches your place. Respect this." "49

From the foregoing extracts, it is clear that the T'ang Emperor recognised and proclaimed Candrapida as the King of Kasmir during September/October 720 A.D. And he made Muktāpīda the King of the same country on May 22, 733 A.D. According to the Chinese convention, the imperial proclamation of a King usually took place at the early period of the reign of the King to be appointed, and not in the middle or later part of the reign as many Indian historians thought. This practice is also evident from the extracts (5) and (6). Both of them have clearly recorded that the Kaśmīrian envoy was sent to the T'ang court after the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ict, an tained pieces ack to

I year nperial ing of

r Mus] sent al prestated: s] sent Khan, ountry, ry and g with

ibetans avenly (Polo). ousand counrish to

eaven-

ntment

routes

ing-luto the nd enstowed

Chinese

by an

<sup>48.</sup> Quoted and translated from HTS ch. 164A, p. 12b. For the Chinese influence on Central Asian politics during the Tang period, see Lo Hsiang-Tang-tai Ti: in "Tang-tai Tien-k'o-han Chih-tu K'ao" (Studies on the Heavenly Khan during the during the Tang period, see 10.

Stein during the Tang period, see 10. system during the Tang Period), in his book, Tang-tai wen-hua-shih (The Gultural History of the Tang Period), in his book, Tang-tar were 49. Once the Tang period), (Taiwan, 1955), pp. 54-87. 49. Quoted and translated from TFYK, ch. 964.

death of the elder brother, and the accession of the younger brother, Muktāpīda, to the throne of Kaśmīr.

YASC

the b

emba!

exped

vears

conclu

might

of Mu

generi

to the

the scl

after,

Emper

strongl

him to

explair

that be

asked ( inroads

adduce

Yaśova

tion in

Nov

the date Tang c

Past. A

uniform

and cale

is a ref-

K'ai-yüa

year. I

their cy

54. Ib

55. Ib 56. S.

A. Rémus

57. R.

58. P.

Tl

According to the Rājatarangiņī, Candrāpīda had reigned for a period of eight years and eight months; Tārāpīda followed him and ruled the country for four years and twenty-four days. Thereafter, Muktāpīda succeeded to the throne. 50 This means that the gap between the accessions of Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa covers a period of 12 years, 8 months and 24 days. This duration is almost agreeable with the Chinese records which mention these two events within a gap of 12 years and seven months and some days, i.e., September/October 720 to May 22, 733 A.D. The difference is only about a month, and that margin should be ascribed to the route and conditions of the long distance between the two coun-I venture to think that the agreement of the duration between the enthronements of Candrāpīda and Muktāpīda as recorded in the Chinese documents and those found in Kalhana's chronicle is not merely an accident, but based on the same historical event.

Previously, on account of the lack of direct reference to the Chinese sources, there has been some amount of confusion in the field of scholarly speculations. Such confusion relates to the exact date of the Kaśmīrian missions to China; and is also concerned with the nature of the respective envoys, of Yasovarma and Lalitāditya, to the T'ang court.

According to A. Stein, the year of the Kasmirian embassy to the court of Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, "is not indicated."51 And consequently, the Chinese records do "not allow us to check with accuracy the dates assigned by K's chrono logy to Lalitaditya's reign."52 This view had been upheld by R. S. Pandit, he says: "The Annals of the T'ang dynasty of China mentioned without any date the arrival of an embassy from the king of Kashmir Mu-to-pi who has been identified by European scholars with Muktāpīḍa".53 He further confuses the matter on

<sup>50.</sup> S. P. Pandit, op.cit., p. lxxvi.

<sup>51.</sup> A. Stein, op.cit., pp. 130-131, fn. 126.

<sup>52.</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>53.</sup> R. S. Pandit, transl. Rajatarangini, The Saga of the Kings of Kasmir or the River of Kings, (Allahabad, 1935), p. 110.

VASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTAPIDA OF KASMIR 175

the bases of the same second-hand information, and states: "the the bases is recorded to have arrived after the successful Chinese expedition in Baltistan (Po-liu) which took place between the expension 736-747".54 From this incorrect assumption, an interesting conclusion is reached, which states: "A possible explanation might be that K's date is correct and the Chinese record the name of Muktapida, which must have been well known to them, as a generic name for the kings of Kashmir". 55

The nature of the Kasmīrian and the Central Indian envoys to the Tang court brought up another great confusion. Most of the scholars in Indian history thought that, in A.D. 713 or shortly after, Candrāpīḍa, the King of Kaśmīr, had "applied to the Chinese Emperor for aid against the Arabs".56 This view which has been strongly refuted by S. P. Pandit was one of the reasons which led him to disbelieve the Chinese records. Thereafter, R. C. Majumdar explained the reason for the Indian missions as "it may be held that both these Kings (i.e., of Kashmir and the Central India) asked Chinese help against Arabs and Tibetans who were making inroads upon India".57 Another interpretation on this event was adduced by P. C. Bagchi, who thought that the mission sent by Vasovarma was to appeal to the Chinese Emperor "for intervention in his dispute with Kashmir".58

Now, from the foregoing translations of the Chinese records, the dates of Kaśmīrian as well as Central Indian missions to the Tang court are not unmentioned as some scholars thought in the Mist. As we have seen, the Chinese sources record the events uniformly without any contradiction. Even the cyclical indications and calendric factors are accurate and correct. For instance, there is a reference of an intercalary third month in the XXI year of Kalyuan age, which as I have identified, actually existed in that Even the related dates are completely harmonized with the related dates are completely narmount as one orders, which are regarded by many scholars as one

ounger

d for a

ed him

There-

hat the

covers tion is

1 these

d some

erence

to the

coun-

iration

as re-

lhana's

nistori-

to the

in the

exact cerned

a and

ssy to is not

"not

rono

ld by

China

n the opean er on

<sup>\$4.</sup> Ibidem, p. 129. Also see Buddha Prakash Ibidem, p. 107.

S. S. P. Pandit, op.cit., p. lxxxi. This fact was said to be based on 5. P. Pandit, op.cit., p. lxxxi.
5. R. C. Translation, op.cit. vol. I, p. 197. 57. R. C. Majumdar, op.cit., p. 130. & p. C. Majumdar, op.cit., p. 130.

Bagchi, op.cit. Sino-Indian Studies, vol. I, p. 71.

of the key factors to check the authenticity of histories in China.<sup>59</sup>

YAS

study

Cent

cause

word

mona

plain

thron

on a

latter

Mukt

propo

of his

to th

Baltis

Lalita

of Ka

verse

who v

Empe

is mai

as ha

Kashr in an

Stein

Lalita

north.

Aryar

details

T

during

61

in Bud

62. 63.

64

65. 66.

67.

1. 23

F

Regarding the nature of Kaśmir's envoys to China, the above. mentioned translations from the Chinese historical documents, have supplied their own reasons. The mission that arrived at the T'ang court in 713 or shortly after was to establish diplomatic relations. There was no Arab threat at that time. On this point, Hui-ch'ao has also testified to the situation, he says that when he was in Kaśmīr, "the king [of the country] possessed 300 elephants. It is situated amidst mountains, the roads here are bad and dangerous, has not been invaded by any foreign country".60 The missions that arrived at the T'ang court in 720 and 733 A.D. respectively were for the Chinese recognition of the newly enthroned Kings of Kaśmir. The latter had its military nature against the Tibetans as mentioned in extract (5), but nothing to do with the Arabs. Similarly, the mission sent by Yasovarma was as I have noted before, for an imperial recognition of his dominant position in India, after his triumph over Magadha and the Gaüda land.

There is another point which is worthy of attention, that is the kingdom of North India as recorded in the *Memoirs* of Huch'ao. He states that the North Indian King resided at a city which is built on the hillside named Jālandhara, and the King possessed 300 war elephants and one-hundred cavalry. The land was frequently invaded by Central India and Kaśmir. That was the reason why the King resided in a city near the hills. Though the political situation of North India and the identification of this King of Jālandhara are still in dark and require more effort to

59. Ch'en Yin-k'oh has remarked that to identify the cyclical order with the title of reign and the actual date is a very difficult and complicated task during ancient and mediaeval period. Even some eminent historians of the age used to commit lapse in this regard. It is, therefore, a key factor to testify the authenticity of Chinese historical documents. See "Nan-yo Ta-shih Li-shih-yüan-wen Pa" (Note on Autobiography of Husu), Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinick, vol. III (1932), p. 300 ff.

About calendric data, I have used Hsieh Chung-san and Ou-yand Yi's A Sino-Western Calender for Two Thousand Years 1-2000 A.D. (Peking, 1956).

60. See my article op.cit. Kashmir Research Biannual, No. 2.

YASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTĀPĪŅA OF KASMĪR 177

study, 1 notwithstanding, whoever this King might be, as far as Central India and Kaśmir are concerned, this was probably the cause for conflict between Muktāpīda and Yasovarma. In other words, the invasion of North India brought those two powerful monarchs into a clash. This attempt of annexation of the Punjab plain has already been initiated before Muktāpīda came to the throne, he possibly renewed the expansion southward and headed on a clash with Yaśovarma as he was "eager for conquest".62 The latter held South plain of the region even before the rise of Muktāpīda.

Another suggestion relates to the chronology of Muktapida as proposed by R. S. Pandit. In a note to the Book VII verse 1430 of his translation of Rajatarangini, he states: "The verse refers to the Emperor of China. The first Chinese expedition against Baltistan occurred between 736-747 A.C. and it is not unlikely that Lalitaditya perished while opposing a Chinese army in the north of Kashmir."63 In his translated verse as well as in the original verse of Kalhaṇa, it is only mentioned that "the king named Śalya who was equipped with...."64 Who was this King? Was he "the Emperor of China" as R. S. Pandit noted? No clear identification is made. According to S. P. Pandit, "he (Muktāpīḍa) is described as having carried his arms of conquest far beyond the borders of Kashmir towards the north and the northwest, and to have died in an expedition of conquest towards Persia (Āryanaka)."65 A. Stein agreed that "from varying account we may conclude that Lalitaditya ended his days on some unsuccessful expedition to the North" Yet he had carefully observed that the "country called Aryanaka' cannot be located exactly."66 He also believes that the details of Lalitaditya's death "had become obscured at an early

The successful Chinese expedition against Baltistan took place during the summer of 747 A.D. The event has been carefully

ories in

above. uments

ived at

olomatic

is point,

t when

sed 300

ere are

n coun-720 and

e newly

nature hing to

ma was,

ominant

nd the

that is

of Hui-

a city

e King

he land

nat was

Though

of this

ffort to

al order

compli-

ent hisherefore, nts. See

of Hui-

Sinica

Ou-yang

. (Pek

<sup>61.</sup> See 'Some Dark Pages of the History of North India after Harsha," h Buddha Prakash, loc.cit., pp. 101-116. Q. A. Stein, op.cit., p. 131.

<sup>8.</sup> R. S. Pandit, op.cit., p. 320 fn. 1430. & Ibidem, pp. 319-320.

<sup>&</sup>amp; S. P. Pandit, op.cit., p. lxxxiii. & A. Stein, op.cit., p. 93.

<sup>67.</sup> Ibidem, p. 93. 1. 23

recorded in the histories of the T'ang dynasty, under the chapter of Ta-hsiao Polü,68 and also in the biography of Kao Hsien-chih (died in 755 A.D.),69 the Korean General who served the T'ang court as the Vice-General Commander of the T'ang Army in Sinkiang region, and led the expeditionary forces to Po-lii or Baltistan. As the dates, route, encounters and results of the expedition have been all recorded in the history, there is no room for speculating that Lalitaditya "perished while opposing a Chinese army in the north of Kashmir" as suggested by R. S. Pandit,

YASC

system

chron

720-72

732 A

reign

Kaśmi

In oth

years, course

sion of

sive re

under

related

this co

transla

of Ind

a lot o

Th

Moreover, there are a number of internal evidences to disprove the suggestion made by R. S. Pandit. For example, Lalitaditya died in "expedition of conquest",70 "to a distant north region",71 and not in a fighting of defence "in the north of Kashmir" as suggested.72 Similarly, Po-lü is situated to the North-East of Kaśmīr and not far from the latter. Moreover, any of the suggested dates of Lalitāditya's chronology does not place his death in the summer of 747 A.D.,73 the year of Kao Hsien-chih's successful expedition to Baltistan. Under these circumstances, I would prefer to subscribe to A. Stein's contention. And unless some wexpected new evidences come out, the end of Lalitaditya of Kaśmir would remain inconclusive.

From the foregoing discussion, one may suggest that Yasovarma's conquest of Magadha and the Gaüḍa land took place between 726 and 731 A.D. as he was still struggling for domination at the time of Hui-ch'ao's visit, (about 724 A.D.), which probably meant that his position as a King was far from settled. Thus his ascendancy to the throne should not be very long from that date Though the last part of his reign is still vague, he possibly lived in a weaker position till the middle of VIII century A.D.

Reviewing the identity between the Chinese sources and the Kaśmir chronicle in regard to the duration between the enthrone ments of Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa, precise dates and reliable

<sup>68.</sup> CTS ch. 104, pp. 1a-3a and HTS ch. 221, pp. 4a-5b.

<sup>69.</sup> Ibidem, ch. 135 anr 104.

<sup>70.</sup> S. P. Pandit, op.cit., p. lxxxiii.

<sup>71.</sup> A. Stein, op.cit., p., 93.

<sup>72.</sup> See note 63 above.

<sup>73.</sup> See notes 40, 41 42 and 43 above.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

YASOVARMA OF KANAUJ & MUKTĀPĪŅA OF KASMĪR 179

of Candrapida and Tarapida the Translation of Candrapida and Tarapida the Translation dronology of Candrāpīda and Tārāpīda, the Kaśmīr Kings as oronomes of 729-732, Muktāpīda ascending the throne only in 732 A.D. Should these dates be considered as reasonable, then the reign of these three Kings of the Kārkotaka or Nāga dynasty of Kaśmir should be much later than the dates claimed by Kalhana. b other words, the latter seems to have a miscalculation of 38 rears, which is longer than suspected by scholars previously. Of course, this discussion is only limited to the accession and successon of these three Kings, and it cannot be considered as a conclusive remark to the whole work of Rajatarangina.

The Indian missions sent to the T'ang court during the period under review, are all clearly recorded with definite dates and related reasons. There is no room for any other speculation. In this connection, it is necessary to point out that a new and accurate translation of historical sources from foreign and local languages of India is a very urgent task. Such an effort would clear up alot of confusion, and bring new light into the field.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

chapter en-chih T'ang my in

o-lii or of the o room Chinese dit.

cample. north shmir" East of e sugdeath

to dis-

iccesswould ne un-**Kaśmir** 

Yasoplace nation obably us his t date.

id the proneeliable

lived

Indi

publ (Aug mine India Caus (Aug assur tain surve the F 636 A cusse large: not b only. the fa then a that t invad period Arabs I atte much turies enable

of Ass my su rences

1,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

# India's Resistance to Medieval Invaders: A Rejoinder

BY

#### A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar's article on the above subject nublished in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLIV, Part II (August 1966), pp. 475-482, calls for comment. It seeks to examine certain statements of mine, made in my paper "A Survey of India's Resistance to Medieval Invaders from the North-West: Causes of Eventual Hindu Defeat," vide J.I.H. Vol. XLIII. Part II (August, 1965), pp. 349-368. But in trying to do so Dr. Majumdar assumes much more than I said or meant and ascribes to me certain views that I do not hold. He admits that I confined "my survey to the North-West," i.e., to Sindh, Hindu Afghanistan and the Punjab. He also admits that my survey relates to the period, 86 A.D.-1206 A.D., and not beyond. Yet he says that because I discussed the "causes of eventual Hindu defeat," "this naturally enlarges the scope of investigation, as the causes of Hindu defeat cannot be explained by a survey of the history of the North-West only."1 This is too much for any writer to assume, and amounts to the familiar trick: ascribe to some one what he does not say and then attack him on that ground. The plain meaning of my paper was that the Hindus of Sindh, Afghanistan and the Punjab resisted the invaders from 636 A.D. to c. 1019 A.D., i.e., for a much longer Period than any people in Asia, Africa and Europe had fought the Arabs in that age, and yet they were finally defeated. Obviously lattempted to analyse the causes of their eventual defeat after so much and so successful a resistance lasting for about four centuries. Secondly it was to examine the debacle of 1195-1202 which enabled the Turks to over-run the Gangetic valley upto the hills of Assam. I fail to see why Dr. Majumdar thinks it necessary that my survey must include the whole of Northern India. His references to D. include the whole of Northern India. tences to Rajasthan's defying the Turkish invaders and of Orissa's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>. Dr. A. K. Majumdar's Article, op.cit., p. 475.

fighting the Muslim Sultans of Bengal at a later date are in this connection irrelevant and uncalled for. If Dr. Majumdar had cared to turn the pages of my Sultanate of Delhi (1st edition. 1950), he would not have quoted Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah. He would have then realised that all these details have been known to me and to others for long and that it was not necessary for me to refer to them in my above paper, which was meant to be a rapid survey as its very title indicates and not a detailed exposition of the history of the period.

uage

blam

the e

Thes

just

of go

discr

scrip ously

I

Shasi

If th

Dhar

usage

ous 2

into e

tras;

been

SIX V

conte:

are v

sovere

lined

vent :

vent a

Was t

bour's

submi

confus

fully (

verses

sion to

other

I

Dr. A. K. Majumdar not only ascribes to me views that I do not hold, but he also quotes me wrongly. He writes: "As a matter of fact Dr. Srivastava has held the preachings of the Mahabharata to be partially responsible for weakening the resistance of the Such a presumption is entirely wrong; I never held Hindus."2 the great epic responsible for weakening the Hindu resistance to the Turkish invaders, not even for Hindu demoralisation. Here is what I wrote in an attempt to explain the causes of the collapse of the Hindu resistance after the fall of Prithvi Raj Chauhan III, Jaichand and Pramardi Deva. "A more probable cause seems to be the widespread demoralisation and panic caused by the defeat of great Hindu kings and an erroneous belief in the invincibility of the Turkish hordes, who used shock tactics, and impelled the lesser Indian rulers to think that resistance was hopeless. It may be presumed with reason that after the fall of such mighty warrior kings as Prithvi Raj and Jaichand there must have been anxious and hurried consultations among the smaller rulers of the Gangetic valley, their ministers and advisers, and they must have thought further resistance futile (after 1194 A.D.). It was in these depressing circumstances that they seemed to have taken shelter behind the letter of the well known injunction in the Mahabharata to submit and avoid anarchy, and ignored its spirit. It was, therefore, the implicit, nay blind, Hindu faith in Shastric injunctions to avoid anarchy at all cost even at the sacrifice of independence and sovereignty, that must be held to have been the primary cause of the debacle."3 The above sentences are so transparently clear that unless one is absolutely prejudiced or ignorant of the English lang-

<sup>2.</sup> Dr. A. K. Majumdar, op.cit., p. 477.

<sup>3.</sup> A. L. Srivastava, op.cit., pp. 360-361.

183

## INDIA'S RESISTANCE TO MEDIEVAL INVADERS

in this

cared

(0), he

d have

and to

efer to

survey

ne his-

t I do

matter

harata

of the

r held

nce to Iere is

pse of

in III,

defeat

ibility

ed the

t may

war-

anxi-

Gan-

have

these

helter

harata

there-

ons to

e and

ase of

r that

lang-

uage, one would not believe that the writer of the above lines is blaming the Mahabharata. All that he means is that the teaching of the epic was misinterpreted by persons who had lost their balance. These persons "ignored its spirit," and took shelter "behind the letter." This is absolutely clear from the sentences written by me just after, viz., "This is an instance to show that sometimes out of good comes evil and that a nation that does not make use of discrimination in the interpretation and application of its valued scripture not only loses its independence, but also suffers tremendously and for centuries."

Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar seems to think that the Hindu Shastras are fool-proof and are incapable of wrong interpretation. If that were so, how could the Vedic system of Varna-Ashram Dharma have crystallised into castes and how could the ancient usage regarding inter-dining and inter-marriage between the various varnas have disappeared? And how has untouchability come into existence? I yield to none in my respect for the Hindu Shastras; but I am absolutely sure that their noble injunctions have been misinterpreted time and again.

Dr. Majumdar is again wrong in asserting that I have torn the six verses from the Shanti-Parva of the Mahabharata from their context. He is also wrong in calling these verses 'obscure'. They are very important. They form part of Bhishma's discourse on sovereignty and of his advice to Yudhishtir, when the latter declined to accept the crown, to rule his ancestral kingdom and prevent anarchy. Of course, Bhishmā did not advise anyone to prevent anarchy by submitting to a foreign invader. What he meant was that if a powerful Indian monarch coveted his weak neighbour's territory and was bent upon conquest, the latter should submit to avoid anarchy. The fault lay with those who, in the fully over-running the Gangetic valley, misinterpreted the famous verses to save their skin.

Dr. Majumdar's contention that Kutnimatam, Kalavilas and other works mentioned by me were written to produce "a revultional towards the prostitutes," "courtesans and others and to dis-

<sup>4.</sup> A. L. Srivastava, op.cit., p. 362.

ment

Maju

But I

Huna

aware

dynas

natur

Ashol

how t

my pa

this P

threeminist

usurp

revolu

uism d

in gen

develo

taboos

fear of

"finall

ter to

felt a

sued a

plained

his set

points

balf, of

rulers

ment c

Dr. Ma

this tyr

must sl

commit

from a

country

1. 24.

suade people from visiting them" only refers to the objective of the authors, but ignores the patent fact that literature depicts the society of the age in which it is produced. He also ignores the effect that literature produces on human mind and character. I read these works after I had crossed sixty, and I cannot describe the effect on my mind. It is a pity that Dr. Majumdar holds that the literature presented in these works of Kashmiri writers did not demoralise the people of that region and that Kashmir passed into the hand of the Muslims on account of "the peculiar twist of fortune."5 He should know that this 'peculiar twist of fortune was caused by the general demoralisation of the Kashmiris of that age. As the learned author admits that "the erotic sculptures may have had evil influence on the people in general" because other scholars too have referred to it, I need not join issue with him. But his assumption that despite Konark and Jagannath "Orissa maintained her independence against the Turko-Afghan onslaught practically till about 1580," is incorrect. Orissa's delayed fall was due to geographical reasons and not to the so-called emotion-free virility of her people. Again Dr. Majumdar does less than justice by omitting the Khajuraho temples from the list, especially when I had given it the first place among the erotic sculptures. He also omits my contention that erotic sculpture of this type was common enough in the temples of that age in Northern India. I mentioned the temples of these three places, besides others, because they are extant and it is open for anyone to see them and form his independent opinion about the effect of this kind of sculpture. He finds fault with me for saying that the North-Western India including Hindu Afghanistan and part of Sindh was before the 7th century A.D. isolated, and looked upon by the conservative elements of our society as border lands, in habited by barbarians. "Will Dr. Majumdar adduce contemporary evidence to refute the above theory? Further, will anyone with an accurate knowledge of Indian history dispute the fact that "after the extinction of the Maurya empire, there was no such thing as the defence of the frontiers of India by the united might and resources of the Indian people, because our north-west frontiers and all other frontiers were the frontiers of small independent king doms"? But Dr. Majumdar doubts the correctness of this state

5. Dr. A. K. Majumdar, op.cit., p. 480.

INDIA'S RESISTANCE TO MEDIEVAL INVADERS 185

ment. I will not probe into the reasons that have impelled Dr. Majumdar to call the above statement of mine as my 'assumption.' But I must say that his reference to Skanda Gupta's repulsing the Hunas does not improve his position in the least. We are not aware whether Skanda Gupta or any former ruler of the Gupta dynasty could extend the limit of his kingdom to include in it the natural frontiers of India in the North-West.

tive of

icts the

res the

cter. I

ibe the

hat the lid not ed into

wist of

ortune'

niris of

sculp-

neral,"

ot join

rk and

Turko-

Drissa's

so-call-

ar does

he list,

erotic

ture of

n Nor-

besides

to see

of this

at the

art of

1 upon

ds, in-

porary

vith an

"after

ing as

nd re-

rs and

king

state,

Misrepresentation seems to be the principal weapon in Dr. . Ashok Kumar Majumdar's armoury. The following will show how the learned Doctor's misrepresentation works in practice. In my paper referred to above I had written that "the country during this period experienced a Brahmanical reaction that produced three-fold effect on its fortune." In the first instance, "Brahman ministers over-threw their Kshatriya and Sudra masters and usurped their thrones which brought about a kind of political revolution and instability." Secondly, "the rise of orthodox Hindusm alienated the Buddhist population..." Thirdly, "the Hindus in general and their upper classes in particular had by this time developed strange ideas of contamination and defilement and taboos of food and drink, which made them shudder from the fear of losing caste, if they fell into the hands of mlecchhas." And mally inasmuch as religious orthodoxy and ritualism run counter to the simplicity of the poor, the lower orders of our society lelt a widening gulf between them and their new rulers who pursucidal policy of social and religious exclusion." I explained all these points at length in my article.6 Consistently with his set plan, Dr. Majumdar has ignored all the above important bilts and seized hold of only one, to be more exact only onebelt, of one, of these points, viz., the displacement of the Kshatriya There by Brahman ministers. Even here he omits the displacement of a point. hent of the Sudra kings. In regard to this one-half of a point, Dr. Majumdar indulges in polemics. Here is his reasoning: "Now, his type of the bistorians, this type of influences, which are often relied upon by historians, must show an invariable non-committance and an invariable conommittance. The proposition is: the Brahmin usurped the throne tom a Kşatriya; therefore the foreigners could conquer the It must follow, therefore; First, that had the country

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>, A. L. Srivastava, op.cit., pp. 346-365.

retained its Kṣatriya rulers it would not have been conquered by the Muslims, because Kṣatriyas have never been defeated by the Muslims. As the italicised premise is non-tenable the invariable non-committance is not established. Secondly, it is necessary to prove that the Brahmins were always defeated." The learned author tries to prove his point by referring to the military leadership of the Peshwas who were Brahmins.

Krsi

1

centu

down

the 1

Defer

Krsna

(in t

his fe

songs that I

pilgrin

cause

Was t

Tarin

spent

nanda

autho

called

of the

As a cintām dipilcā verses dēva ci of Kṛṣ Jayade Vopad

One can hardly conceive of a more glaring example of misuse of logic and of the ignorance of the canons of historical evidence. Only one cause, viz., "the mistakes of policy and strategy" put forward by me appeals to the learned Dr. A. K. Majumdar. He rejects the social cause as of no account, for, according to him the social conditions were the same in both the North and the South, and yet the Cōlas founded an overseas empire and there was a revival of Hindu power under the Vijayanagar empire. He concludes by adding that if there had really been social decay, the Hindu society in the Gangetic valley must have crumbled to pieces. Here Dr. Majumdar confuses social survival with social solidarity.

The above analysis reveals the manner in which Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar sifts evidence and arrives at conclusions. Although criticism of historical writings is essential in the interest of truth, yet perversion cannot be looked upon as criticism. Intellectual honesty and integrity are absolutely essential in the pursuit of historical research. Who will agree with Dr. Majumdar that everything was well with the Hindu society of the early medieval age and that it was merely the Hindu mistakes of policy and strategy that were responsible for their defeat and loss of independence which they failed to recover before 1947?

<sup>7.</sup> Dr. Majumdar, op.cit., pp. 480-481.

## Krsna's role as a Nation-builder in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century

BY

ered by by the

variable sary to

learned leader-

misuse

vidence, gy" put

ar. He

him the South

was a He con-

ay, the

bled to

1 social

Ashok

lusions.

interest

m. In-

in the

jumdar

rly me-

policy

loss of

#### DR. BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR, Patna

Two of the greatest reformers of India in the nineteenth century, Rāja Rāmmohun Roy and Svāmi Dayānanda, looked down upon the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, one of the principal sources on the life and teachings of Krsna. The former wrote in his First Defence of Hindu Theism that the grossness of the worship of Kışına exceeded all limits. "His devotees very often personify (in the same manner as European actors do on stage) him and his female companions, dancing with indecent gestures, and singing songs relative to his love and debaucheries." It is worth noting that Rāmmohun's family deities at Rādhānagar, a famous place of pilgrimage for the Vaiṣṇavas were Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. One of the causes of estrangement between him and his mother, Tārṇī Devī was that he refused to bow down before the images of these deities. Tarini Devi preferred to give up all connections with her son and spent her last days at Puri amidst great hardship. Svāmi Dayānanda refused to accept Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of God. On the authority of a few stray verses said to have been found in a book of the Biof the Bhāgavata and his brother, Jayadēva wrote Gītagovinda. 1a As a matter of fact, Hemādri the famous author of Caturvargathe famous author of ract, Hemadri the ramous author (c. 1260-1270) wrote a commentary called Kaivalyadipikā on Vopadēva's Mukṭāphaļa which is an anthology of the Verses of the Bhāgavata on various aspects of devotion. Vopadeva dedicated it to Hemādri and also wrote a summary of the life of Krsna as represented in the Bhāgavata in his treatise, Harilīlā. Jayadēva flourished in eastern India nearly a century earlier than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>(a). Satyārtha Prakāśa (Eng. trans. by Bharadwaja), p. 390.

The Christian Missionaries levelled serious charges against Kṛṣṇa. One of them wrote in the Calcutta Review in October, 1851: 'Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are favourite deities with a great majority of the inhabitants of Bengal. The character of these objects of worship is so vile, that those who describe it feel it necessary to apologize for it, by urging the plea that Kṛṣṇa, being lord of the world, was not subject to those laws of morality which more tals are bound to obey. But reason and experience unite in proving that his example has a frightfully contaminating power, and that the natives of Bengal will never cease to be addicted to profligacy until Kṛṣṇa shall cease to be the object of their worship, their thoughts and their affections." Ib

of K

govin

princ

one I

socia

durin

attair

were

been

There

life a

vidya

as no

as de

the a

dēva.

the h

Krsna

bent 1

ed his

is int

poet s

which

Mosle

exteri

dering

vears

Benga

tribute

them :

dranath pleasure Ramabh

Parisat.

Gyered

T

In the face of such attacks Bankimcandra Chatterjee had to make out a case for regarding Kṛṣṇa as a national hero. He was the first Indian scholar to undertake a critical study of the life of Kṛṣṇa. He was acquainted with the main trends of criticism of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas from the works of Orientalists like Weber, Lassen, Goldstucker, Colebrooke, Muir, Bournou and Wilson. Ic His critical acumen was of such a high order that he could easily discriminate between a mere hypothesis and a logical conclusion of these European scholars. His sense of humow was keen and his expression was highly felicitous. All these factors have contributed to make his Kṛṣṇacaritra a classic of Bengali literature.

Bankimcandra, however, wrote this great work with a purpose, and not merely for advancement of learning. We get an idea of his object from the article, entitled Krsnacaritra, which he contributed to the journal Banadarśana early in 1875. He wanted to present in his work an ideal hero capable of unifying the pety warring kingdoms into a national state. He was the first great writer who tried to infuse the new spirit of nationalism into the mind of Indians through inspiring novels, songs and essays. To him Krsna was the perfect embodiment of the best ideals of humanity. He contrasted four stages in the representation of the life

<sup>1(</sup>b). Quoted also in the Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1852-53, p. 632.

<sup>1(</sup>c) Kṛṣṇacaritra I, 4, 7, 13.

<sup>2.</sup> Bangadarśana, Caitra 1281, pp. 605-611.

against

ctober.

majo.

objects

essary

ord of

n mor.

r, and

o pro-

orship,

had to

le was

ne life

ticism

rienta-

irnouf

r that

a logi-

ımour

e far-

engali

et an

ch he

anted

petty

great o the

uma

e life

tee of

of Kışna—the Mahābhārata, the Bhāgavata, Jayadēva's Gītagovinda and Vidyāpati's songs. He laid down three fundamental principles which distinguish the portrayal of the character by one poet from that of another. These are due to national character, social environment and the personality of the poet. He said that during the age in which the Mahābhārata was composed India had attained a high stage of civilization, but signs of internal quarrel were already visible. The way in which the character of Kṛṣṇa has been depicted in the Mahābhārata is unparalleled in the world. There is not even a faint trace in it of those episodes of his early life at Vraja, which have been elaborated in the Bhāgavata. These mustitute the sole subject-matter of the poems of Javadeva and Vidvapati. Bankim considered the love of Krsna with the Gopis as nothing but an allegory of the relation of Purusa with Prakrti as delineated in the Sāmkhya-philosophy. But he regretted that the allegory had vanished altogether in the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva. As the nation had become decadent and forgotten all about the heroic past Jayadeva produced nothing but a sensual poem. Kṛṣṇa, according to the Mahābhārata, was a far-sighted statesman, bent upon achieving the unity of India. But Jayadeva has painted him as wholly engrossed in love affair. In this connection it is interesting to note that to Bankim Vidyāpati appeared as a poet singing mournful songs under the influence of the renaissance, which was just having its beginning after several centuries of Moslem rule. Bankim thought that Jayadeva looked only at the exterior of Kṛṣṇa, whereas Vidyāpati analysed his inmost feelings.3

This interesting article indicates that Bankimcandra was pondering over the problem of interpreting the life of Kṛṣṇa nine Vears before the publication of his essays on Kṛṣṇacaritra in the Bengali monthly journal Pracāra in 1884 A.D. After having contibuted articles on the same topic for twenty months he got them published in the form of a book in 1886. In this book he

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., p. 610-611. It is worth noting here that according to Rabinleasure (Prācīna Sāhitya). The songs of Vidyāpati from the Nepal and
4. Prachā.

Mss had not been published at that time.

<sup>4</sup> Prachāra, Aśvin 1291 (=1884 Oct.) to Āśāḍa 1293 (=July 1886)

1 The first edition of Kṛṣṇacaritra is available in the Bangīya Sāhitya

1 tonsists of 198 pages while the second edition published in 1892

+ 30 pages.

said that the oldest account of the life of Krsna is to be found in the Mahābhārata, and those incidents which are not related there are to be discarded as mere poetic fancies.6 But this was not all. He was not prepared to accept as genuine even the episodes mentioned in the epic if they did not tally with his preconceived idea of Kṛṣṇa. Thus according to him the verses referring to Krsna's life at Vrndavana as reported to have been uttered by Śiśupāla at the Rājasūya ceremony were interpolations.7 He 'emphatically stated that the allegations of Kṛṣṇa's love affair with the Gopis were all baseless; they were mere products of fanciful imagination of the writers of the Puranas. He went further and said that the story of Kṛṣṇa's transfer to the house of Nanda at midnight, and all the incidents relating to his boyhood and adoloscence at Vraja were false and baseless. He even refused to accept that Kamsa was the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa.8 He quoted the words of Arjuna from Udyoga parvam recounting the valorous achievements of Kṛṣṇa including the defeat of Bhoja Kings at the Svayamvara of Rugmini, victory over the Kings of Gandhara, Pāṇdya, Kalinda, Vārāṇasī, destruction of Ekalavya, Kaṃsa, Śālva and Naraka. The last two items he considered as unhistorical apparently because miracles were involved in the first and Kṛṣṇa's marriage with sixteen thousand wives was implied in the second?

E

the s

had o

life 0

his al

the li

attrib

gation

did no

natura

ted th

as a

could

the tu

Vakās

mere

great

seven

made

interp

Gövar

a real

puranc

not re

superr

it use]

sky an

and the

But the

of Saha

pended

must be

e.g., his

11,

12, 1

13,

14. 1

B

In the first edition of his Kṛṣṇacaritra Bankim quoted the passage relating to the killing of Kaṃsa from the Bengali translation of the Mahābhārata edited by Kali Prasanna Sinha and said in the footnote that he had not compared the translation with the original. The mistake committed by the translator remained undetected even at the time of publication of the second edition six years later.<sup>10</sup>

6. Kṛṣṇacaritra, 1st ed., p. 3.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35. These verses have been found in all the manuscripts collected by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and accepted as genuine in the critical edition of the Mbh. II. 30. 4-11. The influence of Bankim, however, is so great that even a researcher of the eminence of Dr. J. N. Banerjee writes that according to scholars these verses are interpolations (Pañcopāsanā, p. 45 footnote). Dr. Banerjee had probably in his mind R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion (Vaisnavism etc. p. 38) also.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>10.</sup> The translator says that Kaṃsa married two daughters of Jarāsandha named Sahadēva and Anujā (Kaliprasanna Sinha's Mbh. II, 13, (p. 211).

191

Bankimcandra changed and modified many of his views in the second edition, in the preface of which he admitted that he had changed his opinion regarding the boyhood incidents of the life of Kṛṣṇa. He also said that the Kṛṣṇacaritra as depicted in his article published in the Bangadarsana was as different from the life of Kṛṣṇa now presented as light is from darkness. He attributed the change of opinion to his mature age, greater investigation and more intense thinking. He boldly said that if any one dd not change his opinion he must be either endowed with supernatural powers or a foolish and ignorant person. He now admitted that Kṛṣṇa's transfer to Gōkula by Vasudēva might be accepted as a historical fact. 11 But he refused to believe that his hero wild pilfer butter in his childhood. He interpreted incidents like the turning down of the cart, destruction of Trnavartta, Vatsasura, Vakāsura and Aghāsura and suppression of the serpent, Kāliya, as mere allegory.

Bankimcandra was in some difficulty in explaining away the great miracle of Kṛṣṇa's holding the Govardhana mountain for seven days. Now he confessed that the verses containing allegations made by Siśupāla against Kṛṣṇa at the Rājasūya sacrifice were not interpolations. He was candid enough also to admit that the Gövardhana was not a mere mole-hill as alleged by Śiśupāla but a real hill. The incident is related in the Harivamśa, 12 Vișnupurāṇa,<sup>13</sup> Bhāgavata<sup>14</sup> and many other Purāṇas though Bankim did not refer to these. But he refused to believe anything which was supernatural in character. He concluded that Kṛṣṇa considered it useless to render worship to Indra, which is typified by the sky and thought that the food should be offered to the poor people and the cows.

but the original (Cr.ed. II.13.30) says that Kamsa married the anuja or sisters of Sahadan that he deof Sahadeva (son of Jarasandha). The admission of Bankim that he depended on the Bengali translation is significant. But in fairness to him it the Bengali translation is significant. But in fairness the said that he did compare many other passages with the original, the karman said that he did compare many other passages with the original, that he did compare many other points, his Kṛṣṇacaritra, 2nd edition, III. 1 (Footnote in p. 114).

found

elated

s was e epi-

econ-

erring

tered

He

with

nciful

r and

da at

dolos-

ccept

d the orous

it the

hāra,

Śālva

orical

sna's

ond.9

1 the

rans-

said

1 the

un-

n six

cripts

ed as

ce of

ce of

e in-

bably

ndha

211).

II. Kṛṣṇacaritra, 2nd ed. (Sāhityapariṣad ed.), p. 68.

<sup>12.</sup> H.V., II, 18.

<sup>13.</sup> Visnupurāņa, V, 11.

<sup>14.</sup> Bh. X., 26.

He then took up the consideration of the case of the Gopis. He pointed out that the Gopis are not referred to in the Mahā. bhārata. But Kṛṣṇa's sport with them has been related in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Harivaṃśa and the Bhāgavata. He quoted the major portion of the thirteenth chapter of the fifth book of the Viṣṇupurāṇa describing the Rāsalīlā and other incidents. In translating the verses, however, he took the root 'ram' to mean to play and the words like 'Ratipriya' to signify fond of playing. But he was not able to explain away the verse (13.54) which stated that a Gōpī skilled in the art of singing his praises embraced and kissed him, though he rendered the active voice of the original into passive. 16

He, however, interpreted the whole affair as an innocent play and quoted the customs of European society, in which dancing of young men with young women was not considered in any way reprehensible. While explaining away the description of the Rāsa in the Harivaṃśa, he, however, said that the Viṣṇupurāṇa has described the joyous frolics of fickle girls. In the case of Harvaṃśa, according to him they were passionate women. Then he adversely commented upon the bad taste of the Bhāgavata in describing the Vastra-haraṇa of the Gōpīs, 17a though he admired the best spiritual tone of the purāṇa. He again condemned Jayadēva for perverting the innocent sports of Kṛṣṇa to sexual orgy in the name of religion. He reiterated in this connection the urgent need of re-interpreting the life of Kṛṣṇa with a view to re-awakening the coun-

15. Kṛṣṇacaritra II.V. The Mahābhārata was not concerned with the early life of Kṛṣṇa. But there is one indirect evidence to show that the author or one of the authors of the Mahābhārata knew that Kṛṣṇa had fascination for the Gōpīs. When Subhadrā was being sent for the first time to her mother-in-law's house she was dressed as a Gopālikā-I.213. 17. Asvaghoṣa in his Buddhacarita refers to Saurī (Kṛṣṇa 1.45) and also to Gopē Yoṣits (IV. 16). Sir R. G. Bhandarker held that all the Mahābhārata passages containing any references to the Gōpīs are interpolations. But the researches of the Institute, associated with his name, show that at least this passage is genuine (Mbh. Cr. ed. Ādiparva, p. 830). Bankimcandra considered the invocation of Draupadī to Kṛṣṇa as Gōpíjanapriya as genuine, but the critical edition has treated it as an interpolation.

16. Kṛṣṇacaritra II, V (p. 81).

17(a). This episode is described in the Tamil Sangam book Ahananaga (59.4-6), which cannot be later than the second century A.D. I am thankful to Prof. T. V. Mahalingam for this reference.

try.<sup>17b</sup>
can ec

of Rac

vaivar

that th

he wadebtee govine credib deva : Gökul of his

> was a please scence fact, a

> > B

ter of

him d

who s

quote by Ba in cer either others give t

17 (b 18. natha I He obs Wilson, to thre Bengal, ter of not hav Parisat

J. 25

He emphatically stated again that in the whole world none krsna in purity of character and in the possession of all the good qualities.

Bankimcandra devoted a long chapter to prove that the name of Rādhā is not found in any of the Purānas excepting the Brahmaraivarta, the original version of which has been lost. He showed that the current version of this Purāna is full of absurd tales. But it must be said to the credit of the critical acumen of Bankim thathe was the first modern scholar to prove that Jayadeva was indebted to this Purana for the introductory verse of his Gitacovinda.18. The conclusion which Bankim drew regarding the credibility of the incidents of the early life of Kṛṣṇa was that Vasudeva sent his wife Rohini and two sons, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Gikula out of fear of Kamsa, and that Krsna spent the period of his boyhood and adolescence there. His beauty and grace made him dear to all. He grew up as an exceptionally vigorous youth, who saved the cowherds by destroying the harmful animals. He was affectionate to the boys and girls of the Gopas and tried to please everybody. He realised real spiritual truth in his adolescence. This is all that he was prepared to admit as historical fact, and that too after a great deal of hesitation.

Before we take up for consideration his analysis of the character of Kṛṣṇa in the post-Vṛndāvana period it may be fruitful to quote the opinion of Sri Aurobindo on the methodology adopted by Bankim in this work. Sri Aurobindo observes: "He saw that in certain parts of the poem (Mahābhārata) Kṛṣṇa's godhead is either not presupposed at all or only slightly affirmed, while in others it is the main objective of the writer; certain parts again give us a plain, unvarnished and straightforward biography and

opis, lahā.

the

ajor

snu-

ating

and Was

lat a

issed

into

play

ng of

way

Rāsa

des-

mśa,

rsely

the

itual

cting reli-

iter-

oun-

the the

fas-

time

17. Gope pas-

the

this

con-

iine,

ruru

kful

<sup>17(</sup>b) Ibid., II, 7, (p. 93).

<sup>18.</sup> Brahmavaivartapurāna—Kṛṣṇajanmakhanda, Ch. 15 1 ff. Hīrēndrahitha Datta pays Bankim high tributes for his excellent researches on Rādhā. He observes that Bankim was the first to controvert the theory of H. H. Wilson, who had Bankim was the first to controvert only some two Wilson, who held that the Brahma-vaivarta was composed only some two to three hundred years before his time (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, June, 1832). Bankim showed that the contents of the fifteenth chap-ter of this page. ler of this Purāna must have been familiar to Jayadeva, otherwise he could be have alludaded must have been familiar to Jayadeva, otherwise he could be have alludaded must have been familiar to Jayadeva, otherwise he could be have alludaded must have been familiar to Jayadeva, otherwise he could be have alludaded must have been familiar to Jayadeva, otherwise he could be have alludaded must have been familiar to Jayadeva, otherwise he could be have alludaded must have been familiar to Jayadeva. aut have alluded to the incident referred to in his introductory verse (Sāhitya Parisat Patrilla Parisat Patrikā, Vol. 45, pp. 7-9).

history, others are a mass of wonders and legends, often irrelevant extravagances; in some parts also the conception of the chief characters is radically departed from and defaced. He, therefore, took these differences as his standard and accepted only those parts as genuine which gave a plain and consistent account of Kṛṣṇa the man and of others in relation to him. Though his conclusions are to a great extent justifiable, his a priori method led him to exaggerate them, to enforce them too rigidly without proper flexibility and scrupulous hesitation and to resort occasionally to special pleading.<sup>19</sup>

Bankimcandra held that there have been many interpolations in the Mahābhārata on account of three reasons. First, it was customary in ancient India, even after the invention of alphabets to circulate books by oral recitation. It was, therefore, easy to incorporate certain sections or verses in them. Secondly, the temptation for making interpolations became strong in the case of a highly popular book like the Mahābhārata. Thirdly, learned men in ancient India did not care much for literary renown; all that they wanted was that people should derive benefit from reading their composition. They, therefore, introduced into the epic whatever they considered beneficial to the people. He laid down seven canons for the detection of interpolations.20 In the first instance that which is not mentioned in the Parva-samgraha must be later additions, though there have been some interpolations even before the composition of this chapter. V. S. Sukthankar says that the figures in the Parva-samgraha Chapter are prior to 1000 A.D. when the Javanese Bhārata and the Āndhra Bhāratam were composed; but the manuscripts collected for editing the critical edition contain many variants of the figures.21 Secondly, that which is not referred to in the Anukramanikā Chapter must be interpolation. Thirdly, if two contradictory state ments are found at two different places one of them must be an



22. 49 49 (Vis 23. II 24. F

inter

positi

those

is ent

occas

which

must

tance.

to son

interp

incon

rate v

good.

may (

five a

Seven

accept

stages. Bhāra

Krsna

never

Incarn.

Poetic

teachin

writers

sana p

dealing

third s

bhārate stage is tical w

La

B

<sup>19.</sup> Sri Aurobindo-Vyāsa and Vālmīki, pp. 64-65.

<sup>20.</sup> Kṛṣṇacaritra I, 10 (pp. 32-34).

<sup>21.</sup> Sukthankar Memorial Ed., Vol. I, pp. 422-429. Sukthankar observes: "It has been common experience that figures in ancient works, if at all complicated, seldom come out right, and the figures of the Parvasamgraha are probably no exception to this work."

evant

chief

efore,

parts

Krsna usions

im to

proper

lly to

ations

t was

abets

asy to

temp-

of a men

I that

eading

what-

seven

stance

later

n be-

s that

A.D.,

were

cri-

ndly, apter state-

be an

erves:

at all graha

interpolation. Fourthly, if the characteristic features of the composition of a great poet are found to be absent in some portions, hose must be rejected. Rabindranath rightly observes that this is entirely a subjective test and that even a good poet might write occasionally some bad lines.<sup>22</sup> Fifthly, if some facts are narrated which are contrary to the nature of the person concerned these must be rejected as interpolation. He cited two imaginary instances. If anywhere it is found stated that Bhīṣma was attached io somebody's wife or that Bhīma showed cowardice that must be interpolation. Rabindranath states that this too is not a safe criterion because a great writer is not afraid of showing occasional inconsistency in the characters created by him, while the thirdrate writers are always careful to make their heroes consistently good or persistently wicked.23 Sixthly, that which is irrelevant may or may not be irrelevant, but if it comes under any of the five aforesaid tests it must be pronounced an interpolation. Seventhly, that which is supernatural or miraculous cannot be accepted as a historical fact.24

Bankim classified the current version of the whole into three stages. First, the original Mahābhārata, which was probably the Bhārata-samhitā consisting of 24000 verses. In the original stage Kışna is not recognised usually as an incarnation and he himself never claims to be good. In the second stage he is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The composition too is not as liberal and poetic as the first part. In the third stage episodes and didactic teachings have been incorporated for mass education by diverse writers. Bankim cites the major portion of the Santi and Anuśasana parvas, the Gita portion of the Bhismaparva, the chapters dealing with holy places in the Vanaparva as examples of the

Lassen had indicated three stages in the growth of the Mahābhārata more than a quarter of a century before Bankim. The first stage is the same as that of Bankim; but the second stage is iden- $\psi_{cal}$  with the Itihasa mentioned in the Asvalayana Grhyasatra

Z. Adhunika Sāhitya, Kṛṣṇacaritra, in Rabindra Racanāvali, IX, p. 448-49 (Viśvabhārati ed.). 23. Ibid., p. 456-457.

<sup>24.</sup> K<sub>1snacaritra</sub>, I, 12, (pp. 36-39).

196

beginning with the history of King Vasu. The third section probably commenced with Pauloma-adhyāya.<sup>25</sup>

the .

are dism

as W

appe

lem)

in t

inter

prob

Syar

Puro

ireat

coule

bhān

unde

the 1

man

howe

wife,

figur

and a

make

this

effec

twen

Bhāg

365 d

1440

He, t

27.

28.

quotir in p.

of sor

quotes in the enume

of ten 45-46)

It must be said to the credit of Bankimcandra that he anticipated much of the method adopted by Jacobi, Hopkins and Ruben More than half a century before Ruben he compared the lists of wives of Krsna as found in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Harivamśa and the Mahābhārata. But the conclusion he arrived at is quite different from that of Ruben. While the latter admitted that Kṛṣṇa had many wives. Bankim could not do so, because he was trying to install the image of the national hero in the heart of Indians. That hero could never be a polygamist, having thousands of wives. He, therefore had to reject the Naraka episode as myth, and to show that the writers of fiction had used their hands freely in interpolating passages in the Harivamsa, Vișnupurāna and Mahābhārata. He compiled a list of twenty-two wives of Krsna from these three sources and says that as the last ten are found only in the Harivamśa, they can be excluded. The Mausalaparva alone furnishes the names of Gandhari and Haimavati, but the Parva itself is an interpolation He identifies Jambavatī with Rohinī and Satya with Satyabhāmā Thus only eight wives remain. He says that five of these namely Saivyā, Kāļindī, Mitrabindā, Laksmaņā and Mādrī were mere names; they never appear in the scene, and nothing is known as to how and when they were married. He conveniently omits here the name of the Bhagavata from his authorities.26 The Visnupuram describes indeed the names of their sons but as they are never found taking any active part in any affair, they may be treated as mere products of imagination. Bankim, therefore, concludes that these five wives had no real existence in history. Then he takes up the question of feasibility of a human being like Kṛṣṇa marrying the daughter of a bear named Jāmbavatī. He considers it an utter impossibility, though in this instance her son Sāmba is known to have played a significant part in the destruction of the Yadava family. Bankim consequently had to say that the Mausalaparva of the Mahābhārata itself was a late interpolation. He had some difficulty in this matter, because, according to him the destruction of the Yadavas is the only matter which has been treated both in

Indische Alterthumskunde II, 499.
 The Bhāgavata states how and when they were married and also who they were in X. 83.

the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. We see that many other events are described both in the epic and in the Puranas. Having thus dismissed the claims of six of the principal ladies to be considered as wives of Kṛṣṇa, Bankim takes up the case of Satyabhāmā. She appears in the Mahābhārata in the Mārkendeya samasyā (probem) and Draupadī-Satyabhāmā Samvāda, Yāna-Sandhi parva and in the Mausala parva. Bankim said that all these episodes are interpolations, and as such the very existence of Satyabhāmā is problematical. She figures prominently in connection with the Syamantaka gem incident as related in the Harivamsa and the Puranas. But as it has got many supernatural features it is also treated as a fiction. But despite this array of arguments, Bankim could not be absolutely sure about the fictitious nature of Satyabhāmā. We find him making a long digression to the effect that under some special circumstances the taking of a second wife in the lifetime of the first might be permissible. Moreover, he cites many examples of polygamy from the Mahābhārata itself. He, however, sticks to his earlier conclusion that Kṛṣṇa had only one wife, and she was Rugmini because her son and grandson alone figure in history and her great grandson Vajra became King.27

If Kṛṣṇa had only one wife, he could not have got one hundred and eighty thousand sons, as related in the Viṣṇupurāṇa.28 Bankim makes a little mathematical calculation to show the absurdity of this number. He attributes to Visnupurāna a statement to the effect that Kṛṣṇa's span of life in this world was one hundred and twenty-five years, though actually this information is given in the Bhagavata. He divided the total number of sons by 125 years X 365 days and comes to the conclusion that if this number were true 140 sons per year and 4 sons per day had to be born to Kṛṣṇa. He, therefore, sarcastically observes that Kṛṣṇa's Queens must be

27. Kṛṣṇacaritra, III, 7, (pp. 130-138).

n pro-

e anti-

Ruben

lists of

nd the

fferent

d many

tall the could

refore,

nat the

passa-

e com-

ources

a, they

mes of

olation.

bhāmā

namely mere

n as to ere the

purāna

never

ated as es that

takes

rrying 1 utter

own to Zādava

aparva

some

uction

oth in

so who

<sup>28.</sup> Visnu-Purāna, V. 32. 5. Though Bankim is usually very careful in loting references. He cites Quoting references, here we find him giving wrong references. He cites in p. 130, the Visnu Purāṇa IV. 15 as his authority but the exact number of sons is of sons is not found there. In that particular character the Viṣṇupurāṇa quotes two quotes two ancient verses as follows: "The domestic instructors of the boys in the use of in the use of arms amounted to three crores and eighty lacs. Who shall of ten thousand whole of the mighty men of the Yadava race, who were tens of ten thousands and hundreds of hundred thousands in number?" (IV. 14,

imagined to have conceived at the mere sight of Kṛṣṇa. Bankin, of course, could not believe the Purāṇic story that Kṛṣṇa assuming as many forms as there were Queens lived with each one of them. There is, however, a slight mistake in the calculation made by Bankim. Kṛṣṇa, in his human form, could not have produced a son during the first fourteen years of his life, nor after his eightieth year. This leaves only 66 years for procreative work during which period on an average 7.5 sons had to be born a day, if the Puranic total regarding the number of sons is to be believed at all.

Asva

SUCCE

kill .

liftin

a sor

ing o

the s

ing I

by D

the s

ashar

on th

killed

the d

When

Drona

killin

comp

had r

Krsna

he sa

mysel

are m

of the

accep

Bank

incide

insert

sects

anothe

the ol

30. 31.

32.

T

The most important portion of the Kṛṣṇacaritra is the sixth book dealing with the part played by Kṛṣṇa in the Bhārata War. The Mahābhārata reveals Kṛṣṇa here as a crafty and cruel person. taking recourse to stratagems considered as dishonourable in the epic age. These incidents are not described in the Harivamsa or the Puranas. Their silence may be construed as their acquiescence to the description of the epic or more probably it signifies their unwillingness to remind the people of the ignoble and tortuous devices adopted by Kṛṣṇa in encompassing the death of Bhīṣma, Drona, Karna and Duryodhana. As there is no corroborating evidence of Krsna's unjustifiable deeds in these events, one has to consider carefully the reliability of the portions of the Mahābhārata dealing with these. Bankimcandra has performed this task with considerable ability. He does not deny that Krsna leapt down from the chariot on the third and the ninth day of the battle to kill Bhīsma. He contends that there was no breach of promise on the part of Kṛṣṇa. He did this merely to incite Arjuna to action, and not really to wield warlike weapons in the battle. But Bankim treats the story of Sikhandin as a positive interpolation. Bankin analyses the episode relating to the killing of Jayadratha and shows that there was no need of making the day appear as evening, on the part of Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna was able to kill Jayadratha even with out such a device. He, therefore, treats the trick of Krsna as an interpolation, inserted in the second stage of the development of the epic. He is far more successful in showing that the unnerving of Drona by giving the false news of Aśvatthāmā's death is hardly credible. He adduces as many as seven arguments to prove that the whole episode of circulating the news of the elephant, called

29. Bh. XI. 6.25.

Aśvatthāmā is the handiwork of a second-rate poet. Bankim is less successful in justifying the conduct of Kṛṣṇa in asking Arjuna to kill Karṇa immediately without giving him any opportunity for lifting up his chariot from the mud. To Bankim Bhīma appears as a sort of demon, who does not require any hint regarding the striking of his adversary with the mace below the navel. Thus he holds the story of Kṛṣṇa's beckoning to Arjuna the method of overpowering Duryōdhana as an interpolation.<sup>30</sup>

ankim,

uming

hem.23

de by

iced a

htieth

which

uranic

sixth War.

erson.

in the

rsa or

scence

their

us de-

nīsma,

g evi-

nas to

vārata

with

from

o kill

n the

ction,

nkim

nkim

hows

g, on

with-

as an nt of

rving

ardly

that alled

Bankimcandra quotes in extenso the serious charges brought by Duryodhana against Kṛṣṇa. Duryodhana addressed Kṛṣṇa as the son of the slave of Kamsa and said: "You should have been eshamed of inciting Arjuna to beckon to Bhīma about hitting me on the thigh. Thousands of Kings engaged in the war have been killed by unfair means suggested by you. You have encompassed the death of the grandfather by placing Sikhandin in the forefront. When an elephant named Aśvathāmā had died you had disarmed Drona by stratagem. You did not prevent Dhṛṣṭadyumna from killing Drona in your presence. You have by stratagem, again, compelled Karna to use against Ghatōtkaca the weapon which he had preserved for a long time for killing Arjuna." He also held Kṛṣṇa responsible for the discomfiture and death of Kaṃsa. Lastly he said, "If you had fought against Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa and myself in righteous way, you could never have gained victory. We are meeting death along with the Kings devoted to Dharma because of the non-Aryan ways adopted by you."31

These verses occur in all the manuscripts and these have been accepted as genuine in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. But Bankim held them to be interpolations. He thought that all the incidents casting aspersions on the character of Kṛṣṇa were possibly inserted on account of sectarian animosity of the Śaivas and other sects hostile to Kṛṣṇa.<sup>32</sup>

Hopkins, too, considers these episodes as interpolations in the older heroic narrative and have, therefore, remained in the

<sup>30.</sup> Kṛṣṇacaritra VI. 8. 31. Mbh. IX. 60. 27-36. 32. Kṛṣṇacaritra VI. 8, (p. 268).

the Sa

not be

positio

otherv

wester

drawin

cienti

gious 1

ronder

howev portan

Bankin

Comte

ed that

iaken

inclusi

to be

Herodo

yet reg

mitted

Krsna

he was

his ob

candra,

the we

an alle

really a

events

younge

Part of

in his to

and Pro

37. F

38. I

39. S

40. F J. 26

W

present form of the epic.<sup>33</sup> According to him about 400 B.C. Bhārata lays were sung in honour of the Kaurvas and the Pāṇḍavas became the heroes of the Mahābhārata tale during the next two hundred years. Kṛṣṇa was then a demi-god. But between 200 B.C and 100 or 200 A.D. Kṛṣṇa became the Supreme God.<sup>34</sup> Bankim candra would defend all the policies adopted and activities undertaken on the ground that the supreme need of establishing the kingdom based on righteousness demanded these. But he has overlooked the testimony of a Brāhmaṇa who said that Duryōdhana did nothing wrong or harmful to his subjects.<sup>35</sup>

Bankimcandra concludes his brilliant work with the observation that Kṛṣṇa was an ideal person in whom the synthetic development of all the mental and physical faculties took place simultaneously. He was not merely a great hero, but, according to the testimony of Bhīṣma, a scholar well-versed in all the Vēdas and Vēdāngas. Bankim proved that Kṛṣṇa was the wisest and greates of the Hindus. But Rabindranath offers a perfectly valid criticism against Kṛṣṇacaritra when he says that the hero of the work is not really Kṛṣṇa but the nationalism of Bankimcandra. To Bankim the real scripture is that which can be rationally believed in and that which cannot be so believed in is no scripture at all.

Bankimcandra had to carry on his researches on Kṛṣṇa under serious handicaps. Manuscripts of the Mahābhārata, written in

<sup>33.</sup> Hopkins—The Great Epic of India, p. 375. Hopkins writes: "Is it conceivable that any priests, setting out to write a moral tale which should inculcate virtue, would first make one of the heroes do an ignoble thing and then have both their great god and their chief human exponent of morality combine in applauding what was openly acknowledged even by the gods to be dishonourable conduct? Even if the act was dramatically permitted for the purpose of setting its condemnation in a stronger light and thus bring in the end, can we imagine that the only indication of virtue should be Rāma and that Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira of all others should considered by a moral dense assume that we have here the mingling of older incident, inseperable from the heroic narrative, and the later teaching administered by a moral dense x machina? As the steps stands it is grotesque."

<sup>34.</sup> Ibid., pp. 397-398.

<sup>35.</sup> Mbh. XV. 15. 16 ff.

<sup>36.</sup> Rabindra Racanāvali IX. 447.

. Bhā.

ndavas

xt two

00 B.C.

ankim-

underng the

s over-

ana did

obser-

devesimul-

to the

as and

reatest

riticism

s is not

Bankim

in and

under

tten in

: "Is it

should

e thing

nent of even by

natically

er light

of virtue

ould cut

e expliive here

and the ie scene

be Sarada, Nagari, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and other scripts had not been collected at one centre and as such nobody was in a position to adduce objective proof regarding the authenticity or otherwise of any portion of the work. Scholars, both eastern and western, had to depend on their own intellect and inclinations in dawing conclusions regarding interpolations. Then again, the cientific study of the Purānas had not yet begun. All the religous reformers from Rāmmohan Roy to Dayānanda Sarasvatī had condemned the Purāṇas as products of degenerate age. Bankim, bowever, showed that though the Bhāgavata is not historically imnortant, yet in the exposition of spiritual matter it is unrivalled.37 Bankim was a close student of positivism expounded by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Applying the rationalistic tests Bankim showed that the Mahābhārata is a historical work, though accretions had taken place in it from time to time. If it is contended that the inclusion of some supernatural stories in it goes against its claim be regarded as History, Bankim pointed out that the works of Herodotus, Livy and Ferishta suffer from the same defect, and are yet regarded as authoritative historical books.38 He, however, admitted that these portions of the epic which ascribe godhood to Kissia were later additions. He emphatically stated that personally le was a believer in the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. But as a man Kṛṣṇa dd not take recourse to supernatural powers for accomplishing b objects. Hīrēndranāth Datta, a great admirer of Bankimandra, held a contrary view in this regard.39 The most important contribution made by Bankimcandra to Indology is that while the western scholars of the last century held Kṛṣṇa as a myth or an allegorical figure, Bankimcandra stoutly maintained that he was really a historical personage.40

While Bankimcandra (1838-1894) dismissed many of the trents described in the epic and the Purāṇas as mere myth, his Jounger contemporary, Navincandra Sen (1847-1909) played the Mart of a myth-maker in course of interpreting the life of Kṛṣṇa inhistrilogy of epical poems—Raivataka (1887), Kurukṣētra (1893) and Prabhāsa (1895). Both Bankim and Navīn were Government

<sup>37.</sup> Kṛṣṇacaritra II, 7, (p. 92). 38. Ibid., I 3, (p. 7).

<sup>30.</sup> Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā, Vol. 45, p. 95 and Avatāratattva by Hīrêndra-Φ. Pracāra, a Bengali monthly journal, 1292 Āsāḍ (1885 July).

servants, but both were inspired by the ideal of Nationalism. Like Bankim, Navin was more or less a rationalist. He refused to believe that Kuntī could attract the Sun to come down to the earth and impregnate her. The Mahābhārata says that Kuntī got the mantra from Durvāsas, enabling her to attract the Sun.41 Navin says that it implied that the sage himself corrupted the youthin maiden engaged by her foster-father to wait on him.42 Navin came in contact with the celebrated Brahmo reformer Kēśavacandra in his student life. He must have received his bias against the caste system from the latter.

Krsni

ing Ir

trilog

and i Krsna

trainii

rently

tation

the co

Indra

Brāhn

the B

dark o

follow

dhana

mount

dance

men,

absent

of the

she to

achiev

hero to

is alleg

vana f

karu,

howeve

organis

vow to

third r

Morre took he

46. I

47. I

48. I

49. I

50, 1

51. P

In

Kēśavacandra's writings on Kṛṣṇa as a national hero of India influenced the young poet to interpret Kṛṣṇa's life in that lights Gaurgovinda Roy, a favourite disciple of Kēśavacandra, published several discourses on the mission of Kṛṣṇa in 1876 in a journal named Dharmatattva and elaborated his thesis in the form of a book in 1889. This also must have had its influence in shaping the views of Navincandra. There has been much controvers with regard to Bankim's influence on the plan behind the trilog of Navin. When the Raivataka was published many critics said that it was an echo of Kṛṣṇacaritra. But Navīn produced the letter written by Bankim to him on 10th January, 1880 to show that he had conceived the plan earlier and submitted it along with the first three cantos of his poem to the doyen of Bengali literature. In the letter Bankim said that Navīn had planned an exceedingly ambitious project, the most ambitious since the days of Harivania and Adhyātma Rāmāyana.44 But the influence of Bankim is un deniable on the 13th canto of Kurukṣētra where Subhadrā explain that the mission of human life is to develop the physical, mental and spiritual faculties.

The plan of the trilogy is to depict Kṛṣṇa as a national her who conceived the plan of forging the unity of India in his ado lescent age at Vṛndāvana<sup>45</sup>. The Brāhmaṇas came to regard

<sup>41.</sup> Mbh. I. 104. 4-11.

<sup>42.</sup> Kuruksetra, X, (p. 48).

<sup>43.</sup> Kesab's articles in the Sunday Mirror, 10th and 24th Dec. 1876, 14th Aug. 1886, and in the New Dispensation dated the 9th June, 22nd July, 1891 and 23rd Sept 1992 and 23rd Sept. 1883,

<sup>44.</sup> Navīncandra Sen-Raivataka, Kurukṣetra, Prabhāsa (Bookland) edir ed by Dr. Asit Kumar Banerjee, Intro, p. 24.

<sup>45.</sup> Kuruksetra IX, (p. 39).

kraa, according to Navīn, as a revolutionary bent upon transform-Indian empire, society and religion.46 The back-ground of the rilogy is furnished by the conflict between the ruling Aryans and the resurgent non-Aryans under the leadership of Vāsukī. Kisna is said to have studied the scriptures and received military training from Gerga secretly at Vrndavana while he was apparently engaged in tending the cows. 47 Navin gives a novel interpretation of the holding of Govardhana. He says that Kṛṣṇa asked the cowherds not to worship the inanimate clouds represented as India and urged them to distribute the offerings of food to the Brahmanas and the untouchable candalas equally. This incensed the Brahmanas, who surrounded the Govardhana like a host of dark clouds and shot arrows incessantly like rains at Kṛṣṇa and his followers for seven days. But Kṛṣṇa valiantly defended Gōvarthana and hoisted the flag of his new religion on the top of the mountain.48 The Rāsalīlā, which Navīn describes is not an erotic dance of young people, but a Sankīrtana performance in which men, women, children and old people took part. Finding Krsna absent from home even after midnight Yasoda came to the bank of the Yamunā in search of her son. When she discovered Kṛṣṇa the too began to dance in joy along with others and sang his achievements. 49

In this new orientation of the life of Kṛṣṇa, Navīn made his hero to form a secret alliance with the non-Āryan Nāgas. Kṛṣṇa is alleged to have gone to the city of the Nāgas in Sind from Vṛndā-Tana for one year with a view to recruiting soldiers there. Jarattiru, the sister of Vāsukī, fell deeply in love with Kṛṣṇa, who, however, could not reciprocate as he had taken the vow of reorganising Indian life and society. 50 Jaratkāru, therefore, took a tow to wreak her vengeance on Krsna. Towards the end of the bird poem, Prabhāsa, we find her killing Kṛṣṇa by shooting an anow at Him. Kṛṣṇa, however, forgave her and before his death her on his breast 51 Krsna went back to Vrndavana and while

```
46. Raivataka, XVII (p. 108), XII (p. 77).
47. Ibid., VII (p. 42).
```

n. Like

believe

orth and

mantra

in says

youthful

in came

acandra

inst the

of India

light.

ublished

journal

rm of a

shaping

troversy

trilogy

ics said ne letter

that he vith the

erature.

edingly

rivamsa

is un

explains

mental

al hero

nis ado

regard

376, 14th

uly, 1881

d) edit-

<sup>49.</sup> Ibid., VII (p. 416). 49. Ibid., VII, p. 47.

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid., VIII. (pp. 54-57). 51. Prabhāsa IX, (p. 44).

204

he was engaged in the so-called Rāsa dance in the form of Sankīrtan, ten thousand Nāga soldiers in the guise of cowherds came to join him. He went to Mathura in their company as a party of milkmen with their wares, overpowered the soldiers of Kamsa and then killed the latter in a duel. Vāsukī now demanded the hand of Subhadrā in marriage as a recompense for the services he had rendered to Kṛṣṇa. The latter said that she was too young to be married. Vāsuki, thereupon, resolved to have her by some other ' means. He joined the party of Durvasas, who was in search of allies for teaching a lesson to Kṛṣṇa, who had dared to raise his voice against the domination of the Brāhmaṇas. The greater portion of the poem Raivataka is devoted to the narration of the love. marriage between Arjuna and Subhadra. When the poem was published Hemcandra Bandopadhyaya, another eminent poet wrote that it would have been better to call the poem Subhadra-haran than Raivataka. At this Navīn expressed his sense of disappointment because educated persons too failed to realise the importance of the mission he had undertaken.

we

was

trea

his

at t

kins

in th

cial

saci

has

fron

wou of u

the

miss vice

the

brac

Krsı

a V

cour

cited

Yad:

to s

and

the :

in th

53

54

55. 56.

57.

Poem

the si

habit

have

Many works indeed have been written on the theme of the marriage of Subhadrā like Subhadrā-Dhananjaya by the Kerala Prince, Kulasekhara Varman, of the 12th century, Subhadriharana by Madhava Bhatta, probably of the 14th century, Subhadri parinayana of Ramdeva Vyasa in the 15th century and Bhadra rjuna Kāvya by Taracarana Shikdara in 1852, but none of them had such an intricate political background as Navīncandra's Raivataka. Bankim on going through the manuscript of the first three cantos of the Raivataka, had warned Navīn against his tendency of going against historical facts. He had written on the January 10 1880: "I have advised you to keep clear of history; but I cannot advise you to run counter to history. Even this you may do 50 far as individual characters are concerned, but I am hardly bold enough to advise you to do so, in the case of large national move ments. Now I believe that it is not historically true either that Kṛṣṇa set himself against Brahmanical authority (there was never great champion of it)—or that the Brahmanas ever coalesced with the non-Āryans in order to put down the Kshatriyas". 52 The advice was a sound one, but Navīn refused to accept it. In this connection

<sup>52.</sup> Asit Banerjee-op. cit., p. 24.

we must note that Bankim himself did not believe that Kṛṣṇa we must have the feet of the Brāhmanas at the Rājasūya ceremony. He reated the Mahābhārata episode as an interpolation.53

Navīncandra has depicted Kṛṣṇa as a disciple of Vyāsa in his poem, Kurukṣētra. Kṛṣṇā is painted here as very much grieved at the lack of unity in India. In the political field there were many kingdoms, in the social scene too many divisions into castes and in the religious sphere too much attachment to warring creeds, specially to meaningless sacrificial rites.54 He dedicated his life to the sacred task of bringing unity in all these spheres. Navincandra has presented Subhadra in the garb of Florence Nightingale, moving from camp to camp in the battle-field nursing the sick and the wounded.55 Both Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā are described as apostles of universal love and international peace.56

Prabhāsa, the last of the trilogy narrates the destruction of the Yadava clans. This was a necessary corollary to the sacred mission of Kṛṣṇa. The Yādavas had been engrossed in luxury and vice. The poet states that though Kṛṣṇa was not able to reform the character of his own clansmen, the non-Āryans had all embraced his religion of love. Vāsuki could not engage them against Kṛṣṇa despite all the efforts of Durvāsas. Vāsukī himself became <sup>a</sup> Vaiṣṇava, but his sister Jaratkāru remained hostile. She encouraged the drinking habit amongst the Yadavas and cleverly incited Sātyakī to murder Kṛtavarma. When practically all the Yādavas killed one another Kṛṣṇa asked his elder brother Balarāma to sail with a contingent of the non-Āryan soldiers to the West and preach the religion of love there. He predicted that Harikela, the family of Hari and its lord Harikulesh would be worshipped in the whole world.<sup>57</sup> Vyāsa consoled Arjuna with the prediction

ikīrtan,

to join ilkmen

id then

nand of

he had g to be

e other

arch of

aise his

ter por-

ne love.

as pub-

wrote

-harana

appointortance

of the

Kerala

bhadrā-

bhadra

Bhadra.

of them

Raiva-

st three

lency of

ary 10,

cannot

v do 50 ly bold move-

er that

never a

ed with

advice

nection

<sup>53.</sup> Krsnacaritra IV. 9 (p. 182).

<sup>54.</sup> Ibid., IX, (pp. 39-41).

<sup>55.</sup> Ibid., III (p. 9).

<sup>56.</sup> Ibid., XII, (p. 58).

<sup>57.</sup> Prabhāsa VIII (p. 58).

The following th poem the following passage from Tod's Rajasthan, (Ch. II). "Arrian notices the similarity." the similarity of the Theban and the Hindu Hercules and cites as authority ambassad of the Theban and the Hindu Hercules and cites as authority the ambassador of Seleucus, Megasthenes, who says: "He uses the same habit with the Theban, and is particularly worshipped by the Saraseni, who have two great the saraseni and is particularly worshipped by the Saraseni and saraseni and saraseni who were two great the saraseni and s bave two great cities belonging to them, namely Methoras (Mathura) and

that a new incarnation would be born in the new Yadu family in the North-East of the Red Sea, meaning thereby Jesus Christ. None can surpass Navīncandra in the boldness of conception and in the ingenuity of interpretation. He began his first poem as a rationalist who pronounced some episodes of Kṛṣṇa's Vṛṇḍāvanalīlā as false, but ended the second poem with a prayer that he might die while hearing the name of Kṛṣṇa; the third poem reveals him as a regular Vaiṣṇava of the Bengal school, believing in the re-birth of Kṛṣṇa as Gaurahari or Caitanya.<sup>58</sup>

P

near

rene

of th

duce

equa

aspec

in mi upon and there

of the in the it we the G Talva: such I in Kai tially versio in the

Histor

11-30th

coming

Press, (

Kēshab Candra Sen and his disciple Gaura Govinda Roy held up Kṛṣṇa as the apostle of love. The latter wrote a learned treatise on Kṛṣṇa's life and teachings. Vijaya Kṛṣṇa Gosvamī, a descendant of Advaita Ācārya, elder contemporary of Caitanya, gave up his connection with the Brahmo movement and took to preaching the cult of Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya. The greatest factor in the revival of neo-Vaiṣṇavism in the nineteenth century was the powerful writings of Sisir Kumar Ghosh, an apostle of Indian Nationalism in the nineteenth century.

Clisoboras". Diodorus has the same legend with some variety. He says: "Hercules was born among the Indians"..... (Heri-cul-es) = lord of the race (cula) of Hari, of which the Greeks might have made the compound Hercules. Might not a colony after the great war have migrated westward? The period of the return of the Heraclidae, the descendants of Atreas (Atri is progenitor of Harikula) would answer: it was about half a century after the great war."

58. Ibid., XIII, p. 66.

## Procedures in Analysing the Sources for the Life of Guru Nanak \*

BY

## W. H. McLeod, M.A. Ph.D., Baring College, Batala

The quincentenary of the birth of Gurū Nānak is now drawing near and it is fitting that the event should provide an occasion for renewed study of his life and teachings. The recent celebrations of the third centenary of the birth of Gurū Gobind Singh have produced a vigorous response and there is every rason to expect an equal or greater response in the case of Gurū Nānak. An important aspect of this response will certainly be an effort to produce authentic biographies of the Gurū and it is with this objective in mind that the following paper has been prepared. It is based upon a conviction that the existing biographies are all inadequate and that until our approach to the sources is radically revised there can be no hope of any significant improvement.

There is no doubt that the most famous of all existing accounts of the life of Gurū Nānak is the one provided by M. A. Macauliffe in the first volume of his celebrated work *The Sikh Religion*. In it we find a relatively detailed narration of the life and travels of the Gurū. We are told much of his early life in the village of Talvaṇḍī, of his period of service in Sultānpur, of his travels to such places as Assam, Ceylon, and Mecca, and of his closing years in Kartārpur. Most other biographies of Gurū Nānak follow essentially the same pattern, although in a number of the more popular in the east, and Khartoum and Rome in the west.

eatise escenve up ching evival

ily in None

in the

tionaīlā as ht die

im as

-birth

· held

verful alism

says:
e race
lercuThe
tri is

er the

This article is an expanded version of a paper read before a seminar 1.50th, 1966. The content of the article is based upon the author's forthess, Oxford.

This article is an expanded version of a paper read before a seminar paper read before a seminar 1.50th, 1966. The contents of the article is based upon the author's forthess, Oxford.

To what extent can these biographies be trusted? The question takes us back to the sources which have been used by Macauliffe and other writers. To what extent can these sources be trusted? It is at once obvious that the janam-sākhīs, which constitute our principal sources, cannot possibly be accorded complete trust, and so the question which now faces us is this: How can we decide what to reject from the janam-sākhī accounts of the life of Gurū Nānak, and how can we decide what to accept? In other words, how should we set about analysing our sources?

fectly

have

tempo

violen

us ve

may J

portar

but in

be reg

very 1

whose

any in

Gurū

rences

contex

same a

tioned

the sar

which

the bh

stanzas

appoint

Adi Gr

clearly

sess \_

satisfac

2. F

these see

4. V

5. V 6. Ib 7. T

8. Ib

1.27

Granth, 1

Th

G

Before we turn to the janam-sākhīs some attention should be given to what might, at first sight, appear to be the obvious source of information concerning the life of Guru Nanak, namely the Adi Granth. It would appear to be the obvious source, for it contains what is without doubt an authentic collection of his works. The Adi Granth provides us, however with surprisingly little information concerning the events of his life. It contains more than nine hundred of his compositions and yet the biographical details which may be extracted from them are negligible. Indeed there is no explicit reference at all to any definite incident in his life, no sabad or slok which points unmistakably to an event in which he was directly involved. Even the famous references to Bābur, the so-called Bābar-vānī,1 are not exceptions to this rule. As we shall see they do indicate that Gurū Nānak witnessed something of Bābur's depredations, but if read apart from the janam-sākhīs they do not necessarily point to his presence at the time of any particular event.

As far as biographical detail is concerned the most we can do is draw some limited conclusions from the more obvious hints which Gurū Nānak's writings contain. From the Bābar-vāṇī we may confidently assume that he witnessed something of the devastation caused by Bābur's army and that accordingly he was in the Panjab during at least one of the incursions into North India. In the same manner we may deduce with confidence that he had frequent contact with Nāth yogīs. The extensive use of their terminology and the frequent instances in which a Nāth yogī appears to be addressed directly make this aspect of his life per-

<sup>1.</sup> Asā 39, Asā Aṣṭ 11 and 12, and Tilang 5. Adi Granth, pp. 360, 417-8
722-3.

tectly plain.2 We may also deduce from his works that he must been a person of gentle disposition, for his criticisms of conemporary society express deep conviction without resorting to violent or intemperate language.3 These conclusions do not take by very far, but it appears that we cannot go much further. We may proceed to deduce from his works that he attached no imcortance to caste4 and that he did not insist upon vegetarianism,5 but in doing so we move towards what may more appropriately he regarded as doctrine than biography. The conclusions we are able to draw are certainly of value, but their scope is obviously very limited.

Guru Nanak himself tells us little and his four successors, whose works are also recorded in the Adi Granth add nothing of any importance as far as the details of his life are concerned. Guru Angad and Guru Arjan both refer to him, but their references are all eulogistic comments, entirely appropriate in their context but telling us nothing about Gurū Nānak himself.6 The same applies to the savayye of the bhatts.7 Guru Nanak is mentioned several times, but as one would expect from the nature of he savayye these references are pure panegyric. The only work which offers any explicit detail is the  $Var{a}r$  in Rāmakalī  $rar{a}g$  by the bhatts Rāi Balvaṇḍ and Sattā the Dūm. In the first four stanzas the authors repeat a single fact, namely that Gurū Nānak pointed Angad as his successor.8 This is the extent of the Adi Granth's witness to the events of Guru Nānak's life and dearly it falls far short of what we need.

This drives us back to the only other sources which we posthe janam-sākhīs. The janam-sākhīs are also highly unstisfactory, but for an entirely different reason. Here there is

ques.

acau-

sted? e our

, and

lecide

Gurū

vords.

ld be

Ource

y the for it

orks.

little

more

ohical

ndeed

n his

nt in

ences

is to

wit-

from

ce at

can

hints

iī we

evasn the i. In

had

their

yogi

per-

417-8

<sup>2</sup> For an English translation of an extract from the most striking of the see Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, vol. i, p. 42. In this respect his work contrasts with that of Kabīr.

<sup>4</sup> Var Sirî Rāgu, ślok 1 of paurī 3; Āsā 3; Gūjarī Aṣṭ 4; Tilang 2. Ādi Granth, pp. 83, 349, 504, 721. 5. Vãr Malār, ślok 2 of paurī 25. Ibid, pp. 1289-90.

<sup>6.</sup> Ibid., pp. 150, 612, 1001, 1192.

<sup>7.</sup> The panegyrics of the bards. Ibid., pp. 1389-1409. 8. Ibid., pp. 966-7. 1. 27

no question of material being in short supply, for the janam.  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  provide it in abundance. The problem as far as the janam.  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  is, we have already observed, to determine how much of their material can be accepted as historical. A very substantial proportion of it is obviously legend and much of what cannot be summarily dismissed in this way is open to grave suspicion on other grounds. In spite of their manifest shortcomings, however, we are bound to rely on the janam-sākhīs for almost all of our information as there is nothing to replace them and little to supplement them. There is no piece of external evidence which can be accorded complete trust and such indications as his own works contain are at best only hints. The most we can hope to do is to discern the historically possible in the midst of accumulated legend, and to test such possibilities against whatever criteria may be available.

How then should we set about this task? What procedures should we use in our effort to analyse the  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$ ? This paper seeks to answer these questions in three stages. The first stage consists of a brief description and comparison of the more important  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$ . The second suggests a number of criteria which can be applied to the various incidents recorded in the  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$ . The third offers some illustrations of the manner in which these criteria can be applied to particular incidents.

The precise manner in which the janam-sākhīs developed is not known for certain, but it is possible to reconstruct a possible pattern. The beginnings would be the remembered facts about the Gurū which would have circulated orally among the first generation of his followers. With the passage of time these facts would be embellished by reverent imaginations and practically all of them would undergo gradual change. It would be remembered, for example, that the Gurū had spent many years travelling outside the Punjab. Some of the places he had visited might well be known, but it is unlikely that there would be any reliable known ledge of his complete itinerary. There would doubtless be many gaps in the account and these would soon be filled with the names of places which such a traveller would be expected to visit. would include the important centres of pilgrimage, both Hind and Muslim, and names which already figured prominently in stories current in the Punjab. This is not to say that Guru Nanak

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

or lo
becau
cause
such
I
ments

did I

assum

The 1

refered pened six sl successionally yogis name:

these loped which sākhī Mihar

0

the st

raries factor; nathi in the in Gu them account period of the Nath

Trate of

10.

dd not visit any of these places. On the contrary, it is safe to assume that he must surely have visited at least some of them. The point here is that in many cases the name of a certain town or locality will have been added to the collection of sākhīs, not because there existed any reliable information about it but because it was generally believed that he must surely have visited such a place on his travels.

In addition to these remembered facts and their embellishments, stories would have gathered around certain suggestive references in his works. It seems clear that this must have happened in the case of Var Ramakali, śloks 2-7 of paurī 12.9 In these six sloks, as they appear in the Adi Granth, Gurū Nānak speaks successively as Iśar, Gorakh, Gopichand, Charapat, Bharathari, and finally himself. The śloks were evidently intended for Kanphat yogis and this would explain the names used. Subsequently these names must have suggested that Gurū Nānak had actually met these renowned figures and as a result there would have developed the story of his discourse with the Siddhs on Mount Sumeru which we find in stanzas 28-31 of Bhāī Gurdās's first Vār, in sikhi 50 of the Purātan Janam-sākhi, and in gost 117 of the Miharban Janam-sakhī.10

Obviously there can be no question of historical truth in the story, for Gurū Nānak and Gorakhnāth were not contempo-Taries and Mount Sumeru exists only in legend. The only satisfactory explanation is that a general acceptance of the Gorakhnathi belief in the immortal existence of the eighty-four Siddhs in the fastnesses of the Himalayas combined with these references in Guru Nānak's works to produce the story of his having visited them there. The difference between the Puratan and Miharban accounts indicates that there must have been an evolution over a period of time, but there seems to be no doubt that the real genesis of the story lay in these śloks which were originally addressed to

The influence of popular belief in this particular legend illustrated a point of fundamental importance in the evolution of the

janam.

janam-

nuch of

stantial

nnot be

cion on

owever. of our

supple.

can be

works

do is to

legend,

may be

cedures

s? This

he first

e more

criteria

in the

manner

oped is

possible

about

st gene

would

of them

ed, for

outside

well be

know. e many

names

These Hindu ntly in

Nanak

nts.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid., pp. 952-3.

<sup>10.</sup> Sakhi and gost both designate the separate sections or "chapters" which the which the janam-sākhīs are divided.

janam-sākhīs. Like all such works the janam-sākhīs reflect in some considerable measure the context in which they evolved, and if we are to understand them we must first understand something of this context. Only in the light of such an understanding can there be an adequate evaluation of the material which they offer. The context which requires this understanding in case of the janam-sākhīs is the situation of the Sikh community during the closing years of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century. It is safe to assume that they will reflect many of the beliefs and attitudes of the community during this period, its more insistent needs, and some of the answers which it was giving to these needs.

In this way remembered facts, devout imaginations, suggestive references in Gurū Nānak's works, contemporary beliefs and needs, and the mutations which inevitably result from oral repetition must have combined to create a stock of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  or isolated incidents concerning the life of the Gurū. The next step would be to group a number of these  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  into some sort of chronological pattern and to give the pattern a measure of stability by committing the selected  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  to writing. Such a selection would still be open to alteration, but to a much lesser extent than was inevitably the case while the  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  were still circulating orally. A selection once recorded would be copied, the copy would be copied, and so a tradition would be established, though still subject to modification by drawing on the oral stock, or perhaps of a different written tradition.

The manuscripts which we now possess are evidently the products of the latter stage in this evolution, being copies of earlier collections rather than original compilations. They fall into four recognisable, though overlapping, traditions:

- 1. The Purātan tradition.
- 2. The Miharban tradition.
- 3. The Bālā tradition.
- 4. The Gyān-ratanāvalī, or Manī Singh Janam-sākhī.

Of the four, the least reliable is the Bālā tradition, but its influence has been immense. Ever since the days of Macauliffe it is the Purātan tradition which has been accorded the greatest measure of reliability and which has been used as the basis for all

opini hither least event ever, resen

fication the notice were suggest the two primals six G limiter

(

the b warra autho: no tre

0

and the

sense

undul

but it janam. import not in janam. the quality they

Nanak

to repr

onstitu constitu more m his sub the better biographies. There is now reason to believe that this opinion should be revised and that the Miharbān Janam-sākhī, bitherto rejected as sectarian polemic, should be regarded as at least equal in reliability to the Purātan tradition as far as the events of the Gurū's life are concerned. This description is, however, a relative one. It should not be taken to imply anything resembling consistent reliability.

One important work which does not fit easily into this classification is the first  $V\bar{a}r$  of  $Bh\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$  Gurdās. It is not a  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}$  in the normally accepted sense as, apart from four incidents, it offers very little information about Gurū Nānak's life. Insofar as it does suggest a pattern it accords with the  $Miharb\bar{a}n$   $Janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}$ , but the two could not be said to belong to a common tradition. The primary purpose of this  $V\bar{a}r$  was to extol the greatness of the first six Gurus and to serve this purpose Bhāī Gurdās has made a very limited selection from the available material. In this qualified sense it may be referred to as a  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}$ , but it would be unduly optimistic to expect from the relevant stanzas more than the barest sketch of the Gurū's life. Nevertheless it certainly warrants our closest attention because of the importance of its author and its relative nearness to the time of Gurū Nānak, and no treatment of the  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  would be complete without it.

of the four janam-sākhī traditions two, the Gyān-ratanāvalī and the Bālā group, may be treated summarily. The Gyān-ratanāvalī is in some respects the most coherent of the janam-sākhīs. But it is too late to be accepted as a reliable source. The Bālā inportance consists in the influence which they have exercised, in any intrinsic reliability which they may possess. These the question of the Bālā tradition make fascinating reading and they are of only marginal help in the search for the historical to represent an eye-witness account of the Gurū's life, the silence

for all

flect in

ed, and

nething

ng can

y offer.

of the

ing the

reflect

ng this

which

sugges-

efs and

1 repe-

solated

would

chrono-

lity by

would

an was

orally.

uld be

Il sub-

aps on

ly the

pies of

ill into

īī.

influ-

e it is

mea-

Il. It can, however, be argued that this  $V\bar{a}r$  and the  $Gy\bar{a}n$ -ratanāvalī includes much have material than the  $V\bar{a}r$  its compiler used the  $V\bar{a}r$  as a framework for substantially longer work.

close

trad

the

the

Mac

Das,

this

impo

in t

pape

Libr

vers.

sets

the most

over.

patte

sākhi

janar

sākh

tradi

to ar

clude

to sp

sion

been

life .

other

event

dicate

Writin

total]

the c

was I

of the older janam-sākhīs concerning the person of Bhāi Bālā, the high proportion of fabulous material which they contain, and the numerous errors to be found in them combine to render the janam-sākhīs of the Bālā tradition thoroughly unreliable. The plural form 'janam-sākhīs' is used here as there are several different versions. The manuscript versions generally agree with each other, but during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century successive printed editions grew progressively larger and the version which is sold in bazar book-shops nowadays is barely recognisable as a descendant of the manuscript version.

This leaves us with the Puratan tradition and the Miharban Janam-sākhī. The term 'Purātan tradition', or the corresponding term 'Puratan janam-sākhīs', refers here to a small group of janam-sākhīs which are clearly from a common source which has never been found. Three of these are of particular importance, The first of the three is variously called the Colebrooke Janumsākhī or the Valāit-vālī Janam-sākhī. The manuscript of this janam-sākhī was somehow acquired by the great orientalist Henry Colebrooke who presented it to the East India Company in or shortly after 1815. Colebrooke was evidently unaware of what the manuscript contained and its existence remained unknown until Trumpp discovered it in the India Office Library, London, in 1872 and published a translation of it in his book The Adi Granth in 1877. The manuscript was temporarily brought to India in 1885 and was here photographed and reproduced by means of a zincographic process. In that same year, 1885, Macauliffe acquire ed a manuscript copy of another version of the same janam-sakhi This one is known as the Hāfizābād or Macauliffe-vālī Janam-sākh The manuscript has unfortunately been lost, but there are still copies of a lithographed edition which Macauliffe had printed a his own expense.

These were the two janam-sākhīs which provided Bhai Vir Singh with practically all the material he used in his composite work entitled  $Pur\bar{a}tan\ Janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}.^{12}$  There are a number of differences, but in general the two versions correspond fairly

<sup>12.</sup> Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar, 1st ed. 1926. In subsequent footnotes this work is indicated by the abbreviation Pur JS. Page references are to the 5th edition, 1959.

dosely. Neither can be regarded as the original of the *Purātan* tradition and neither can be dated accurately. A reference in the Hāfizābād Janam-sākhī does, however, point to A.D. 1635 as the date of the original composition. The author is not known. Macauliffe and Khan Singh both attributed it to a certain Sewa Das, but if in fact they ever possessed any evidence to support this tradition it has been lost.

Of the other extant Purātan manuscripts one is of particular importance. This is an unnamed manuscript which is to be found in the India Office Library, London, and is referred to in this paper as the B40 manuscript (its number in the India Office Library catalogue). It generally follows the other two Puratan versions up to the point where Gurū Nānak leaves Sultanpur and sets out on his travels, but thereafter it offers only occasional correspondence. There can be no doubt that it is the earliest of the three. The language is similar, but the sākhīs are for the most part much more rudimentary in the B40 manuscript. Moreover, this B40 janam-sakhī follows no consistent chronological pattern after the departure from Sultanpur, simply recording the sikhis as isolated incidents. This too marks it as a more primitive janam-sākhī than either the Valāit-vālī or Hāfizābād Janam sikhīs. Whether it may be regarded as a version of the Purātan radition is perhaps open to some doubt. If it is to be assigned to any of the recognisable traditions then it must certainly be included within the Purātan group, but it would be more accurate to speak of an affiliation with the Purātan tradition than of inclusion within it.

This is the *Purātan* tradition and since its discovery it has been accepted as by far the most important of all sources. Macaulific used it as his basis, supplementing it with details drawn from other janam-sākhīs but never departing from the sequence of events which it gives. Almost all subsequent writers have, as indicated earlier, done the same thing and so a standard method of writing Gurū Nānak's biography has emerged.

The Miharbān Janam-sākhī has, in contrast, been almost the case as no copy of any substantial portion of the janam-sākhī was known to exist. Even after the discovery of one in 1940, how-

nposite ber of fairly

ala, the

n, and

der the

. The

1 diffe-

h each entieth

er and

barely

harban

onding

oup of

ich has

rtance.

Janam-

of this

Henry

in or

f what

known

London, he Ādi

o India

eans of

acquir-

ı-sakhi. ı-sākhi.

re still

ated at

iai Vir

ootnotes are to

216

ever, the neglect has continued. The chief reason for this is that the janam-sākhī had long since acquired a disagreeable reputation as a result of Miharbān's association with the sect of Mīṇās.<sup>13</sup> An examination of the janam-sākhī suggests that Miharbān has been in some measure misjudged. Schismatic he certainly was, for following his father's example he disputed the succession of Gurū Arjan and later of Gurū Hargobind. Heretical, however, he was not and there is no compelling evidence in the janam-sākhī of any attempt to denigrate Gurū Nānak or maliciously misinterpret his teachings.<sup>14</sup> As far as we can judge this janam-sākhī was composed during the same period as Bhāī Gurdās's first Vār and the original Purātan janam-sākhī. We turn now to a brief comparison of these three janam-sākhī sources.

Of the three the least satisfactory is inevitably Bhāi Gurdās's  $V\bar{a}r$ , inevitably because the account he offers is so brief. We must also observe that the  $V\bar{a}r$  contains a generous measure of the miraculous and that whatever criteria we may apply to the other janam-sākhīs must also be applied to the few incidents recorded by Bhai Gurdās. The  $V\bar{a}r$  should be regarded primarily as a panegyric, not as a chronicle. We may indeed attach a greater degree of trust to Bhāi Gurdās's account than to those of the Purātan and Miharbān janam-sākhīs, but it cannot be an unqualified trust. The first  $V\bar{a}r$  and the brief supplement in the eleventh  $V\bar{a}r$  must disappoint us if we seek in them anything more than a sketch of a small part of his travels and the names of a number of his followers. They retain a value in these respects, but it is to the janam-sākhīs of the Purātan and Miharbān traditions that we must look for most of our material.

When we compare these two traditions our conclusion must be that there is little to choose between them. Miharbān is certainly more careful with his material than whoever was responsible for the *Purātan* collection, but he makes many mistakes

neve

of th

His

than

the :

know

over

small

it vii

The i

janan that i

will I

best a

full u

H

would

by or

availa

mean

and v

must

little

mainin

more

record

suppor

This F

establi

imposs traditi it is fi

and th

outline

T

<sup>13.</sup> The followers of Prithī Chand, eldest son of Guru Rām Dās and father of Miharbān.

<sup>14.</sup> The manuscript is in the course of publication. Volume 1, edited by Kirpal Singh and Shamsher Singh Ashok, was published in 1962 and is indicated in subsequent footnotes by the abbreviation Mih JS. The second volume is at present in the press.

revertheless. Although his miracles are less grotesque than those of the Valāit-vālā and Hājızābād manuscripts they are still there. His chronology and travel itinerary appear to be more coherent than those of the Purātan tradition, but we should bear in mind the strong possibility that neither tradition reflects an accurate knowledge of the routes followed by Gurū Nānak in his travels.

The Miharbān Janam-sākhī does appear to have a slight edge over the Valāit-vālī and Hāfizābād accounts, but the margin is small and with the B40 janam-sākhī added to the Purātan group it virtually disappears. Two things may be said with assurance. The first is that the customary practice of relying on the Purātan janam-sākhīs cannot produce reliable biography. The second is that any effort to use the Miharbān Janam-sākhī in the same way will be equally unsatisfactory. We are compelled to use them as best as we can, for there is nothing better, but we must do so in the full understanding that they are thoroughly inadequate sources.

How, then, should we use them? The only satisfactory method would appear to consist of taking the janam-sākhī incidents one by one and testing them against whatever other evidence may be available for this purpose. Our task here is to seek and apply means of identifying what may be affirmed, what must be rejected, and what falls between the two. There is obviously much that must be rejected as impossible, and in contrast there is regrettably which may be accepted without reserve. Some of the remaining materials may be regarded as probable, but considerably more of it must be classified as unlikely. Finally, there is a certain amount from which we must withhold judgment, material which records what is inherently possible, but for which there is no Apport other than that offered by the janam-sākhīs themselves. This provides us with five categories which we may designate the stablished, the probable, the possible, the improbable, and the impossible. Into these five we must strive to fit the manifold haditions concerning the life of Gurū Nānak. In order to do so tis first necessary to determine the criteria which should be used and this brings us to the second of the three purposes which were

The first criterion, and one which enables us to discard subportions of all the janam-sākhī accounts, is the incidence

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

nat the cion as An S been as, for

Guru
ne was
of any
cet his
com-

and the varison urdās's e must

of the

other corded as a reater of the quali-

than umber t it is that

must s cersponstakes

edited and is second

the C

occur

suspe

twent

summ

to un

as Sa

Praki

regar

graph S

refere

traceo

to ass

Nāna

janan

greate

Nānal

travel

years.

legen

the b

of thi

betwe

janam Vague

latter capita

Sikh

such Which

taken

propo.

to har

fantas

indefin

15.

F

of the miraculous or plainly fantastic. It is, however, one which must be used with some caution. The inclusion of a miracle does not necessarily mean that the whole  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}$  must be rejected. In most cases this is required, but in a few the possibility of a substratum of truth must be borne in mind. There is no need to stress this criterion, for it is altogether too obvious to be ignored and has been generally accepted. The point which does require emphasis is the insufficiency of this single standard. It is not enough to excise all the miracles from a  $janam-s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}$  and accept the balance as substantially correct.

A second criterion is the testimony of external sources. In most cases where this criterion applies to the <code>janam-sākhī</code> accounts of Gurū Nānak's life it requires a negative judgment. The two important exceptions are the incidents involving Daulat Khān Lodī and Bābur.

A third criterion which may be used is Gurū Nānak's own work as recorded in the Ādi Granth. This too offers us disappointingly little help, for as we have already noted explicit references to the events of his life are entirely absent and implicit hints are few. The most important of these concern the connection with Bābur and Gurū Nānak's controversies with Nāth yogīs. In other cases the help which his works offer us is generally negative. Occasionally it is possible to reject an incident because it is conspicuously out of accord with clearly stated doctrine or with the personality which emerges from his works as a whole.

A fourth criterion is the measure of agreement or, conversely, of disagreement which we find in the different janam-sākhīs. This alone can rarely determine a particular issue, but in several cases it should certainly influence our judgment. The story of Sajjan the Thag is an example.

In cases where there is disagreement between the different janam-sākhīs, or where only one janam-sākhī records a particular incident or detail, a fifth criterion is the relative reliability of the different janam-sākhīs. This criterion is of little use in issues which concern only the Purātan and Miharbān janam-sākhīs or the Bhāī Gurdās Vār, but it certainly applies whenever the more recent janam-sākhīs enter the discussion. In general the testimony of the three older sources must be preferred to that of either

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

which the edoes of the control of th

es. In counts ne two Khān

s own

proposition of the construction of the constru

th the

ersely, This I cases Sajjan

of the issues

fferent

testieither the Gyān-ratanāvalī or the Bālā janam-sākhīs. Any point which occurs only in the Bālā accounts must be regarded as strongly outpect, and if it is to be found only in one of the nineteenth or wentieth century printed versions of the Bālā tradition it can be summarily rejected. The same treatment must also be accorded to unauthenticated statements from such nineteenth century works as Santokh Singh's Nānak Prakāś and Giani Gyan Singh's Panth Prakāś and Tavarīkh Gurū Khālsā. None of these works can be regarded as sources, unless our concern happens to be historiography.

Sixthly, a measure of trust may be attached to genealogical

Sixthly, a measure of trust may be attached to genealogical references. Family relationships in the Punjab can normally be traced back accurately for several generations and it is reasonable to assume that at least the immediate family connections of Gurū Nānak would still be recollected at the time when the older inam-sākhās were committed to writing.

Finally, there is a geographical criterion in the sense that a greater degree of confidence can be placed in details relating to Gurū Nanak's life within the Punjab than in those which concern his travels beyond the province. This applies particularly to his later years. The accounts of his childhood are all heavily charged with legend, but there is at least a certain amount that rings true in the brief accounts given of his Kartarpur period. The relevance of this particular criterion is pointed up by the marked contrast between the geographical exactitude which characterises the janam-sākhī accounts of his movements within the Punjab and the Vagueness of those which describe his travels elsewhere. In the latter case the place-names are almost all either well-known Capitals and centres of pilgrimage, places associated with later history, or unidentifiable and evidently non-existent places such as 'Dhanāsarī'. 15 Many of the sākhīs describing incidents which occurred during the travels are unlocated or are said to have taken place in "a certain city" or "a certain country". A high proportion are set in deserts or jungles, and a number are said to have occurred on islands in the ocean. The incidence of the lantastic is particularly high in these latter cases. All sākhīs with indefinite indefinite maritime settings must be regarded with marked scepticism.

<sup>15.</sup> Pur JS, p. 78.

son's

ever,

leger

story

crite

tradit

exter

Raja

indica

Saivi in C

Jaffna

ever, thron

Parar

that I

testim Mukā

manus

criptic Rāh c

It erre

vaka i torical

concei

travels nābh.

1484 u

às evic

Sivana

18. 1 19. T 20.

Rickmer

J

And so we have our five categories and our seven criteria Our task now must be to apply the criteria to the sākhīs and gosts of the janam-sākhīs in order to fit them into one or other of the five categories. This brings us to the third and last of our purposes. Many of the janam-sākhī incidents can be discarded at once in accordance with the first criterion (that is, the fact that they are manifestly miracle stories without any features which suggest a substratum of truth). Others may be summarily consigned to either the probable or improbable category, and a num. ber against which no evidence can be brought but which find no support outside the janam-sākhīs must be regarded as 'possible'. In the latter case we allow that the tradition may be true, but in view of the general unreliability of the janam-sākhis our neutrality is a sceptical neutrality. The interesting cases are the sakhis which occupy positions of importance in the janamsakhī traditions and which can be tested against a number of our criteria. Four of these will be considered briefly in order to illustrate the manner in which the application of the criteria can lead us to definite conclusions.

The first such incident is the tradition that Gurū Nānak visited Ceylon and there met Rājā Sivanābh, a tradition which is to be found in the Purātan and Bālā accounts and in the Gyānratanāvalī. In all versions, except that of the earlier Bālā janamsākhīs, it has two parts. The first relates how a Sikh trader (whom the Gyān-ratanāvalī and later Bālā accounts call Mansukh) sailed to the land of Rājā Sivanābh and converted him to the religion of Gurū Nānak; and the second describes how the Gurū himself subsequently journeyed there in order to meet his royal disciple. In the Purātan version the land is not named in the first part, 16 but in the account of Gurū Nānak's own visit it is identified as Siṅghalādīp. 17 This has, understandably, been taken to refer to Ceylon.

We shall begin our analysis by applying our first criterion and, in accordance with it, discarding several features which we find in the different accounts. We can, for example, safely reject the *Purātan* claim that Gurū Nānak ordered Sivanābh to cut his

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid., sākhī 41, pp. 76-8, 17. Ibid, p. 86.

son's throat, stew his flesh, and eat it.18 This criterion is not, howsufficient to destroy the tradition. After the manifestly erer, salar features have been discarded the essential basis of the story still remains.

We must accordingly proceed to apply, if possible, the second giterion (the testimony of external sources). This particular tradition is one of the few which can be tested by reference to external evidence, for it specifies not just Ceylon but also the Raja whom, it claims, Gurū Nānak met there. The name Sivanābh indicates that the Raja, if he in fact existed, must have been a Saivite, and this must point to the kingdom of Jaffna. Elsewhere in Ceylon the contemporary dynasties were Buddhist, but in Jaffna the rulers of this period were Saivites. None of them, however, was named Sivanābh. The two kings who occupied the throne of Jaffna during the time of Gurū Nānak's travels were Pararājasekharan VI and Segarājasēkharan VII. 19

Jaffna must accordingly be eliminated, but before concluding that Rājā Sivanābh did not live in Ceylon we must consider the testimony of another external source. This is the  $Hakar{\imath}kat$   $Rar{a}h$ Mukām Rāje Sivanābh kī, a brief work attached to many old manuscript copies of the  $ar{A}di$  Granth which purports to be a description of how to get to Rājā Śivanābh's kingdom. The Hakīkat Rih claims that Rājā Sivanābh was the grandfather of Māyādunne. lt errs in locating Māyādunne in Jaffna (his domain was Sītāvaka in the south-west of the island<sup>20</sup>), but he is at least an hisbrical figure and his period is such that his grandfather could Onceivably have been alive during the period of Gurū Nānak's Māyādunne's grandfather was not, however, called Siva-He was Parākramabāhu VIII who reigned in Kōṭṭē from 184 until 1508.21 Accordingly the Hakīkat Rāh must be rejected evidence of a visit to Ceylon by Gurū Nānak.

The conclusion to which this analysis points is that if Rājā Stranabh did exist he had no connection with Ceylon. Having

riteria.

is and

other

of our ded at

ct that

which

y con-

num-

which

ded as

nay be

sākhis

es are

janam.

of our

der to ia can

Nānak

nich is

Gyan-

anam-

trader

sukh)

to the

Guru

royal

n the

it is

taken

terion

h we reject it his

<sup>18,</sup> Ibid., p. 88

<sup>19.</sup> University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon, vol. i, p. 701.

<sup>20.</sup> Culavamsa (Pali Text Society ed., trans. W. Geiger and C. Mabel Bickmers), ii. 24, n.1. al. Epigraphica Zeylanica, vol. iii, p. 43.

and (

fourth

histor

when

rences

contai of the

rather

degree

Śivanā

in the

whole

repres

second

accour

comple

to be

later t

nence

simple

given

Th

earlier

section

lengthy

Sivana

he live

which

rence t

is the

Nanak author

An

tible co

called e

of the

affirm (

removed Rājā Sivanābh from Ceylon must we, however, conclude that Guru Nanak never visited the island? The removal of Sivanabh seriously weakens the whole tradition, but let us assume that the possibility of such a visit still remains and test this possibility by applying the fourth criterion (the measure of agreement, or disagreement, which we find in the different janam-sākhīs).

When we apply this criterion the possibility at once begins to crumble. In the first place we must observe that neither Bhai Gurdās nor Miharbān refer to such a visit.22 Secondly, there is the fact that the India Office Library manuscript B40 records both the story of the Sikh trader and the subsequent meeting between Guru Nānak and Rājā Sivanābh without any mention of Singhaladio. This second point is the really significant one. Its significance lies in the contrast between the account given in the B40 manuscript<sup>23</sup> and that of the Purātan janam-sākhīs; and in the fact that it is only the later of the two versions (the Puratan account) which gives the specific geographical location. The account given in the earlier manuscripts of the Sikh trader's conversion and journey to Rājā Sivanābh's unnamed kingdom corresponds almost exactly with that given in the Purātan version, and although its treatment of Guru Nanak's meeting with Sivanabh lacks the same measure of verbal identity the basic deatils it gives are almost the same as those of the Puratan account. The only exception is the omission of any reference to Singhaladip in the earlier janamsākhī.

As in the Hāfizābād manuscript, the B40 account records that following his conversion the merchant took ship and sailed "to where Rājā Śivanābh lived."24 This nautical reference may be held to indicate Singhaladīp, but it is by no means a necessary assumption. On the contrary, it is a common feature of all the janam sākhīs, except that of Miharbān, that Gurū Nānak is said to have crossed the sea to unspecified islands or lands. At this point we

<sup>22.</sup> Miharbān (or a later editor of the Miharbān Janam-sākhī) does mention a visit to "a land of darkness" which is evidently meant to be Ceylon, but the story related is entirely different from the Sivanabh tradition, and totally fantastic. Mih JS, pp. 217-21.

<sup>23.</sup> India Office Library Ms. Panj. B40, folios 138 ff.

<sup>24.</sup> Ibid., folio 140b.

nclude for Janabh finat the lity by or dis-

r Bhai nere is Is both etween signine B40 the fact count)

begins

e given on and almost igh its e same almost tion is

ianam-

Is that
ed "to
be held
ssumpjanamb have
int we

to be tradi-

find our seventh criterion (the geographic one) supporting the fourth. Geographical inexactitude is generally associated with the bistorically dubious and this appears to be invariably the case when the inexactitude concerns a location over the sea. References to the samundar are almost always associated with incidents containing generous measures of the fantastic. The significance of these references is not that they must all point to Ceylon, but rather that their remote settings should prompt an even greater degree of caution.

The likelihood appears to be that the incident concerning sivanābh had an early origin, but that it had no specific location in the early traditions, oral or written. This would mean that the whole of the B40 account and the first part of the Purātan version represent an earlier stage in the evolution of the story than the second part of the Purātan version or the later janam-sākhī accounts of the complete episode. It is impossible to identify with complete certainty the manner in which the name Singhalādīp came to be attached to the tradition. It may have been suggested by later trade contacts, it may have been on account of the prominence of Singhalādīp in Punjab folklore, or it may have been the simple fact that if an unspecified maritime location were to be given a name Singhalādīp would have been the obvious choice.

The theory that the name Singhalādīp was introduced into an earlier tradition also receives support from Pothi Harijī, the second section of the Miharbān Janam-sākhī. Pothī Harijī opens with a lengthy discourse between Gurū Nānak and the paṇḍit of Rājā Sivanābh, but gives no indication of who Śivanābh was or where he lived. In a later goṣṭ Śivanābh reappears in a brief discourse which concerns him more directly, but which still makes no reference to his geographical location. The only hint which it offers the statement that after his conversation with Śivanābh Gurū and returned to Kartārpur. This does not suggest that the author envisaged a location as far distant as Ceylon.

And so our application of the criteria leads us to an irresistille conclusion. There was no contemporary ruler in Ceylon of the name Singhalādīp into sākhīs concerning him. We cannot categorically that Gurū Nānak never visited Ceylon, but

we must now conclude that the janam-sākhīs offer no acceptable evidence of such a visit.

Ménas His fir

and th

to Bas

might

evider

the Te

sikhis

an inv

in this

sack (

signifi

Nanak

sākhīs

assaul

took p

his co

when

Purata

accom

travell

enrage

Adi G

cryptic

descen sword.

happer

show

princip

intervi

cribes

26.

Gura A

27, 28,

29.

30.

J. 29

0

A similar conclusion is indicated in the case of several other important sakhīs. 'Iwo which will be considered more briefly are the traditions concerning a discourse with Siddhs on Mount Sumeru and a visit to Baghdad. In the first instance we are contronted by a tradition which can claim the support of our fourth criterion (it is one of only three incidents which is to be found in Bhai Gurdas and all of the important janam-sākhīs), but which suffers heavily when the first criterion is applied to it. Mount Sumeru exists only in legend, Gorakhnāth (the principal interlocutor on this occasion) could not have been a contemporary of Gurū Nānak, and in all versions the account of their conversation is heavily charged with miraculous material. The third criterion (the testimony of Gurū Nānak's own works) does nothing to support the tradition but instead, as we have already observed, indicates an obvious explanation for the genesis of the whole tradition. It has been suggested that the accounts must refer to some other location in the Himalayas and some other interlocutor. We must certainly acknowledge the possibility that Guru Nanak visited the Himalayas and that he might have penetrated as far as Mount Kailas, but we cannot use this tradition to support such a conjecture. The śloks quoted from Vār Rāmakalī do support the contention that he had frequent contacts with Nath yogīs, but they do not indicate the location of any specific contact.

The Baghdad case is a particularly interesting one. It suffers somewhat from the application of the fourth criterion (of the important janam-sākhīs only Bhāi Gurdās and the B40 manuscript refer to visits to the city), but it has been held proven on the basis of the second criterion, the testimony of external sources. There exists in Baghdad an inscription which, it is generally believed, refers to Gurū Nānak and so establishes the historicity of his visit there.<sup>25</sup> Time does not permit an examination of the inscription in this paper and we must content ourselves with a categorical statement. The inscription has been carefully examined by Dr. V. L.

<sup>25.</sup> Vir Singh, Gurū Nānak Chamatakār (8th ed.), vol. ii, pp 172-6. Tela Singh and Ganda Singh, A Short History of the Sikhs, vol. i, p. 12. Sewaran Singh, The Divine Master, p. 157.

eptable

d other tly are Mount re confourth found which

Mount interrary of rsation riterion ning to

served, whole efer to ocutor. Nānak

far as such a ort the at they

suffers he imuscript e basis There

lieved, of his nscripgorical

V. L.

. Teja waram Minage of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Minage is that it almost certainly does not refer to Guru Nanak and that it cannot be accepted as evidence of a visit by the Guru Manak baghdad. 25 We are left with the conclusion that Gurū Nānak might have visited Baghdad, but that we do not have acceptable evidence to support the tradition.

Our conclusions have so far been negative and this is usually the result of analyses of this kind, particularly in the case of akhis relating to the travels of Guru Nanak. It is not, however, a invariable result. One tradition which is not wholly destroyed in this manner is the account of Gurū Nānak's presence at Bābur's sek of Saidpur. Babur is the one contemporary figure of any simificance who is referred to by name in the works of Guru Nanak, and with the exception of Bhai Gurdas all the janamakhis record that the Guru was present when the Mughal army assaulted the town of Saidpur. The attack on Saidpur evidently took place in 1520.27 The janam-sākhīs relate that Gurū Nānak and his companion Mardana happened to reach Saidpur at a time when its inhabitants were celebrating numerous marriages. The Puritan version adds that on this occasion the Gurū was also accompanied by some faqirs who were weak with hunger.28 The tavellers asked for food, but were everywhere refused. This so enraged the Guru that he gave utterance to a verse which in the Adi Granth appears as number 5 in Tilang rag. The verse was a typtic summons to Babur and in response to it the Mughal army descended upon Saidpur, sacked it, put all its inhabitants to the sword, and devastated the surrounding countryside. All this had beprened because the churlish residents of the town had failed to show proper consideration towards fagirs. After this the two principal accounts diverge. The Puratan janam-sakhis relate an hterview with Bābur,29 whereas the Miharbān Janam-sākhī desorbes an assault by Babur upon the Nath centre of Tilla.30

<sup>&</sup>amp; Dr. Ménage's statement is printed as an excursus in the author's  $Na_{nol}$ . Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.

त. A. S. Beveridge, The Bābur-nāma in English, i. 429. 28. Pur JS, p. 58.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid., pp. 62-3.

<sup>30.</sup> Mih JS, p. 469.

It is at once clear that much of what the <code>janam-sākhīs</code> record must be rejected in accordance with our first criterion, but this preliminary clearing away of manifest legend will still leave open the two basic questions: Was Gurū Nānak present during the <code>sack</code> of Saidpur? And did he meet Bābur?

parrat

the 15

besieg

a stro

The

actual

Purato

ienden

offers

out as

lkely.

permit

but it

some i

we are

in such

not ins

the ber

ever, re

of the

althoug

stand t

what w

regarde

nothing

there is

been fo

must re

of the p

not pro-

it does

so for a

teaching

can we }

Al

The principal argument which has been advanced in favour of his presence at Saidpur, and one which has hitherto been accepted as conclusive, is the fact that Guru Nānak himself refers directly to Babur and describes the devastation wrought by his army These references are to be found in the four compositions of the Bābar-vānī.31 All four are set by the janam-sākhīs in the context of either the assault on Saidpur or Gurū Nānak's interview with Babur soon after. There can be no doubt that in these verses Gurū Nānak is describing at least one of the Mughal expeditions for he does so explicitly. But to which of Babur's expeditions does he refer? There seems to be little doubt from the nature of his description that he is describing either the later invasions of 1524 and 1525-26, or else the complete series of invasions which terminated with the Battle of Panipet in 1526. These same descriptions manifest a vividness and a depth of feeling which can be explained only as expressions of direct personal experience and we are accordingly led to two conclusions. First, Guru Nanak must have personally witnessed devastation caused by Bābur's troops; and secondly, the four verses were probably composed after 1526 in response to the major invasions which concluded the series of expeditions, or to the complete series itself.

This does not necessarily mean, however, that there can be no truth in the janam-sākhī tradition concerning Gurū Nānak's presence as a witness at the sack of Saidpur. The support claimed on the basis of the four verses must go, but there remain other points in favour of the tradition. In the first place, the janam-sākhīs all agree on this point. Secondly, the tradition concerns an incident which happened in the Punjab during the latter period of the Gurū's life. Thirdly, there appears to be a measure of accuracy in the janam-sākhī descriptions of the actual assault. And fourthly, it seems reasonable to assume that had there been no factual basis for the connection with Bābur's invasions the

31. See supra n. 1.

## SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF GURD NANAK

parrators would surely have chosen the 1524 capture of Lahore or the 1526 Battle of Panipet as a setting rather than an obscure town besieged on one of the minor expeditions. These factors indicate a strong tradition and one which has good claims to acceptance.

The same cannot, however, be said for the claim that Gurū Nānak stually met Bābur. The Miharbān Janam-sākhī omits it, the Puritan janam-sākhīs give divergent accounts, 32 and the familiar tendency to introduce interviews with the acknowledged great offers an obvious explanation for its origin. It cannot be ruled out as completely impossible, but it certainly appears most unlikely.

All of the examples which have been considered in this paper pemit the determinative application of one or more of the criteria, but it must be acknowledged that this is not always possible. In some instances none of the criteria can be profitably applied and we are compelled to leave the issue undecided. Our indecision will, in such cases, be a sceptical indecision for the <code>janam-sākhīs</code> do not inspire the confidence which would permit us to give them the benefit of doubt on any unsupported issue. We must, however, resist the temptation to rule out such possibilities completely.

All that has been covered in this paper concerns the events the life of Gurū Nānak and our conclusion has been that though some of the incidents recorded in the janam-sākhīs will stand the test of rigorous analysis the majority will not. Most of what we find in the janam-sākhīs, and in the biographies based on the janam-sākhīs, must be either rejected as impossible or regarded as unlikely. This should not, however, suggest that thing can be known concerning Gurū Nānak. On the contrary, here is much that we can know. Our concern in this paper has ben for the events of his life. In this respect our knowledge must remain restricted, but not our knowledge and understanding of the person with whom we are concerned. The Adi Granth does to provide us with details relating to the events of his life, but t does offer a thoroughly reliable source for his teachings and beching of the personality which lies behind those kachings. In this sense he can be known and only in this sense we hope to lay hold of the historical Nānak.

2 Pur JS, pp. 62-7.

record

out this

ve open he sack

favour accept.

directly

army.

of the

context

w with

verses

ditions,

ns does

of his

of 1524

ch ter-

lescrip-

can be

ce and Nānak

3ābur's

nposed

led the

can be

lānak's

laimed

other

janam-

rns an

period

ure of

ssault.

been ,

ns the

dislo fort.

> Agra retu ... unde niva

tried

lead thro and and mu' reco

deta

obta

at :

one

# The Punishment and Pardon of Ram Singh

BY

Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar Professor of History, Jadavpur University

It is well known that Aurangzeb held Ram Singh guilty of disloyal negligence in the matter of Shivaji's escape from Agra fort.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes:

"... Suspicion naturally fell on Ram Singh, as he had so often tried to avoid accepting responsibility for Shivaji's presence at Agra, and it was his interest to effect the Maratha chief's safe return home, for which he and his father had pledged their honour ... Some of the Maratha Brahmans who were caught admitted, under threat of torture, that their master had fled with the convivance of Ram Singh..."

But the sequence of events immediately after the escape, the details of the punishment of Ram Singh and the factors and stages leading to his pardon are not adequately known. It is possible to throw new light on the reaction of the event on Aurangzeb's mind and its working and to reconstruct full details of the punishment and pardon of Ram Singh with the help of the Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mu'ala or the news-letters of the imperial court and the Rajasthani records formerly stored in Jaipur but now in the State Archives at Bikaner. They also sometimes corroborate the information obtained from Persian chronicles.

#### I. The Date of Shivaji's Escape

Regarding Shivaji's date of escape, there is a difference of day in the official history and the Rajasthani records.

<sup>1.</sup> Sarkar, Shivaji, (6th Ed.), 151.

imm

horse

the 1

Shiva

Kum

charg

he to

thani

Samv enqui

for hi

refere

of Pa

Septe

Kuma

(Kha

tembe

had a

with submi

0

the im

the R

there.

Then Munia to all

9.

10.

Shah to

Kalyand

11.

12.

12a. ]

13.

The Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri mentions 27th Safar, year 9 (1077) or 19th August, 1666 as the date of Shivaji's flight. Relying on this Sarkar also has given the date, 19 August, 1666.2 On the other hand G. S. Sardesai gives 18th August, 1666 as the date of the event.3 This is based on Rajasthan letters. The letter of Ballu Shah to Kalyandas dated Agra, Saturday, Bhadwa Budi 14 or 18 August, 1666 runs: "This very morning Shivaji fled away from Agra".4 Another letter of Vimaldas to Kalyandas dated Monday Bhadwa Sudi 1 Samvat 1723 or 20 August, 1666 says that Shivaji fled on the morning of Bhadwa Budi 14 Saturday (or 18th August).5

#### The Search for the Fugitives

According to Sarkar "a hue and cry was immediately raised and fast couriers and sergeants-at-arms were sent to watch the road to the Deccan through Malwa and Kandesh, and to warn the local officers to look out for the fugitives."6 Sardesai writes: "The Emperor in extreme consternation sent round strict and expeditious orders to all governors and local officials to apprehend the runaways. Search parties were immediately despatched in 'all directions. Passes and fords were closed to traffic."7

The Rajasthani letters tell us of many new details regarding the tracking of Shivaji. From these we know that the Emperor wrote to all sides issuing necessary orders. A Rajasthani letter of about the end of August, 1666 states: "the Emperor blames (the Kumar) for the flight of Shiva. Necessary arrangements were made and all orders were issued soon after the first instructions were received here then."8

3. New History of the Marathas I, 186.

5. Vimaldas to Kalyandas R.L. No. 31, p. 41

6. Sarkar, Shivaji, 151. 7. Sardesai, op.cit., I, 186.

8. Shridhar to Kalyandas, R.L. No. 41, p. 50.

<sup>2.</sup> M. A. Eng. Tr. 37; Sarkar, op.cit, 154. There is no mention of date in Aurangzib, IV. ch. 40.

<sup>4.</sup> Rajasthani Records ed. by Sarkar and Sinh: Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, Agra, Rajasthani letter No. 29, p. 40. Also Ms. Kharita Navis's Records Reg. No. 77. (Mahakma Khas Jaipur, now in Bikaner).

We are told in a Rajasthani letter dated 23 August, 1666 that immediately after the escape of Shivaji, Kumar Ram Singh took horse and proceeded to the Ghusal Khana to submit the news to the Emperor.9

(1077)

ng on

n the ate of

Ballu

or 18

from

onday

hivaji

18th

aised

h the

n the

"The

pedi-

d the

n 'all

rding peror

etter

ames

aents

truc-

n of

ndas,

cords

As the Emperor fully believed that the Kumar had helped Shivaji to flee i.e., connived at Shivaji's escape, he ordered the Kumar to search for and produce Shiva: "Shivaji was in his charge. He should produce him. We will make enquiries but he too should go on search and find him out".10 In another Rajasthani letter (Kalyandas to Haridas Dharma, dated Bhadwa Sudi Samvat 1723 = August 24, 1666) the Emperor is reported to have enquired of Ram Singh: "Where will Shiva go? You will hunt for him. Collect money and send it immediately."11 The 'money' refered to arrears due from the Kumar. We know from a letter of Parkal Das to Kalyandas Asoj Bad, 12 Samvat 1723 = 15 September, 1666, that the Emperor, being displeased with the Kumar, ordered the speedy realisation of the arrears in his name. (Kharita Navis R. No. 30).12 A Rajasthani letter of 15th September 1666 tells us that the Emperor enquired "if the Kumar had anything to say to the general allegation that Shiva fled away with the knowledge of the Kumar". The latter was ordered to submit a written explanation.12a

#### Ram Singh's Search of Shivaji

On this return from the Ghusalkhana and in pursuance of the imperial command to search for Shivaji, Ram Singh "collected. the Raiputs and started off. He did not have even his meals here. After traversing 4 kos he encamped in Dara Shah's garden. Then he went ahead on Sunday, 19 August, 1666, encamped at Minia's serai and proceeded towards Dholpur, sending his men

<sup>9.</sup> Parkaldas to Kalyandas, R.L. No. 33, p. 42.

parkaldas to Kalyandas, R.L. No. 33, p. 42.

to Kalyandas (18 Sept. 1666, R.L. No. 48, p. 54, Ballu

to Kalyandas (18 Sept. 1666, R.L. No. 48, p. 54, Ballu State of Parkaldas to Kalyandas (18 Sept. 1666. R.L. No. 48, p. 51. Kalyandas. Agra 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 30, p. 41; Harnath to Malyandas. Ruple Agra 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 30, p. 50; Sardesai I, 187. Kalyandas. Agra 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 30, p. 41, l. MS. Kharit Puris Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 40, p. 50; Sardesai I, 187.

<sup>11.</sup> MS. Kharita Navis's Records (Persian) X Reg. No. 56. 12. MS. Ibid., Reg. No. 30.

<sup>12</sup>a Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 46, p. 53. 3. Same to same 23 Aug. 1666, R.L. 33, p. 45.

Acting on information sent by Girdhar Lal Vakil (at Agra) the Kumar marched towards and encamped at Munia Serai (8 September) from where he would encamp at Dholpur (9 September).<sup>14</sup>

IV.

dismi

was ]

depri

few

letter

dance

Ram

ihrou

the en

the K

the a

escap

his r

Manr

1723)

hints

Jaipu

letter by 10

by ar

vious

after been been

17.

18

19.

20.

Gegraj,

Kharita

Mukun Parkali

Reg. No.

21

1

Ram Singh shifted his camp from the Kangroli Serai to the ferry on the Chambal with a view to cross it in search of Shivaji. But the Emperor did not sanction the crossing of the river as being utterly futile. So at the suggestion of Muhammad Amin Khan, a letter was sent to the Kumar by Girdhar Lal informing him that the Emperor had not approved the crossing of the river and that the former should return and remain in his tents (27 Aug. 1666). The Kumar was expected to return within two days. As a matter of fact, in obedience to the imperial order, Ram Singh returned to Agra on Sunday, 2 September, 1666.15

Even the agents and officers of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Ram Singh alerted everyday to 'guard all ferries, highways'. They "sent out orders to all the parganas to close all the ghats in the State". Thus Mahadas Manrup asked Kalyandas (25 August, 1666) to issue orders 'in all the villages under your control to arrest them (Shiva and his son) if they happen to come that way. Guards of four men each should be posted at all ferries and highways so that none can pass that way undetected". 16

These details show that Ram Singh's conduct was not that of a man with a guilty conscience. Ram Singh's guards might have been negligent but he was not guilty of disloyalty.

14. Ram Singh and Ballu Shah to Kalyandas Agra 26 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 35, p. 46.

15. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Agra, 27 Aug. 1666. R. L. No. 36, p. 48; Ballu Shah to Mukunddas and Shah Keshodas Agra, 2 Sept. 1666. R.L. 42, p. 51; Parkaldas to Kalyandas. 3 Sept. 1666. R.L. 43, p. 52. Ms. Bimaldas to Kalyandas Bhadwa Sud 11, Samvat 1723—30 Aug. 1666. Kharita Navis IX Reg. No. 54.

16. Vimaldas to Kalyandas 23 Aug. 1666. R.L. 32, p. 41; Ajitdas <sup>10</sup> Kalyandas, 28 Aug. 1666. R.L. 38, p. 49. Manohardas Nathuram to Kalyandas 30 Aug. 1666. R.L. 39, p. 49. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 18 Aug. 1666. R.L. 29, p. 40; 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. 30. p. 41. Mahandas Manrup to Kalyandas 25 Aug. 1666, R.L. 34. p. 46.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

## PUNISHMENT AND PARDON OF RAM SINGH

N. Punishment of Kumar Ram Singh and Kumar Kirat Singh

The Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri simply states that Ram Singh was dismissed from his mansab. 17 Sarkar writes: "The Rajput prince was punished, first by being forbidden the court and then by being deprived of his rank and pay".18 G. S. Sardesai writes: "In a lew days the Kumar was disgraced and forbidden the court".19

We get new details from the Akhbarat and the Rajasthani letters. After Shivaji's flight Ram Singh was taking the attendance of the horses of jagirdars. On the report of some one that Ram Singh was collecting forces, the Emperor ordered an enquiry through Muhammad Amin Khan. We do not know the result of the enquiry. But it is clear that Aurangzeb suspected the loyalty of the Kumar and punished him in various ways. In the first instance, the Kumar was not summoned to the Presence. This prohibition (to the audience and the fort) was reported even one month after the escape (18 September, 1666).20 Secondly, there was reduction in his rank, followed by dismissal. A Rajasthani letter (Mahadas Manrup to Diwan Kalyandas dated Bhadwar Sudi 13, Samvat 1723) refers to the Emperor's displeasure with Ram Singh and hints at the possible decrease in his mansab. (Mahakama Khas, Jaipur, Kharita Navis's records VIII, Reg. No. 52). A Rajasthani letter mentions that Aurangzeb reduced the mansab of the Kumar by 1000 Zat and troopers (c. 20 August, 1666). This is corroborated by an Akhbar of Rabi I 23, year 10=2, September, 1967: "Previously he held a mansab of 4000 Zat and 4000 suwar but later on, after the fight of Shiva, a mansab of 3000 Zat and 3000 suwar had been conferred on him. Again by imperial wrath that too had been withdrawn".21 Thirdly the jagirs of Kumar Ram Singh were

6. R.L.

Agra) Serai

holpur

to the

Shivaji. ver as

Amin

orming

e river

its (27

o days. Singh

gh and

aways'.

ghats

August,

trol to

at way.

d high-

ot that

might

p. 48; R.L. 12, imaldas lavis IX

tdas to Kalyang. 1666. Kalyan.

<sup>17.</sup> M.A.: Eng. Tr. 37. 18. Sarkar, Shivaji, 151.

<sup>19.</sup> Sardesai, I, 187.

D. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 18 Sept. 1666. R.L. 48, p. 54; Parkaldas (1666). Gegraj, 3 Sept. 1666. R.L. 44, p. 53. Ms. Parkaldas to Kalyandas (1666). Kharita Navis's Reg. No. 102.

<sup>21</sup> MS. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. 30, p. 41; Same to MS. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. 30, p. 11, 20, p. 12, 20, p. 14, p. 50; Ms. Kharita Navis VIII. Parkaldas and Shah Keshodas, Agra, 2 Sept. 1666. R.L. No. 22, Pullandas to Kalyandas 23 Aug. 1666. R.L. 33 p. 45; Ms. Kharita Navis VIII. Reg. No. 52, Akbar VI, 367.

dism

vour

Sing

came

instr

migh

1666, escap

On the

pardo

agree

A

states

who !

of Ra

later

Singh

was s

of pes

Singh

confid

ultima

Recor

cessio

was t

28.

29. to same

30. 31,

32. 33.

0

I

confiscated.22 From Rajasthani letters we learn that the jagir. parganas of the Kumar were confiscated. All the parganas of Kot. Putli etc., were taken away from him and the pargana of Manda. war as transferred to the jagir of Daud Khan; and the Kumar was not granted any jagir or cash payment.23 This is corroborated by an Akhbar of Rabi I 2, year 9 (=25 August, 1666). Jumlat ul mulk Jafar Khan informed the Emperor that according to the imperial orders the jagirs of Kumar Ram Singh had been confiscated.24

The Emperor also ordered that the salary of Kumar Kirat Singh might be given but not the jagirs. The Khan paid the salary.25

#### Jai Singh informed of his son's remissness

On Sunday, 19 August, 1666, noon, the Emperor sent a farman to Mirza Rajah saying "Disloyal Shiva has escaped from here."26

On 29 Safar year 9 (= 21 August, 1666) an imperial farman was issued to Mirza Rajah to the effect that "the vanquished Shivaji (mardud) had been entrusted to Ram Singh, who was believed to be good and considered to be grateful. The said Prince was induced by Shivaji to let him escape. For this crime of the Kumar who went astray from loyalty, orders have been issued to the Khan Bakhshi for (his) dismissal from service (mansab bar 

On Rabi I 4, year 9 (= 25 August, 1666) the Emperor ordered Jafar Khan that Jai Singh must be summoned and produced before him. So Jafar Khan sent a farman (to Jai Singh) to the effect "Shiva (maqhur) was allowed to escape with the full knowledge and connivance of Kumar Ram Singh. So he deserved

22. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 47, p. 54.

23. Same to Mukunddas and Shah Keshodas 2 Sept., 1666. R.L. 42, p. 50; Parkaldas to Kalyandas 18 Sept. 1666, R.L. 48, p. 54.

24. Akhbarat.

26. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 23 Aug. 1666. R.L. 33, p. 45. M.A. Eng. Tr. 37.

27. Akhbar.

jagir. of Kot. Manda-Kumar porated Jumlat

to the n con-Kirat

id the

sent a d from

arman uished as be-Prince of the ued to ib bar

dered ed beto the e full erved

p. 50;

Eng.

dismissal, but on account of consideration (khatir) for you, i.e., for your sake I have not taken this extreme step and allowed Ram Singh to remain in his watan".28 No reply to the imperial farman came from Jai Singh even upto 15 September, 1666. He was instructed to take necessary steps so that the followers of Shivaji might not be allowed to create any disturbance in the Deccan.29

Jai Singh is reported, in a Rajasthani letter of 31 October. 1666, to have "severely rebuked the Kumar for letting Shiva escape, as it brought on him such serious disgrace in his old age." On the advice of the Maharaja, Ram Singh sought the Emperor's nordon through the Begum Saheb, who was reported to have agreed to plead on his behalf before the Emperor.30

#### VI. Pardon of Ram Singh

About the pardon of Ram Singh the Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri only states that "the Emperor cherished his son Kumar Ram Singh, who had so long been under punishment, by giving him the title of Raja and many favours".31 Sarkar writes: "Eleven months later (i.e., after Shivaji's escape), on the death of his father, Ram Singh was taken back into favour and created a 4-hazari, but was soon afterwards sent to join the army fighting in Assam, to die of pestilence there".32 G. S. Sardesai writes: "After some time Ram Singh was formally pardoned, but never again taken into that loving confidence which he had enjoyed before".33

It is possible to throw light on the gradual steps leading ultimately to the imperial pardon, from the Akhbarat (Jaipur Records) and the Rajasthani letters now stored in Bikaner.

One of the principal factors in this was the series of intercessions on behalf of Ram Singh before the Emperor. The second was the death of Jai Singh.

28. Akhbar.

29. Parkaldas to Kalyandas 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 46; p. 53. Ballu Shah b same. 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 47, p. 54.

30. Parkaldas to Kalyandas 31 Oct. 1666. R.L. 55, p. 58.

31. M.A. Eng. Tr. 41.

32. A.N. 1051; Sarkar, Shivaji, 151n. 33. Sardesai I,188.

Begum Saheb (Jahanara) is stated in Rajasthani records (dated 27 August 1666) to have pleaded for Kumar Ram Singh before the Emperor: "He is a hereditary servant and it is not possible that he would knowingly let (Shiva) flee away. He is at fault, but Mirza Rajah is a noted servant of the Empire who has rendered notable services and is still serving Your Majesty. It is not right that you should punish him like that." The Emperor is said to have replied that "his mistake deserved very several punishment, but his life has been spared only because of my consideration for Mirza Rajah". But by the middle of September this report about Begum Saheb's pleading was known to be false.

At A

peria

would

He a

friend

hukm

dill !

and

subm

from

Kuma

But t

Vakil

other

but to

A

The 1

the E

us? W

to his

ing to

the K

did no

On th

Kuma

A confirm

Kabul

before

ditary

deserv

out of

37,

38. ]

39.

Navis I

If there is doubt about Jahanara's pleading for Ram Singh, there is no doubt that several contemporary court nobles, Muslim as well as Hindu (Muhammad Amin Khan, Jafar Khan, Fidai Khan, Jaswant Singh, Hasan Ali Khan, Mutamid Khan, Tahir Khan Uzbeg, Bahadur Khan and Karam Khan) were interested in his case and some of them repeatedly interceded on behalf of Kumar Ram Singh before the Emperor.

On Rabi I 6, year 9, (27 August, 1666) Bakshi ul mulk Muhammad Amin Khan stated (before the Emperor) that Ram Singh had become a bewildered vagrant (awwara), and that he might be permitted to stay where ordered. The Emperor replied that the vakil of Ram Singh might be ordered that he should come and stay at the haveli of Rajah Jai Singh. Jumlat ul mulk Jafar Khan stated that the vakil said that he was not the servant of Kumar Ram Singh, but of Mirza Rajah and that one of the imperial servants might be asked to write. The Emperor ordered that no imperial servant would write and that the said vakil must write. 36

A slightly different version is given in a Rajasthani letter of 3 September, 1666: The Emperor asked Muhammad Amin Khan to ask Kumar Ram Singh (through his vakil Girdhar Lal) to return from the bank of the Chambal and stay in his Agra tent.

<sup>34.</sup> Parkaldas to Kalyandas 27 Aug. 1666. R.L. 36, p. 47. Same to same, 31 Oct. 1666. R.L. 55, p. 58.

<sup>35.</sup> Same to same 18 Sept. 1666, R.L. 48, p. 54. 36. Akhbarat.

perial message to Ram Singh. But the Kumar replied that he records n Singh would return only if he got an imperial order (hash ul hukm). t is not He also wrote to Muhammad Amin Khan, Fidai Khan and other He is fiendly nobles requesting them to send the Emperor's hasb ul re who hukm granting pardon and saying 'How can I return when I am Majesty. fill held guilty? Let me be appointed to whatsoever expedition imperor and I shall readily go there'. Muhammad Amin Khan then severa submitted to the Emperor that the Vakil begged to be excused. ny confrom writing as he was 'the Vakil of Mirza Rajah and not of tember Kumar', hoping that the Emperor would order a masb ul hukm. false.35 But the Emperor insisted on his writing: "I know that he is the Singh, Vokil of the Mirza Rajah as well as of the Kumar". All the Muslim other Vakils also urged the Kumar not to persist in his obduracy , Fidai but to return soon.37 Tahir

erested

half of

mulk

t Ram

hat he

replied

should

1 mulk

ervant

he im-

A similar message came from Jaswant Singh to Ballu Shah. The latter visited the Raja and requested him to plead before the Emperor: "Is it possible that such disloyalty will be done by s? Was he (Ram Singh) his surety or was he (Shiva) entrusted bis charge that he is held responsible for this flight"? Promising to do so later at an opportune moment, Jaswant advised that the Kumar should return (as the Emperor was displeased) but dd not consider it "correct" on his part to write to the Kumar. On the return of the Kumar, the Emperor told Jaswant to ask the Kumar to "remain in his tents".38

A Rajasthani letter of 18 September, 1666, refers to an unconfirmed rumour that Jaswant Singh (before his departure for Mabul on 3 September) asked Muhammad Amin Khan to plead before the Emperor for the resummoning of the Kumar, a herediary servant, to the Presence; the Emperor retorted that he deserved execution for the disloyalty but his life had been spared of special consideration for Mirza Rajah.39

rdered vakil tter of Khan

al) to a tent.

same,

<sup>37.</sup> Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 3 Sept. 1666. R.L. 43, pp. 51-2. Also Kharita Navis IX. Reg. No. 54 dated Aug. 30, 1666.

Parkaldas to Kalyandas, R.L. 43, p. 52. 8. Same to same, 18 Sept. 1666. R.L. 48, p. 55.

In October 1666, Hasan Ali was reported to have pleaded with the Emperor for summoning the Kumar to the hunt. The "The Kumar has pleased Shiva and displeased Emperor said: me by committing this act of disloyalty the like of which was never done before by any one of his family". Hasan Ali Khan submitted "A hereditary servant like him cannot do such an act of disloyalty. It is his ill luck that Your Majesty believes like that".40

1

Muta

secur

to she

the K

Khan.

d. 16 Mutar

their

Navis.

A

Khan

turnin

pleade

of Sha While

Emper

(Khut (Kar

show t

showin

to his

ervan

a few

interce

to be

hew\_J replied (24 Ma

Kumar.

H F Kalyanda

45. B

47. R

 $0_{\rm n}$ 

Or

All these intercessions and pleadings by important nobles of the Empire did not seem to have melted the heart of the Empe. ror. What helped to dispel the cloud from his mind for the first time was Jai Singh's report of the return of Shivaji to the Deccan and the arrest of Netu and the latter's son (as we know from the Akhbar of 7 Rabi II, year 9 = Thursday, 27 September. 1666, and a Rajasthani letter of Friday 5 October, 1666). The Emperor was highly pleased and asked for a statement of the maratib (rank) of Kumar Ram Singh - asked Jafar Khan for the details regarding the regrant of the confiscated jagir-parganas of Kumar Ram Singh.41

By October 1666 the cloud of imperial suspicions of Ram Singh seemed to have thinned. During his visit from Agra to Delhi (9-24, October, 1666) the Emperor ordered that "Kumar Ram Singh should continue to take his usual place in the camp while on the march". So Ram Singh left Agra and joined the imperial camp on 11 October, 1666.42

But the Emperor did not yet restore him to his old position. Even by October 25, 1666. no orders were issued to summon the Kumar to the Presence. The Kumar kept to his tents (his own residence) in the expectation of being called some day.48

<sup>40.</sup> Same to same. 31 Oct. 1666. R.L. 55, p. 58.

<sup>41.</sup> Persian Akhbar (Jaipur Coll.). Thurs. Sept. 27, 1666. 7 Rabi II yr. 9, p. 55; Ajitdas to Kalyandas 5 Oct. 1666. R.L. 49, p. 55. Ballo Shah to Kalyandas. 13 Dec. 1666. R.L. 59, p. 60.

<sup>42.</sup> Parkaldas to Kalyandas 12 Oct. 1666. R.L. 51, p. 56.

<sup>43.</sup> Same to same 25 Oct. 1666. R.L. 53, p. 57; Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 26 Oct. 1666. R.L. 54, p. 57.

## PUNISHMENT AND PARDON OF RAM SINGH

About this time it was intended to seek the intervention by Jutamid Khan (with whom the Emperor was very pleased) for securing the Emperor's pardon for the Kumar. It was planned to show a Hindi letter (supposedly written by the Maharajah to the Kumar advising him to seek the Khan's help) to Mutamid Khan. From a Rajasthani letter (Parkal Das to Kalyandas d 1666) we know that the Emperor was informed through Mutamid Khan that they had not allowed Shivaji to escape "as their lives and property all belonged to the Emperor". (Kharita Navis. R. No. 79).44

A Rajasthani letter states that on 29 January, 1667, Tahir Khan Uzbeg serving under Mirza Rajah in the Deccan and returning to the Presence, greatly praised the Maharajah and pleaded for the Kumar. This is corroborated by an Akhbar of Shaban 5, year 9 (21 January, 1667) which runs as follows: While riding (sar i suwari) Tahir Khan pleaded before the Imperor: "Mirza Rajah Jai Singh is an excellent General (Khub Sardar ast). In the Deccan he has done very good work (Kar i Kardah). In the affair of Ram Singh the Emperor may show favours (meherbani farmaie)." The Emperor replied: "By showing kindness I had entrusted the accursed Shiva (Maqhur) to his care." Tahir Khan again pleaded that "he is a hereditary stream" (khanazad i maurusi.) The Emperor replied: "Wait for a few days. I will reply after due consideration".46

On 30 January, 1667, Bahadur Khan and Hasan Ali also ble "well disposed towards the Kumar".47

On 23 March, 1667 (Sunday) at sunset in his private interhew Jaswant Singh interceded for the Kumar. The Emperor
[24 March) Jaswant repeated his pleading for the pardon of the
Emperor ordered Asad Khan Bakhshi "to bring

pleaded at. The spleased ich was li Khan an act

ves like

nobles Empethe first Deccan w from tember,

of the

han for

arganas

of Ram Agra to Kumar e camp

osition. non the nis own

Rabi II. Ballu

alyandas

<sup>4</sup> R.L. 53, p. 57; MS. Kharita Navis. Reg. No. 79. Parkaldas to 5. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 29 Jan. 1667. R.LL. 64, p. 62.

place

1667

The

1 28

of N

ment

an it

Khai

go to

pursi

call 1

had 1

Empe

1

1

1

1

1

Sahar

= 14

the 7

horse

the n

. 1

which ferme

perea.

53.

51

55.

1. 31

Rs. 2

the Kumar to the darbar in the evening and present him for audience".48

On 26 March, 1667 (Tuesday) Asad Khad broached the subject of summoning the Kumar to the Presence and the Emperor ordered his presentation on Sunday (31 March). At noon of that day the Kumar was presented to the Emperor in the Select Audience Hall (Ghusalkhana). An amount of Rs. 1000, was presented as nuzar and of Rs. 100, as nisur (by the Kumar).49

An Akhbar of Shuwwal 17, year 10 (2 April, 1667, Tuesday) states that Aqil Khan informed Ram Singh that he had been ordered to attend the Ghusalkhana khas am on Wednesday either in the morning or during the night.50

On Rabi I 23, year 10 (= 2 September, 1667) Jumla ul mulk Jafar Khan submitted before the Emperor: "Mirza Rajah Jai Singh is the best among officers and imperial servants. But no reward has been given as known to the Emperor." The Emperor ordered 'Give'. Again, Jafar Khan prayed for conferment of favours on Kumar Ram Singh. The Emperor said: "I would certainly prefer the father to the son and show favours on Jai Singh as he had rendered good services." Jafar Khan again prayed: "Ram Singh, who had committed some fault and fled on account of bad luck, is present here". The Emperor asked Asad Khan (Bakhshi) to mention the rank (maratib) of Ram Singh. He replied: "Previously he held a mansab of 4000 Zal and 4000 suwar but later on, after the flight of Shiva, a mansab of 3000 Zat and 3000 suwar had been conferred on him (Ram Singh). Again by imperial wrath that too had been withdrawn" The Emperor ordered the grant of 3000 Zat and 3000 suwar"s From a Rajasthani letter (Asoj Bad 7) it is learnt that the pargand to given to Ram Singh was, on the flight of Shivaji, ordered to be transferred to Daud Khan. But this was stopped. Ram Singh was appointed to 3000 Zat mansab.52

49. Ibid., 31 March, 1667. R.L. No. 67, p. 68.

51. Ibid., No. VI, 367.

<sup>48.</sup> Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, 24 March, 1667. R.L. 66, p. 63.

<sup>50.</sup> Akhbarat. Regnal year 10 (1077 A.H.); No. I. 190.

<sup>52.</sup> Mahkuma Khas Jaipur Kharita Navis's Records. Eg. No. VII, No. 113

him for and the and the h). At

ount of sar (by

uesday)
ad been
y either

jah Jai
But no
Imperor
nent of
would
on Jai
n again
nd fled

asked
of Ram
000 Zat
mansab
(Ram
rawn"

war".51 pargana I to be Singh

No. 113.

"The full restoration of Ram Singh to imperial favours took place after the death of Jai Singh. Jai Singh died on 28 August, 1667 and the news reached the Emperor on 7th September, 1667. Thereafter the Emperor said to Jumlat ul mulk Jafar Khan (Rabi 128 year 10=7 September, 1667): "The income from the watan of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh was less".

Jafar Khan said something. The Emperor ordered the payment of 1 crore and 7 lakhs dams (hasil dada) and again ordered in increase of 400000 dams (wazifa) to the jagir of Ram Singh. 53

Next day (Rabi I 29, year 10=8 September 1667) Karam Khan, while riding, prayed to the Emperor for permission to go to Kumar Ram Singh's house for offering condolences (matampursi). The Emperor replied, "why do you call him 'Kumar',? call him 'Rajah'" The said Khan submitted that he (Ram Singh) had become Rajah as the Emperor had been pleased to say. The Emperor ordered presents to be bestowed (on Ram Singh):

l elephant priced at Rs. 12000 with silver accoutrements;

1 horse priced at 500 mohurs, with gold trappings;

1 jamdhar (dagger) with scabbard of jewels worth Rs. 5000/-; 1 shagr (knife-like dagger), with gold inlay worth Rs. 2000/-; and

1 necklace of pearls.54

This is perhaps referred to in a Rajasthani letter (Harjiva Sahanah to Diwan Kalyandas dated Asoj Sud 7, Samvat 1724 = 14 September 1667). It tells us of the Emperor's performing the Tika of Maharaj Kumar and giving him one elephant, one horse, one siropa, one jewelled dagger, and jewelled sword and the mansab of 4600 (kharita Navis, XV Reg. No. 88).55

There is an Akhbar dated Rabi I 2 year 10=12 August, 1667, which refers to the restoration of Ram Singh's mansab and conferment of imperial favours. But this also speaks of Ram Singh's bereavement. Evidently the date is wrong and it should be

<sup>33.</sup> Akhbarat, Regnal year 10, No. VI, 374. Ibid., 375.

<sup>55,</sup> Kharita Navis XV. Reg. 86.

Rabi II 2 year 10=10 September 1667. The Akhbar runs as follows:

by 8

orde:

1667

on F

Rajp

phan

assig

Ram

serva

eleph

requi

writt

while

and g

he p

(Jafa

Wrote

and s

Khan

pings

(one

Order

Empe

57. 58. 59.

The Emperor told Bakshi ul mulk Asad Khan: "As the date 3 is not auspicious (khub nist) it is better that Raja Ram Singh, who is in mourning (matam), may be brought to me." As ordered (hasb ul hukm) Asad Khan went to the Rajah and escorted him to the Presence (from matam). The Emperor presented to the Rajah—

- (i) one horse out of his khassa with gold-embroidered trappings (saz) costing Rs. 4000;
- (ii) one (janjir) elephant with silver trappings (mukra saz) priced Rs. 11000;
- (iii) one jewelled dagger (jamdhar murassa) costing Rs. 5000;
  - (iv) one jewelled belt (kamar Murassa) worth Rs. 3000.

The Emperor conferred on him a mansab of 4000 Zat, 4000 suwar and ordered Asad Khan to escort him to his raj. Rajah Ram Singh bowed (murjahat shud). The Emperor placed his kind hand (dast mubarak) on his head. The audience shouted mubarakbad. The Emperor said: "Have composure of mind (tasalli-i-dil). God will do good. Remain in peace." Ram Singh prayed that the dignity of Mirza Rajah be conferred on him (ba maratib i Mirza Rajah Khahad shud). The Emperor asked, "How old is your son?" Ram Singh said: "He is fourteen years of age and fit for service." The Emperor asked his name. Ram Singh replied, "His name is Kumar Govind," The Emperor enquired what title (khitab) might be conferred on him. Ram Singh submitted that it was his name. The Emperor asked him to call his son from his watan (home) and assured him that he would be placed in his rikab. Ram Singh was asked to get leave for arranging his watan and, thereafter, to return to the Presence.

Ram Singh went to pay obeisance to Begum Saheb and Begum Roshanara. The Begum Saheb gave one item of good news (incomplete).56

56. Akhbarat year 10. No. VI. 348.

uns as As the ja Ram

e." As ah and or pre-

ra saz)

d trap.

costing

3000.

t, 4000 Rajah ced his shouted mind

Ram red on mperor ourteen name. mperor

Ram ed him hat he to get to the

Beguni news

The restoration of Ram Singh's rank is also corroborated by a Rajasthani letter of 14 September, 1667, to the effect that orders had been issued for the grant of mansab to the Kumar.57

From the Akhbar of Rabi II 7 year 10 (=15 September, 1667) it appears that the title of Rajah was formally conferred on Ram Singh. The Emperor asked Ram Singh, "Where were the Rajputs accompanying Mirza Rajah then stationed? Now that you have been created a Rajah, have you given the horses and elechants conferred on you to the rightful owners (hakdars) and asigned the land to them or have you given them cash salaries?" Ram Singh replied: "I would make the distribution among the servants according to their merit (maqdur). He, who is fit for elephants, will be given elephants. About 300 horses will be required. The Rajputs have come back to their watans. I have written to them that they should live in peace (composure of mind)." The Emperor remained silent.58

On Jumadi I 13, year 10 (= 21 October, 1667), the Emperor while going out, ordered that his special sword (talwar khassa) and girdle (Kamarband) which were stated to be very good, might he presented to Raja Ram Singh.59

On Jumadi I 19, year 10, (=27 October, 1667) Jumlat ul mulk (Jafar Khan) submitted before the Emperor: "Mahabat Khan wrote to him that when Mirza Rajah Jai Singh was honoured and given titles and Tika Rajgi, then the old deceased Mahabat than had presented one elephant and one horse with gold trappings. After the death of Mahabat Khan, Khan i Zanan also gave lone elephant and one horse). Now Ram Singh has been elevated. Orders may be passed for making presents to Ram Singh." The Imperor ordered, 'Send'.60

59. Ibid., VIII. 417.

60. Ibid., VIII. 422.

<sup>57.</sup> Ajitdas to Kalyandas. R.L. No. 68, p. 64. 58. Akhbarat year 10, No. VII. 383.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T.

the g ed uz author zamin Governowe

the entire co

his co

on a Tiforced exact wretel

enslav village comple

ment he wa

L Bernier

# The Lot of the Agriculturist in Aurangzeb's Time (BASED ON A STUDY OF THE JAIPUR AKHBARAT)

BY

Dr. S. P. Sangar, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D., Panjab University, Chandigarh

Although the Mughal Emperors spared no efforts to redress the grievances and ameliorate the lot of the agriculturist, he worked under serious handicaps and suffered at the hands of the local authorities. He had constant complaints against the thānedārs, amindārs and their gumāshtās. Neither the faujdārs nor the Governors were always helpful and sympathetic to him. He did however succeed sometimes in finding ways and means of sending his complaints to the imperial court. The Emperor in such cases failed not to take notice of the grievances and pass orders against the erring officials. One, however, could not always be sure of the compliance of those orders.

The following account of the oppressive activities of the Mughal officers and local officials against the ryots is mainly based a study of the Jaipur (Persian) Newsletters.

The shortness and uncertainty of the term of a Governor forced him at times to oppress the ryots. He frequently tried to exact land revenue in advance by resort to force. When the wretched peasants failed to pay, their wives and children were esslaved. Unable to put up with this kind of treatment, the villagers sometimes fled from their homes, thus leaving the villages completely ruined.

The agriculturist suffered hardship at the time of the payment of land revenue. Whenever he could not give ready money, he was subjected to disgrace and torment. A good deal of beating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Manrique, I, pp. 53-54; Tavernier, I, pp. 53-54; Manucci, II, pp. 450-51; pp. 230; 253; 255; English Factories, 1646-50, pp. 334-35.

and forcible infliction of hunger and thirst made the villagers part with only paltry sums of money. It was surprising how this treat. ment did not often cause their death. They were bound to a tree and even whipped mercilessly. Sometimes the whips made 'wheels' on their bodies and 'broke their skins'.2

L

again

he P

Amar

Chan garh.

Mags

failed letter

inform

dant

on ev

been

write

agains

people

sent f

posted

These

table.

10 WY

activit

T

persec

that fl

their ;

agains

in the

9.

10.

11.

S

A Bijapi

0

#### General Complaints:

Whenever such cases of tyranny came to the knowledge of the Mughal Emperor, he took speedy action.

In Aurangabad the men of Brahm Day Sisodia cut down the crops of the peasants in 1666 for the use of their horses. On receipt of the news, Aurangzeb ordered a reduction in their ranks3

The heirs of Mardam Bandi petitioned Aurangzeb on 19 May, 1681, that Shahab-ud-din Khan had laid waste their village Rai'ti and captured the men and cattle of the village. They had committed no fault and had been wrongly captured and sent to the court. They termed it as a clear case of oppression. Aurangzeb ordered that the matter might be decided in accordance with the Shara.'4

On 26 October, 1692, Qāzi Khwājā 'Abdullā submitted that Mīrak Husain, deputy dīwān of Berar province, had made a written complaint against the gumāshtās of the jagirdars there. They were accused of tyrannising over the ryots. The news-writers had accepted illegal gratification from them and therefore refrained from reporting against them.

Hearing this, Aurangzeb asked Bahrāhmand Khan to write to Mīrak Husain in this connection. He was to warn the newswriters and ask them to submit factual reports. In case he found them guilty, he was to transfer them under intimation to the Emperor.5

On 4 January, 1693, Aurangzeb ordered the dismissal of Mohammad Hyat, the commandant of Gooty. The complaint

4. Ibid., 19 May, 1681.

<sup>2.</sup> Manrique, I, pp. 53-54; Manucci, II, pp. 450-51. 3. Jaipur Akhbarat, 4 October, 1666.

<sup>5.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Muʻallā, 20 Decembe: 1692.

against him was that he used to come out of the fort and persecute the people.6

On 12 January, 1693, Aurangzeb received a report against Jama'dar, employee of Raja Kishan Singh, zamindar of Chanda, who was attached to the army of Mu'iz-uddin at Churagrh. He was charged with having looted a number of villages. Magsid Beg, faujdar commandant of Mohammadabad or Badr, had falled to chastise him. It was ordered by the Emperor to write a betier to Maqsud Beg asking him to put the culprit to death and inform the Raja.7

A report was received on 31 October, 1693, that in Karnatak Bijapuri, the Desmukh, in collaboration with the faujdar-commandant of a certain fortress, had imposed a charge of two rupees on every inhabitant of the place as a result of which people had ken deserting their homes. Bahrāhmand Khan was ordered to write to the diwan of the place to warn the alleged offenders sainst charging money from and committing oppression on the people.8

Sheikh Hāmid, cammandant of Mālāpur, was alleged to have wit foot-soldiers and horsemen in the  $jar{a}gir$  of Mohammad 'Abbās posted in the army of Qāsim Khān Bījāpuri in Karnatak Bijapuri. These soldiers persecuted the people and rendered them mise-The Emperor ordered the Chief Bakshi Bahrahmand Khan write to Sheikh Hāmid to desist from such objectionable activities 9

The people of Ghazipur thānā put up a complaint against the Persecutions of Mohammad Bāqi Afghān. The Emperor ordered that they should be asked to address themselves to the faujdar of their area, 10 A similar order for bringing the case of oppression against Daulat Singh to the notice of the faujdār was issued again in the same month.11

ers part is treat. o a tree s made

ledge of

own the

receipt ks.3 on 19 village

ney had sent to Aurangce with

ed that written They ers had frained

vrite to newsfound to the

ssal of nplaint

Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 4 January, 1693.

<sup>1.</sup> Ibid., 12 January, 1963. 8. Ibid., 31 October, 1693.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., 17 March, 1694.

<sup>10.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-Mu'alla, 1 July, 1694. 11. Ibid., 19 July, 1694.

On 11 July, 1694, Aurangzeb ordered to bring to his presence the *gumāshtā* of Raja Sahu against whom complaints of the persecution of the *ryots* had been received.<sup>12</sup>

of J

ber Kes

ing

The

war

crow

kher

cutin

for 1

that

did

lette

with

the ·

be y

stop

from

Writi

mad

were

pers

mad

tion

Wazi

17

18.

19.

20.

J.

News came from Aurangabad that the sons of Sayyid Moham mad Khan had imprisoned Sayyid Mustafa,  $D\bar{a}rogh\bar{a}$  of Buildings and had refused to listen to the advice of the provincial governor. The governor was ordered to send them to the court. 13

Mahā Singh who was posted at Jodhpur, was dismissed from his assignment. He came to Toda Bhim, turned his brother out of his jāgir and took it under his possession. He arrested one money-lender, seized from him Rs. 5,000 and after a few days put him to death. The Emperor ordered that they should write to the nāzir of the place and appoint two mace-bearers to bring Mahi Singh and Anup Singh to the court. 14

The secret news-writer of Bihar province wrote to the count that the *thānedārs* appointed by the governor were molesting the people and the governor was paying no heed to their complaints. Bahrahmand Khan was ordered to bring the case to the notice of the governor.<sup>15</sup>

Diwan 'Abdul 'Alīm, the royal tan bakshi, was accused of oppressive activities, and the deputy kotwāl had been ordered to arrest him. When his men reached there, the tan bakshi showed readiness to offer fight. Mukhtar Khan, Mīr-i-Atish, and Muttalib Khan were ordered to go there with artillery and bring him on the path of reason, and, in case he remained adamant, to chastise him. After the 'Ādālat was over, it was submitted to the Emperor on behalf of Hamidulla Khan kotwāl that Mukhtar Khan and Muttalib Khan had already been ordered to go for the chastise ment of Prince Mu'Iz-ud-din's men. The Emperor decreed that in that case Hamid-ud-din alone should be sent for the purpose. If

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., 11 July, 1694.

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid., 31 July, 1694.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., 27 August, 1694.

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid., 23 September, 1694.

<sup>16.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 17 December, 1694.

presence the per-

Moham. Buildings, governor,

sed from ther out sted one days put write to ng Maha

he court sting the mplaints. notice of

cused of dered to showed Muttalib him on chastise Emperor an and chastise.

ed that

irpose.16

A letter was despached in 1695 from the Court to the Raja of Jaipur. In this his attention was drawn to the fact that a number of peasants as Chūrāman, Durgā, Daya Ram, Murli, Dhanpal, Keso, Lal Chand, Dane and Bhagirat of village Jagneraba belonging to the crownlands had been taken into custody by his men. The Raja was asked to see that these people were set free and warn his employees against tyrannizing over the ryots in the crownlands.17

A despatch from Āmil Faqīr of pargana Jalalpur alias Lontheri revealed that some Rajputs residing there had been persecuting the local people in a variety of ways and were responsible for laying waste a number of villages. One of them had asserted that he was under the Rājā of Jaipur implying thereby that he did not care for the authority of the Mughal Emperor.

The above facts were brought to the notice of the Raja in a letter sent from the Court. He was instructed to appoint a man with a view to expelling these Rajputs from the pargana so that the ryots there could live in peace.18

Aurangzeb ordered on 15 June, 1695, that a letter should be written to the faujdar-commandant of Karnool asking him to stop the kotwal there from levying the forbidden tax of one rupee from the widows.19

Bashārat Khan, the diwān of Berar province, complained in writing to the Emperor against the tyrannical behaviour of Mohammad Sa'id, dāroghā in charge of the supply of grain there. Orders were issued for his transfer and the appointment of another person in his place.20

Yāsin Khan, thānedār of Karrabad, submitted that Mohammad Wazir, thānedār of Bahmanwara, was guilty of the persecution of the people. He recommended the removal of Mohammad Wazir and the appointment of Mohammad Husain. The Emperor

<sup>17.</sup> Akhbarat (Provincial), No. 48, 1695.

<sup>18.</sup> Akhbarat (Provincial), No. 48.

<sup>19.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-Mu'alla, 15 June, 1695. 20. Ibid., 18 April, 1696.

J. 32

approved of the suggestion and ordered at the same time a reduction in the rank of Mohammad Wazir.21

Complaints against Faujdars:

The ryots had grievances against the faujdars also.

A report was received from Bengal that Muzaffar Khan, son of Nāsir Khan, faujdār, Makhsusabad, was exercising tyranny upon the ryots.22

The ryots of the pargana of Dahokasal sent a petition to Aurangzeb against the tyranny perpetrated by Shamsuddin faujdar of the place. Orders for his replacement were issued.23

On a complaint received from the ryots and qunungos of the pargana Marha (?), orders were issued for the transfer of the faujdar and appointment of another.24

A perition was received from Safshikan Khan, a jagirdar in Aurangabad, that as a result of the tyranny exercised by Bahadur Khan faujdār, ryots were taking to flight. A letter was ordered to be addressed to the governor to stop the recurrence of such incidents.25

The people of pargana Ambah Bānūr made a complaint against the oppressive policy of 'Azizullah, faujdar of the place. The Emperor simply ordered that his rank might be found out26 and reported on.

'Abdul Razzaq, faujdār-commandant of Bādāmi fortress was alleged to have forcibly removed and taken into his possession all the belongings from the house of 'Abdul Rasul, zamindar of the place. Hearing the complaint, Aurangzeb ordered that one macebearer should be despatched to make him return all the articles seized in this objectionable manner.27

- 21. Ibid., 9 May, 1703.
- 22. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 17 June, 1694.
- 23. Ibid., 8 September, 1694.
- 24. Ibid., 20 September 1694.
- 25. Ibid., June 1695.
- 26. Ibid., 19 March, 1696.
- 27. Ibid., 26 March, 1696.

LOT

The that the jigir of money.

hould go that he this case

Damage Anot

parable d armies. plundere grass, str go to the if this wa to carry

> Keer Mughal F by imper during th to assess loss susta

"To warfare" for the p iors its a

The Mughal p

When hunting, 1 damage s passage o Our Yasa

> 28. Akt 29. Man 30, Mug

reduc.

an, son yranny tion to

red.23 of the of the

suddin.

dar in Bahaorderf such

against The 26 and

s was on all of the macerticles LOT OF AGRICULTURIST IN AURANGZEB'S TIME 251

The vakil of Mohan Singh, commandant wrote to the Court hat the son of 'Abdulla Khan, faujdar of Ajmer had gone to the ight of his client, shown high-handedness and forcibly seized He had requested the Emperor for a mace-bearer who get the money restored to his client. The Emperor ordered bat he should be asked to write to the governor of Agra about this case.28

Damage to Crops:

Another serious complaint of the agriculturist was that irremarable damage was done to his crops during the march of imperial amies. When the soldiers passed through the villages, they bundered everything they could lay hand on - food, supplies, gass, straw and even cattle. In order to produce fuel they would p to the extent of burning the houses of the poor peasants. As this was not enough, they imposed  $begar{a}r$  on them and forced them warry their baggage.29

Keenly interested in the welfare of the agriculturists, the Mughal Emperors took particular care against any damage to them by imperial officers. Special steps were taken to protect the crops during the march of imperial armies. Inspectors were appointed assess the extent of damage to crops and effect payment of the oss sustained.

To guard against damage to standing crops in times of Tarfare", during the reign of Akbar "a special staff was recruited the purpose of assessing such damage and paying the cultivalors its assessed value".30

The system introduced by Akbar continued throughout the Mughal period.

When during the spring season of 1609, Jahangir left for during the spring season of 1000, Junion the writes: "As the Rabi' Fasl had arrived, for fear any damage should happen to the cultivation of the ryots from the wry and notwithstanding that I had appointed a on the army, and notwithstanding that I had appropriately Yasawal with the band of ahadis for the purpose of guarding

Akhbarat-i-Darbar-Mu'alla, 20 December, 1699. 29 Manucci, II, p. 451. Mughal Government and Administration, p. 84.

the fields, I ordered certain men to see what damage had been done to the crops from stage to stage and pay compensation to the ryots".<sup>31</sup>

Prior to his journey to Kashmir in 1632, Shahjahan issued orders for the protection of crops. The punishment decided on for the cutting of one ear of corn was amputation of hand and payment of double the price of the damage to the cultivator. In case, however, the march of the army through the fields could not be helped in view of the narrow paths, inspectors were appointed for the assessment and payment of the actual damage suffered by cultivators.<sup>32</sup>

The same practice was continued by Aurangzeb. He had a regular department the duty of which was to find out the extent of damage to the standing crops and pay compensation to the suffering cultivators. In the Jaipur Newsletters we come across two kinds of officers in this department. One was amin and the other was dāroghā. On 17 November, 1701, Zia Ullah was appointed dāroghā and Khwaja Mohammad Shah, amin of the right wing of the army and Sheikh Hidayat Keesh and Ghulam Mohammad were appointed respectively daroghā and amin of the left wing.<sup>33</sup>

Ram Singh, the son of Ratan Singh Rathor, faujdār of Jalapur, complained to Ruhulla Khan at the imperial court on 5 May, 1681, that the movements of rebel and royal armies during the war had laid waste the country-side and ruined a large number of village in his faujdari.<sup>34</sup>

On 31 August, 1681, Asad Khan submitted that he had received information from the gumāshtā of Rao Anurudh Singh that the crops in Bundi had been ruined on account of the movement of troops and uprooted ryots were finding it difficult to resettle in their homes. The Emperor ordered inquiries to be made to find out if there could be any alternate route for the troops.

Dur to the no damage 'Abdul (

mount

LOT

Yar
io Aurai
ryots ab
the roya
paid Rs.

On find out vators of the Sujand rep of the co

there w of his an right fro A 1

The

etc. was had offe in case (on acc

Aur 1701, du been car

> 36. Ib 37. Ib 38. It

39. It 40. A

41. 11

<sup>31.</sup> Tuzk-i-Jahangiri, Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Vol. I. p. 16.

<sup>32.</sup> Muntakhib-ul-Lubab, I, Urdu Tr., pp. 91-92.

<sup>33.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'allā, 17 November, 1701.

<sup>34.</sup> Jaipur Akhbarat, 4 May 1681.

<sup>35.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 31 August, 1681.

LOT OF AGRICULTURIST IN AURANGZEB'S TIME

During his march from Ajmer to Burhanpur, it was brought bite notice of Aurangzeb on 12 September, 1681, that extensive but the been done to the standing crops. He ordered that Abdul Qasim, Khush Manzil, should be asked to pay the entire mount of damage to the cultivators concerned.36

Yar 'Ali, dāroghā in charge of protection of crops, brought Murangzeb's notice on 16 September the complaints of the nots about the destruction of crops as a result of the march of the royal army. The Emperor ordered that the complainants be paid Rs. 1,000/- out of the crownlands.37

On 21 September, the Emperor asked Bahrahmand Khan to and out the extent of the damage to crops suffered by the cultivators on account of the marching of the imperial camp that day. The Superintendent of Artillery was ordered to remain behind and report the names of the darogha in charge of the protection of the crops and of the artillerymen posted for the purpose.38

The Emperor told Prince Shah Alam on 26 October that here was extensive damage to the crops as a result of the march of his army. He was asked to pay compensation to the cultivators right from the start of the march of his army from Ajmer.39

A representation of the zamindars of Thana Mor, Rahmatpur etc. was submitted to the Emperor on 26 November, 1699. They had offered to pay Rs. 10,000 by way of present to the Emperor in case their crops were spared from damage and destruction40 (on account of the movement of troops.)

Aurangzeb told Tarbiat Khan, Mir Atish, on 17 November, lol, during his march in the South, that extensive damage had been caused to the crops as a result of the movement of the army.41

d been

tion to

issued

ded on

nd and or. In

uld not

pointed

uffered

had a extent

to the

across

and the

h was of the

Thulam

min of

dar of

ourt on

armies

a large

he had

Singh

move-

to ree made roops.35

<sup>36.</sup> Ibid., 12 September, 1681.

<sup>37.</sup> Ibid., 16 September, 1681.

<sup>38.</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 September 1681.

<sup>39.</sup> Ibid., 26 October, 1681.

<sup>40.</sup> Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla. 26 November, 1699. 41. Ibid., 17th November, 1701.

#### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

A report came to the Emperor that the soldiers were cutting the standing crops and exercising tyranny on the ryots. It was ordered that Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur be posted in the rear of the army and Tarbiat Khan Bahadur should be transférred from there and be put in charge of protection of crops.<sup>42</sup>

Refe army an the neig he invad incessant Indies' ... five Indie passage o who wer Indies" 2 Harsa's under P inflicted thern Inc tily the kubja (] Utkala ( R. S. Tri this view tion are t

1. Tho
2. Bud
3. Tho
4. The
5. R. I
5! Kanauj,
Aryan Rul

of the No

42. 6 March, 1704.

cutting It was e rear d from

### A Note on the Identification of 'Five Indies' of Yuan Chwang

BY

#### DR. VISHUDDHANAND PATHAK Banaras Hindu University

Referring to the conquests of Harsavardhana, Yuan Chwang "as soon as Silāditya became ruler he got together a great amy and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the 'Five Indies'... (According to the other reading) ... had brought the five Indies under allegiance". 1 S. Beal's translation of the original passage of the pilgrim is, "he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient... After six years he subdued the Five hdies".2 Scholars generally believe that this has reference to Harşa's actual conquests and since it is known that the Deccan uder Pulakeśin II had "not submitted to him", but rather had indicted a defeat on him,3 this must mean that he "overran northem India". Vincent Smith seems to have been the first to identhe 'Five Indies' with the 'Sārasvata (the Panjab), Kānyahbja (Kānoja), Gauda (Bengal), Mithilā (Darbhāngā), and Ukala (Orissa)". And since then scholars like R. K. Mookerji, R.S. Tripathi, Gaurishankar Chatterji and others have accepted bis view unreservedly.. The areas demarcated in this identificaare the traditional territorial centres of the five main branches the North Indian Brāhmaṇas, viz., the Sārasvatas, the Kānya-

<sup>1.</sup> Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, I, p. 343. 2. Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 213.

Thomas Watters, op.cit., II, p. 239; Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 10. 4. The Early History of India, Fourth Edition, p. 353, Note 2.

<sup>5.</sup> R. K. Mookerji, Harsha (1959), p. 29 (footnote); R. S. Tripathi, History # R. K. Mookerji, Harsha (1959), p. 29 (footnote); R. S. Tripaun, Angan Rule in L. J. G. S. Chatterji, Harshavardhana (Hindi), p. 104; Havell, Argan Rule in India, p. 191 (Note).

kubjas, the Maithilas, the Gaudas, and the Utkalas- collectively known as the Pañcagaudas, as contrasted from the Pañcadrāvidas the Brāhmanas of southern India.

The evidence of Yuan Chwang itself, however, does not warrant the above identification. Introducing India to his readers. he says, "We find that different counsels have confused the designation." nations of Tien-Chu (India); the old names were shen-tu and sien (or Hien)-tou; now we must conform to the correct pronunciation and call it Yin-tu... We call the country Yin-tu which means the moon".6 Thomes Watters comments,7 "the territory which Yuan Chwang calls Yin-tu was mapped off by him, as by others, into five great divisions called respectively, North, East, West, Central and South Yin-tu". "The whole territory", the pilgrim tells us "was about 90,000 li in circuit, with the snowy mountains (the Hindukush) on the North and the sea on its three other sides. It was politically divided into above seventy kingdoms". S. Beal's rendering9 of the relevant passage is: "The countries embraced under the term of India are generally spoken of as the Five Indies. In circuit the country is about 90,000 li; on three sides it is bordered by the great sea, on the North it is backed by the snowy mountains. The North part is broad, the Southern part is narrow. Its shape is like the half moon. The entire land is divided into seventy countries or so." There remains no doubt about the fact that by the term 'Five Indies' the Chinese pilgrim meant the whole of India and not its northern portions alone, which included the regional centres of not only the pancagaudas but also of the pañcadrāvidas. This conforms exactly to the five great subdivisions of India, often referred to in Indian literature as Uttara patha, Daksināpatha, Prācī, Pratīcī, and Madhyadeśa, which comprise the whole of Bhāratavārṣa, situated as it is, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 10 to the South of the Himalaya and the North of the sea. As has been said above, these are exactly

DENTIF the borde oncluded Indies' W

the Panca

This meant by allegiance lacha (N. men and Katriya he prese from east but the p He has ga best leade army to p quered tl adds12 sor that Hars defeated i of the pov

> 11. S. P Life of Yu 12. Epig

provided S. K. Shar

verse of N

conquered

panegyrizi

achieveme

at our disp

13. Jour 14 India 15. Jour

P. 131-32. 16. Valla 615, p. 429 J. 33

<sup>6.</sup> Thomas Watters, op.cit., I, p. 131.

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid, p. 140.,

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9.</sup> Buddhist Records of the Western World, (Susil Gupta), Vol. II, p. 120

<sup>10.</sup> Uttaram Yat Samudrasya Himādreścaiva Dakṣiṇam, Varsam Tad Bhāratam Nāma Bhāratī Yatra Santatih, 2.3.1.

DENTIFICATION OF 'FIVE INDIES' OF YUAN CHWANG 257

borders of India, as given by Yuan Chwang too. It may be be politically desired any doubt that the identification of the 'Five with the territorial centres of North Indian Brāhmaṇas, pancagaudas, is erroneous and unacceptable.

This leads us to the question as to what Yuan Chwang really meant by saying that Harsa had brought the 'Five Indies' under Legiance' or 'subdued' them. He himself says<sup>11</sup> about Mo-hokha (Mahārāṣṭra): 'the king in consequence of possessing these and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of Katriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi (Po-lo-ki-she) .... At present time Śilāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations meast to west, and has carried his arms to remote districts. but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. It has gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the lest leaders of all countries and himself gone at the head of the my to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops". The Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II dis2 something more to this information in as much as it says that Harsa did not only fail to conquer him but was signally detented in the battle against his southern rival. Further, in view of the powerful barrier, which that King of the Deccan must have wided in the way, it would be difficult to accept the view of K. Shastri, <sup>13</sup> N. R. Ray, <sup>14</sup>, and A. C. Banerji, <sup>15</sup> based on a stray esse of Mayurabhatta16 and the Gaddemane Inscription, that Harsa unquered Kuntala, Cōla and Kāñcī. It was not unusual for Regyrizing poets like Mayūrabhaṭṭa to speak of their patrons' the evidence that in conventional terms of pure praise. The evidence disposal does not warrant any conclusion that Harşa's power

ectively

rāvidas,

oes not readers.

e desig.

and sien

nciation

eans the

h Yuan

ers, into

Central,

ells us,8

ns (the

r sides. . Beal's

nbraced

Indies.

border-

moun-

ow. Its ed into

the fact

ant the

ncluded

of the

subdivi-

Uttara.

which

accordand the exactly

I, p. 120

<sup>11.</sup> S. Beal, op.cit. (Sucil Gupta), Vol. IV, p. 450; Refer also to the The of Yuan Chwang', S. Beal. p. 147. 12. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 10.

B. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1926, p. 487 ff.

It Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 788-89.

Is Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. VI,

ls. Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, Ed. Peterson (Bombay 1886), stanza åls, p. 429. J. 33

and suzerainty reached beyond the Narmadā in the Deccan and the South.

In view of what we have said above, Yuan Chwang's reference to Harsa's conquests of the 'Five Indies' cannot be taken at its face value and too much importance need not be attached to its historical value. It is in no way different from the conventional descriptions of Indian 'Sārvabhaumas' or Cakravartins' con. . quests of all lands (Dvipas), mastery of the territories lying bet. ween the eastern and western seas or the sovereignty of the whole country between the Himālaya in the North and the Indian ocean in the South. It may be noted in this connection that Bāṇabhatta also states that Harsa was the 'King of Kings, sovereign of all continents",17 or a 'world lord', who had 'stationed the world's guardians at the entrance to the regions' and by whom 'the treasure of all the earth has been distributed among the first of the people.'18 He is further described as "the lord of the four oceans, whose toenails are burnished by the crest gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all Emperors".19 According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya "the land which extends North and South from the Himālaya to the sea and measures from East to West a thousand yojanas is the kṣetra (sphere of influence) of a Cakravartin".20 Even Rājaśekhara, writing in the ninth century, accepted the traditional description that only "he, who conquers the whole land from the southern sea (the Indian ocean) to the Himavat (Himālaya) is to be styled a Cakravartin".21 That sphere is again described by him as of one thousand yojanas. In some records of ancient India, however, rulers of much smaller territories are

2. Jaya iataka are cakravarti r iorthern In taharajadh iath Reu, 1

DENTIL

dyled as

auggest t

five Inc

datemen

expressiv

Indies', C

<sup>17.</sup> Harşacarita, Cowell and Thomas, p. 75.

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid., p. 40. The original passage transliterated into Roman runs as Devasya chatussamudrādhipateh sakalarājacakracūdāmaņišreni šānakonake saņanirmmalīkṛta caraṇanakhamaṇeh sarvacakravartinām Dhaureyasya Mahdrājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrīharṣasya. Harṣacarita, Ch. II.

<sup>20.</sup> Deśah Prthivī Tasyān Himavatsamudrāntaramudīchīnam Yojanasahas raparimanamatīryaka cakravartikṣetram. Arthaśāstra 9.1.

<sup>21.</sup> Dakṣinātsamudrādadrirājam Himavantamyāvatparasparamapagamyāste. Tānyetāni yo Jayati sa samrāḍityuchyate. Kāvyamīmāmsā, G.O.S., p. 92.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DENTIFICATION OF 'FIVE INDIES' OF YUAN CHWANG 259

dyled as samrāṭs²² or Cakravartins. We, therefore, venture to suggest that Yuan Chwang's description of Harṣa's lordship of the five Indies' is only a loose expression, contradicted by his own statements and it should not be taken too seriously. It is at best expressive of Harṣa's primacy amongst the Kings of the 'Five Indies', certainly not of his supremacy over them.

ccan and

ag's refebe taken attached conventins' conying bethe whole an ocean nabhația cn of all world's

Arthaith from a thouakravar-

the treast of the coceans, her mo-

e whole vat (Hiain des-

accepted

cords of ries are

runs as: ikoṇakaa Mahā-

nasahas-

ımyāste. 92.

Z Jayasimha Siddharāja and Bhīma II, the Cāļukya Kings of Anhilaizla are styled as Siddhacakravartin and Abhinavasiddharājasaptamalathem India, II, pp. 1000 and 1011; Bhoja is described as Paramabhaṭṭārakalathem, p. 83) or even Sārvabhauma (Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 101).

KASHI Ga and

Pr

The rial Let the austion be past two minds.

of the

Lecovers of Kasl government of K

undemo were re the Stat cal free Sheikh 1944, w Abbas.

started ground against hed and

arrested favoure

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

## Reviews

KASHMIR — RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT by Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, University of Bombay 1967, P. C. Manaktala and Sons Private Ltd., Bombay, p. 145, with Appendix, Price Rs. 8/-.

This handy book is a collection of three lectures (Patel Memorial Lectures) delivered by the author in December 1966 under the auspices of the All India Radio. Kashmir, a bone of contention between Bharat and Pakistan, has been a live issue for the past two decades defying a solution even at the hands of master minds. As a legal expert, the author has studied the pros and cons of the issue in a cogent manner and has represented the hard lacts of the case in a forcible objective approach.

Lecture one, which is comparatively longer, (Pages 1 to 96) covers a wide ground, from the historical and political background of Kashmir to the birth of the State People's struggle for selfgovernment, the invasion of Kashmir, the Maharaja's constitutional position leading to the accession of Kashmir to India and India's complaint to the Security Council. Elaborate proofs have been advanced to show that Kashmir was a true symbol of India before he fateful 15th August 1947 since the multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious state never witnessed communal discord. The undemocratic and at times autocratic Governments of Indian States were responsible for a demand for integration of the movement of the States Peoples with the general national struggle for the political to freedom of India carried on by the Indian National Congress. Sheikh Abdullah headed the National Conference in September Abhan headed the National Comercial while Gulam Abbas, under inspiration from Jinnah and the Muslim League started the dissident movement in Kashmir. Against this background "The quit Kashmir" agitation was launced in May 1946 against its Dogra Rulers by the National Conference. It was banand Sheikh Abdullah, the President of the Conference, was arested on 20th May 1946. On the other hand the Muslim League lavoured the status quo in Kashmir. At this significant hour, India

got independence, India and Pakistan separated and the Indian Constitution was adopted from 26th January 1950. It is in this context that we have to study the constitutional developments of a radical character which ultimately led to Kashmir becoming a part of India.

In 1925 Maharaja Hari Singh became the ruler of Kashmir. To satisfy the popular demands, he issued Regulation I of 1991 (1934), consisting of 46 sections, ushering in political reforms, Section 3 gives the Highness high prerogative powers while section 30 deems it necessary that His Highness's assent is essential for any measure to become a statute. With the passing of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the suzerainty of His Majesty the King of England over the Indian States lapsed and Kashmir was free to accede to Pakistan or India or be independent. The tribal leaders invaded the territories of Kashmir with the support of Pakistan on 22 October 1947. On 26 October 1947 the Maharaja signed an Instrument of Accession with India. On 20 June 1949 His Highness issued a proclamation entrusting all powers to his son Karan Singh. Kashmir became a Part B State under the Indian Union. The Constituent Assembly of the State made Karan Singh "Sadari-Riyasat" on 31 October 1951 and this was accepted by a Presidential declaration. The author shows how, in an indecisive mood, the Maharaja delayed the problem of accession and thus gave rise to constitutional difficulties. He also shows, in the light of relevant legal arguments, that Kashmir's accession to India is final and irrevocable. It was in this light that India preferred a complaint in the Security Council under Article 35 of the Charter, against Pakistani-inspired raids on Kashmir and occupation of a part of it. Pakistan's reply to the complaint was false, malicious and grossly in contravention of facts. The three binding resolutions of the Security Council regarding ceasefire were honoured scrupulously by India. while Pakistan, as is clear from the words of foreign observers, violated them.

Lecture II (page 96 to 123) is devoted to analysing the constitutional issues involved in the accession. A volume of evidences, legal and practical, is adduced to show that the accession was free and not obtained by fraud and that it was the result of a popular will, which was confirmed by the next free elections. Nor was the promise of a plebiscite binding on India under changed

politica cite at State in (pp. 12 an atm coexiste

the evi

chain of the to of Paking cannot the main of the cannot the main of the cannot cannot the cannot can

The and cor eminene

INDIA'S
Sha
Prio
The
interest

thought The Co above a and unce it. Advitey we security who had Chinese and igno

strated in heglect of Pandit 1 hegan to of compunder re

Indian in this nents of oming a

ashmir, of 1991 reforms, section tial for Indian he King has free al lead-

akistan ned an High-Karan Union. Sadar-Presimood, we rise

f releal and aint in Pakis-Pakis-n con-

curity India. rvers,

evidevidession t of a

inged

political conditions and violated promises by Pakistan. A plebistical conditions and violated promises by Pakistan. A plebistic at such a stage will rudely shake the secular concept of the State in India. The author appeals in his third and final lecture (pp. 124-145) to the intellectuals of both the countries to create an atmosphere, by their talks and writings, of understanding, of coexistence and cooperation between India and Pakistan so that the evil consequences of the partition and the endless train and thain of unpleasant military tensions are avoided. The partition of the two countries, based upon the ill-conceived two-nation theory of Pakistan has become a final fact and though the two countries cannot coalesce, they can live as friendly neighbours in view of the many common problems to be peacefully solved.

The three lectures are characterised by a clarity of thought and constitutional arguments bearing the authority of a jurist of eminence.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

NDIA'S DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICIES: Edited by A. B. Shah, P. C. Manaktala and Sons Private Ltd., Bombay, 1966, Price Rs. 18/50.

The defence and foreign policies of India evoked little public interest during the first fifteen years of independence as it was thought to be in the safe custody of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Congress party looked upon his policy as sacrosanct and above all criticism, while the general public, mostly illinformed and uncritical, followed suit and never bothered themselves about it. Adverse comments were made by isolated individuals, but were ignored or ridiculed, and the public lived in a fancied Security under the aegis of the 'most brilliant Foreign Minister' who had raised India in the estimation of the world. But the Chinese bullets pricked the bubble in 1962. The Chinese invasion and ignominious and disastrous defeat of the Indian army demonstrated the utter failure of the foreign policy and the criminal Reglect of defensive measures of the Congress Government under Pandit Nehru. Since then defence and foreign policies of India began to be seriously discussed by a gradually increasing number of competent men on the basis of facts and reason. The book Inder review is a collection of nine essays dealing with various

aspects of defence and foreign policies and connected problems, These are intended to acquaint the reader with the main arguments on both sides so that a conscientious citizen of India might if he so chooses, form his own judgment instead of faithfully echoing his Master's voice. The need and value of such a book cannot be overestimated. The Chinese invasion of October 1962 made Nehru realise the folly of his foreign policy, and he confessed that he and most of his countrymen (i.e., his blind devoted followers) had till then been living in a paradise of their own creation, being completely dominated by lofty ideas and out of touch with the political realities. But as the Editor rightly observes (Pp. 1), the feeling was very short-lived and did not lead to any thoroughgoing critical re-appraisal of the policies on which Nehru and the too-obedient Congress Party had for years staked their prestige. As soon as the imminent danger had passed "one witnessed a relapse into familiar apologetics and equivocations particularly on problems of foreign policy" (pp. 1-2). But the danger is not yet over as the Chinese are still firmly entrenched on Indian soil. It is sheer folly therefore to leave the shaping of our foreign and defence policies to old leaders whom ballot box has maintained in power to continue the old folly in the name of high idealogy. It is alike the duty and responsibility of average citizen of India to take serious note of the fact that the current foreign and defence policies have brought India to the brink of disaster and make an effort to understand the major problems facing the country and think of their proper solutions. As the Editor says, this "cannot be ensured through emotion and exhortation alone", but "can only be done through rational discussion in the light of facts," and he is fully justified in his claim that this 'anthology' of critical essays would "promote such discussion on some problems of India's foreign policy and defence". (p. 3).

It is only natural that the dominant topic in this volume will be the policy of non-alignment which was pursued by Nehru til the very end, and is still looked upon by the ruling party as divine revelation and hence infallible like the Vedas. Nobody will dare dispute the truth of the following observations by N. R. Deshpande:

"During Nehru's time there was no free and full debate on this issue divorced from prejudices about his personality. policy and its implications were not objectively discussed, though

these W Frime 1 its asper listic PI posed ?) this fiel of the

One review number

debate (

Mr. of Nehr at this c Rajni K foreign perhaps a balanc situation Bomb T ni, M. R views or The poin the que foreign foreign ] in South concerni Congress rest and the shor cussed ir to them all the r the outsi are discu

J. 34

independ

were described and often expounded mostly by the late Minister. India's foreign policy, particularly in respect of is aspect of non-alignment, had practically become the monopoistic projection of Nehru's personality because of the (self-immoratorium on expression of their views and thought in bis field by the members of the ruling party. The identification of the policy with the personality tended either to inhibit free debate or to misdirect it." (p. 31).

One is therefore relieved to come across a dispassionate review of this policy from different standpoints, contained in a number of articles.

Mr. V. B. Karnik's brilliant exposition of the foreign policy (Nehru (pp. 10-29) should be read and re-read by every Indian this critical moment of India's destiny. The discussion between Rajai Kothari, the supporter, and A. B. Shah, the opponent, of the foreign policy of Nehru, contained in three articles (pp. 42-93), perhaps supplies all necessary material and arguments for forming a balanced and impartial judgment of Nehru's policy. The new stuation for the defence of India created by the Chinese Atom bomb Test is thoroughly discussed in three articles by M. R. Masai, M. R. Dandavate, and Raj Krishna (pp. 123-164) and different views on this problem are collected in an Appendix (pp. 165-9). The point has been ably brought out that it concerns not merely the question of defence but is bound to affect profoundly our breign policy. Lastly V. K. Sinha has critically examined the breign policy of India with regard to the neighbouring countries in South-East Asia (pp. 94-123). The first part of his discussion the foreign policy of Nehru and the Indian National Congress before 1947 possesses little more than an academic intetest and might well have been left out. It is not possible within the short compass of a review to refer to the various issues disthere is the nine articles of this book and the different approaches them by different contributors. It will suffice to say that almost the major problems that face us today in our relations with the outside world, and the subsidiary questions arising out of them, te discussed in this book in a manner that is sure to stimulate independent thought and judgment.

J. 34

oblems,

argu-

might.

recho.

cannot

made ed that

owers)

, being

th the 1), the

rough-

nd the

estige.

ssed a

rly on

ot yet oil. It

n and

ned in

gy. It

dia to

efence

ke an

y and cannot

a only

nd he

essays

ndia's

e will

ru till

divine

dare

ande:

te on The ough

R. C. MAJUMDAR

ASHMOUND EXCAVATIONS AT KUPGAL: By G. G. Majum. dar and S. N. Rajaguru. Published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1966. Price Rs. 20/-, pp. XIV + 60.

This is a comprehensive report on the excavations conducted by G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajaguru in the ashmounds at Kupgal, a Neolithic site lying 7 km. North of the Bellary town in Andhra Pradesh. The problem of the origin, identification and chronology of the ashmounds in South India has been engaging the attention of archaeologists ever since their occurrence was noticed in different parts of South India by scholars like Mack. enzie, Foote, Zeuner, Allchin and others. The present exacavations at Kupgal have yielded ample material evidence to prove that the ashmounds exclusively belong to the Neolithic age. It has been also brought out from the excavations that the ashmounds originated from the burning of cowdung itself by the Neolithic pastoral people. No evidence for the use of woody material or any charcoal as fuel was noticed in the site. It is also interesting to note the presence of a few floors unearthed in the course of the excavations in the mounds which clearly indicates their probable association with some ritualistic practices.

The excavations at this site reveal two distinct cultural periods namely (1) the Pre-Neolithic age characterised by the occurrence of patinated flake tools of basalt and quartz, which was already noticed at Samganakkallu by the late Dr. Subba Rao and (2) the true Neolithic age distinguished by certain typical ceramic industries like the Brown and Black ware, Buff ware and Painted ware besides the usual Neolithic tool complex. There is no post-Neolithic settlement noticed in the site.

The Report also contains an interesting section wholly devoted to certain laboratory methods involved in the study of antiquities and their chemical composition. A careful examination of the cowdung ashes and slags in the laboratory has brought to light the various chemical changes that brought about the formation of ashes and slags which formed the main part of the ashmounds. There is also a good and lucid explanation of certain scientific methods like morphometric analysis of soil and pebbles, megascopic and microscopic examination of pottery and their practical explication.

charts volume
Archaeo
antiquit

The

KERAL Kris page The

problem

ponsible been trofor a con under th

III.

Cocl

Man

IX.
The tot only Madras,... Madras,... to symbol ber that dian trib Megalith Muthuva

Unfo and some ion; cf. No. 4, A India. Vi in Silv. Majum. College Price

onducted
bunds at
ry town
tion and
engaging
nce was
e Mackexacavaove that

It has amounds Veolithic erial or eresting ourse of es their

periods urrence already (2) the indused ware ost-Neo-

devoted iquities of the to light ation of nounds.

nounds. ientific megaractical The Report contains a number of photographs, line drawings, that's and tables showing the data of technical studies. The volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature in Field archaeology and will be found particularly useful for a study of intiquities by the application of modern scientific process.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

KERALA MEGALITHS AND THEIR BUILDERS: By L. A. Krishna Iyer, published by the University of Madras, 1967; pages 66 + 8 (Bibliography and Index); price Rs. 3.50.

The small book under review deals with the interesting problem concerning the megalith-builders whose energy was responsible for monuments like the dolmens and menhirs which have been troubling the students of Indian archaeology and anthropology for a considerable period of time. The subject has been discussed under the following nine heads:—

I. Emergence of Megalithism, II. Evolution of Industries, III. Travancore's Dolmens and Menhirs, IV. Megaliths of Cochin, V. Malabar's Cave Tombs, VI. Life of Palaeolithic Man, VII. Neolithic Technology, VIII. Still Building, and IX. Dating the Past.

The author observes. "Megalithism is still a living institution to only in Kerala, but also in Chota Nagpur, Assam, Bustar and Madras.... In some places, the Megalithic monuments give place to symbolic wooden counter parts..... It is important to remember that survivals of megalithism are found among the pre-Dravidan tribes on the hills, among some of whom matriarchy lingers. Megalithism and mother-right co-exist among the Kanikkars, the Muthuvans, the Uralis and the Ullatans" (pp. 62-63).

Unfortunately the treatment of the subject is not exhaustive, some of the contributions on it escaped the author's attention, cf. M. B. Emeneau in Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. 98, India, Vol. XXXV. No. 1, January-March, 1955: N. R. Banerjea Silb, Jub, Vol. Arch. Soc. S. Ind., 1962; etc. While recommendations.

ding the book to the people interested in ethnological studies, we request the learned author to make it more comprehensive in the second edition so that it becomes quite useful to the students.

D. C. SIRCAR.

SELECTIONS FROM EDUCATIONAL RECORDS, PART I 1781-1839: By H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Price Board Bound, Rs. 8.25 or 19 s. 3 d. or 2 \$ 97 cents. Cloth Bound Rs. 10.00 or 23 s. 4 d. or 3 \$ 60 cents. Part II, 1840-59: By J. A. Richey, C.I.E. Board Bound Rs. 15.00. Cloth Bound Rs. 18.00. Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1965.

On the initiative of Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who was fully aware of the importance of educational records for historical research, the Bureau of Education collected and sifted them, covering the period, 1781-1839, and brought them out in book form in 1920. The documents were arranged in accordance with topics with which they deal without, at the same time, ignoring their sequence. Most of the records are those of the Government of India though relevant documents of the larger provinces also were included. Brief narratives connect the texts of documents included in the volume.

Chapter I contains documents referring to early private enterprise in the field and chapter II, containing the Despatch of 1814 and Lord Moira's minute of 1815, points to the Company's aware ness of its responsibility for the education of the people. Subsequent chapters are concerned with institutional growth, mass education and the organisational problems to which it gave rise, educational surveys, the beginnings of English education for the middle class and the transfer of public interest and funds of Western learning. Macaulay's minute and H. T. Prinsep's note indeed constitute important landmarks in educational policy in their own way while Lord Auckland's minute of 1839 decisively closes "a period of vague but often heroic beginnings which pared the way for the Despatch of 1854 and the gradual realisation of an ordered policy."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

much in prov Provinc professiful text

Par

1839-59.

that of are give Bib

the esse

a long

nal Are unfinish vise the tional I publish ago. T under

them, he grateful nal ma times."

THE W

Dr

British
of "one
the las
Degree
Collect

dies, we e in the lents.

CAR.

ART I,
Bound,
Rs. 10.00
Richey,
D. Pubof India,

with the tance of Educa-839, and ats were without, records cuments wes con-

te enterof 1814
s awareSubseh, mass
ave rise,
for the
funds of
p's note
policy in

ecisively

h paved

ation of

Part II, edited by J. A. Richey C.I.E., covers the two decades, 1839.59. On account of the vast material available essential reports had to be extracted with discrimination. The period is very nuch important with special reference to the educational pattern provinces like Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the North Western provinces and the Punjab. The documents relating to female and professional education are contained in Chapters II and VIII. The full texts of the Despatch of 1854 from the Court of Directors and that of 1859 from the Secretary of State and the University Acts are given as they outline a general educational policy for India.

Bibliography and Index are provided at the end of either volume. The main object of concentrating "on the original and the essential" has been satisfactorily fulfilled.

The two volumes above-mentioned have been out of print for a long time. In 1958 the Government of India charged the National Archives of India with the task of continuing the work left unfinished in 1922 and formed an Advisory Committee to supervise the work of publication. Accordingly two volumes on Educational Records relating to the period after 1859 have already been published. They were also reviewed in these columns some time ago. The reproduction, by offset process, of the two volumes under review in deference to large-scale scholarly demand for them, has come none too soon and research scholars will be deeply grateful to the authorities for having laid a large amount of original material, shedding light on the "spirit and tendency of the times," at their disposal.

P. K. K. MENON

THE WAHABI MOVEMENT IN INDIA: By Q. Ahmad: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966; xxiii + 391, pp; Rs. 25/-.

Dr. Q. Ahmad has done a good service to the cause of early British Indian history by bringing out this book which is a record of "one of the earliest, most consistent anti-British movement" of the last century. While preparing his thesis for the Doctorate Collector and Divisional Commissioner, Patna, from which he was

lured to the records of the Government of Bengal and the Gov. ernment of India and then to published and unpublished works in Persian, Urdu and English. He has thus produced an interesting book on a subject which is generally overlooked but which has definitely the germs not merely of the significant events of 1857 but also of the Non-cooperation Movement of the Gandhian era,

As the title of the book indicates, Dr. Ahmad has concentrated on the history of the Wahhabi movement (this is how the term should be spelt) in India. He has traced the near-puritanism of Sved Ahmad Sarhindi, the Mujaddid or Renovator (1564-1624), and the writings of Shah Waliyu'l-lah "the intellectual giant of Muslim India" (1702-1760) who was against monarchical system and laid emphasis on the reform of the Muslim society and of religion as then practised. As the author says the term "Wahhabism" is not the name of a new religion but means the puritan Islam as taught by Muhammad b. 'Abdul'I-Wahhab (1703-'Abdu'l-Wahhab, as he is known in history, became a legendary figure even in his lifetime. He was able to wrest Mecca from the Turks and keep it for a while, as well as to menace the Persian Gulf which was regarded as a British reserve even in the early years of the last century. Passing from being only a religious reformer, he became a political danger to the Turks, to the growing power of Egypt under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and his capable son Ibrahim and to the British. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand the attitude of British Indian Government who left no stone unturned to vilify the Wahhabi creed. The British believed in the destruction of their opponents root and branch, and even if a group of Indians considered the reform of the prevailing form of Islam fit and proper, they were "Wahhabis" and therefore suspect in the eyes of the British rulers of India.

The leader of the movement of such a reform in India was Syed Ahmad who hailed from Rai Bareli in Oudh (1786-1831). Syed Ahmad was at Mecca for two years and he must have been influenced by the Wahhabi tenets although Mecca had been occupied by the Turks when he was there. Dr. Ahmad is doubtful whether Syed Ahmad was influenced by the ideas of the Wahhabis, but there is no doubt that their ideas ran parallel to each other and the British Indian Government dubbed all such reformers as

Wahha on Sye in Biha Rajasth "develo alien pe frontier Mahara While e battle o member by Dau the from Hindu ! Hindust bered th East Inc usual pa Sutlej a chiefs, v molestec hind the the Sikl Singh. and his indirect gal. It j Singh ac caly the but Syed intention Syed Ah October, ment "th by the de

Perh When 'In had also

in Noven

ne Gov. vorks in eresting ich has of 1857 ian era. concennow the -purita-: (1564ellectual archical society ie term ans the (1703came a Mecca ace the in the a relito the and his to bear Indian ahhabi ponents the rev were rulers

ia was -1831). e been occuoubtful

Wahhaother. ners as

Wahhabis and anti-British. This was bound to have a reaction Syed Ahmad and his followers who soon spread their views Bihar and Bengal in the East, Bhopal in Central India, Tonk in Rajasthan and Hyderabad in the South. He felt the necessity of developing an organisation, preferably military, and defeating an gen people". It was in 1826 that he migrated to the North-West frontier of British India where he had heard that the agents of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were playing havoc with the tribesmen. While evaluating his campaigns on the frontier, culminating in the battle of Balakot in 1831 in which he was killed, one must remember that on the way to the North-West he was entertained w Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior. Even when he had reached he frontier he writes a cordial letter to Daulat Rao's brother Raja Hudu Rao in which he envisages the time when "the land of Hindustan is cleared of alien enemies." It should also be remembered that the Treaty of Amritsar, which was signed by the ruling Lest India Company and Ranjit Singh on April 4, 1809, was of the usual pattern. It gave a free hand to Ranjit Singh in the trans-Sullej area right up to the North-West, while "the cis-Sutlej chiefs, who were in treaty rights with the British were not to be molested." The wars of the British and the Sikhs were still beand the veil of the future, ending in the virtual protectorate of he Sikh Darbar by the British and the sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh. There is no doubt that the avowed object of Syed Ahmad and his followers was to eradicate the British influence which was indirect in the North-West frontier and direct in Bihar and Ben-It is interesting to note that about the middle of 1828 Ranjit Singh actually offered to give up the trans-Indus districts keeping the land between the Sutlej and the Indus under his sway; but Syed Ahmad refused this as "that would compromise the real bed AL. of advancing ultimately against the English." Even after Sted Ahmad's death at Balakot the fire remained kindled, and in October, 1831 we find in a Proclamation by the leader of the moveby the date and of the company's rule" in certain villages, followed by the defeat of the English army and its escape from the locality n November 1831.

Perhaps the most interesting event of the movement was also migrated to the North-West, preached "a civic and cor-

porate spirit among the villagers, adoption of a policy of civil disobedience to Government and the boycott of its administrative organs particularly of the courts," which is a premonition of what Mahatma Gandhi taught a century later. Nearer in point of time was the mission of another "Wahhabi" agent Wilayat Ali to Delhi where he delivered a number of lectures at the Fathpuri mosque at which persons of high standing in the entourage of the titular Emperor Bahadur Shah, such as Imam Ali, teacher of the Empress Zinat Mahal, and the poet Momin Khan Momin were present. The Emperor even granted an audience and heard Wilayat Ali's sermon in Diwan-i-Khas. It may be remembered that this was barely a few years before the great conflagration of 1857 in which Bahadur Shah was chosen leader of the insurgents with dire personal consequences to himself.

The impact of the Wahhabi resistance on the general history of India is ignored or overlooked as the whole movement is regarded as communal. But the Wahhabis never touched non-Muslims who did not side with the British. Even the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara district, himself a staunch Englishman and mo friend of the leaders of the movement, says that "they withheld their hands from all murder and robbery..... It is not known that they ever participated in the kidnapping and murder of our Hindoo subjects..... But in any case it will be necessary to destroy them."

While the repercussions of this widely spread movement, (which was most ruthlessly eradicated) are ignored, it was difficult to ignore a Hyderabad episode, which was the direct result of the Wahhabi emissaries, to that state. The story is given in detail in Sethu Madhav Rao's Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 120-180. He describes the conspiracy of Mubarizu'd. Dowlah who was the brother of the reigning Nizam, and says that he "owed its origin to the activities of Wilayat Ali," and "it was primarily against the projected increase in the power (of the English) that the plot was directed. The Rajas of Satara and Jodhpur and the Nawabs of Bhopal and Karnul were all in the know. It is significant that one of Mubariz's seals bore the legend, "Mubarizu'd-Daula", Na'ib of Syed Ahmad". His connection with the Wahhabis and his anti-British associations were fully taken into account by the Resident who reported the death of Mubariz

in 185 Fort of the W Highn to tak regard or Wa

with a has be 'Ismuh 'Suhra wrongl dozen and ge index i

may b

British

Th

THE I

19

Walleft Ch left Ch lempor among been p dhism escort Wang

ascende second cessor tary h defeate Again

J. 35

civil disnistrative of what t of time to Delhi mosque te titular Empress ent. The s sermon barely a

Bahadur

nal con-

I history
nt is renon-Musty Comn and no
withheld
own that
our Hindestroy

vement, vas diffict result given in derabad, parizu'days that "it was (of the

l in the legend, on with y taken

ara and

in 1854, saying that "he was confined as a state prisoner in the fort of Golcondah in 1840 for having been engaged in a plot with the Wahabees, against the British Government and that of His Highness the Nizam." The anti-Wahhabi propaganda was made to take such a root in Hyderabad that till quite recently it was regarded a term of rebuke for a person to be called Ahl-i Hadith or Wahhabi.

This and many other interesting and pregnant facts are related with ability by the author. Unfortunately not enough attention has been paid to the spelling of Arabic and Persian words. Thus Ismuhoo', 'Tazkira-i Sadiqa', 'Qutbu'd-din' 'Wujudiya', 'Shari'ah', Suhrawardi', 'Asir', and even the name of the movement are wrongly spelt, and the word bai'at has been written in half a dozen ways. These faux pas mar the otherwise excellent printing and get-up. Notes and references are profuse and useful, but the index is faulty. The book however fulfils a much-needed want, and may be regarded as an important link in the history of the anti-British movements in India.

## H. K. SHERWANI

THE MISSION OF WANG HIUEN-TS'E IN INDIA written in French by M. Sylvain Levi, Translated by Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law, Indian Geographical Society, 1957, pp. IV, 77 with Index.

Wang Hiuen-Ts'e an "improvised diplomat" and general who left China for India with an escort of thirty Cavalry was the contemporary of the famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen-Tsang, prince among Chinese travellers. A few extracts of Wang's travels have been preserved in Fa-iouen-tchou-lin, an encyclopaedia of Bud-dhism compiled and completed by Tao-Cheu in 668. With an ecort of 22 persons and a brahmin official of Harşa Siladitya, acended Grdrakūta and left an inscription there. He paid a second visit to India in 646 when King Harşa died. Harşa's suctary help from Strong-Tsan-Gampo of Tibet and from Nepal, Again in 657 A.D. he was sent to Western countries. He visited

the convent of Mahabodhi, Kapisa and Vaisāli and after his return wrote his book entitled "Account of the Voyage." It covers details about his entire activities in India, Tibet and Nepal.

The book is in 2 parts. Section I of Part I speaks about Wang's mission despatched by the Emperor of Tang Dynasty. It outlines extracts from Chapters IV to XX (p. 10-25) detailing the traveller's itinerary and experiences in North India. An account of the mysterious happenings associated with the sacred image of the Buddha on the Diamond Throne is furnished as also a history of the Emperors of the Tang Dynasty in China. On pages 25 to 28 an English rendering of the Inscriptions of Wang Hiuen-T'se on Grdrakūta and Mahābōdhi is given. Pages 29 to 32 contain the verses in the inscription erected at the foot of the Bodhidruma on the 14th March, 645 A.D. In section II a description of the statue of Mahānāma, a Bhikṣu, erected at Mahābodhi as also the inscriptions connected with it are given. It was then that Ceylon and China exchanged embassies and they have left accounts.

Part II, (pages 53-59) deals with modern times when the eunuch Tcheng Heuo was entrusted with the exploration of southern seas, with a fleet of 62 ships. He made seven expeditions commencing from 1405, with a Chinese muslim, MaHoan. They describe the social customs and economic condition of Ceylon during the period of King Alagakkonāra Buvanekabahu V of Peradeniya. Then again the author reverts to the 7th century A.D. detailing the condition of the monasteries in North India. Incidentally it is stated in the section that in the year 2 B.C. a Chinese traveller returned from the land of Yuetchis and introduced Buddhism in China.

The book does not confine itself to the scope of the heading given but goes away from the topic, dealing also with the notes left by other pilgrims during 15th century. Greater care should be exercised in using diacritical marks. The extracts of accounts dealing with episodes connected with Buddhistic centres, though at places exaggerated, often tally with those left by Hiouen-Tsang.

On the whole the treatment of the subject is rather diffuse and lacks concentration.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

FOLK:

The needed lable for mon to library clientel same a to divertioning

ing of i

manage

guidance collectice ing the and clais service in his P but conto them all types not confis a we

STUDIE Lal; Price

and can

little left

This
during to
cles had
been wri

s return vers de

Wang's outlines travelt of the of the story of 15 to 28
T'se on ain the uma on e statue

en the tion of expediaHoan. of Ceyu V of century India.

inscrip-

on and

eading notes should counts hough

B.C. a

intro-

liffuse

RI

PULKLORE LIBRARY by Dr. Piyushkanti Mahapatra; Indian Publications, Calcutta, 1966. Price Rs. 6.50, (\$1.25).

The primary responsibility of any library is to acquire the needed materials, organize them scientifically and make them available for use by its clientele. While this is a basic function common to all libraries the details vary according to the type of library. The problems of a special library serving a specialized dientele engaged in the pursuit of a common purpose are not the same as those of a public library or University library catering to diverse needs and interests. The effective and successful functioning of a library is therefore dependent on a clear understanding of its scope and functions by those who are responsible for its management.

In the book under review, the author attempts to define the sope, organization and functions of a Folklore Library for the guidance of librarians. The topics discussed are the scope of the ollection, functional requirements to be kept in view in designing the library building, acquisition of materials, their cataloguing and classification, staff requirements and qualifications, types of service and preservation of materials. As stated by the author in his Preface, he does not make a detailed study of these topics, but confines himself to a broad survey of the problems relating in them. Much of the ground covered in the book is relevant to all types of special libraries and hence the appeal of the book is not confined to those concerned with folklore libraries only. This is a welcome addition to the literature on special librarianship and can be read with profit by librarians and scholars. There is little left to be desired in the printing and get up of the book.

K. A. ISSAC.

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY, by Kishori Saran Lal; Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Delhi, 1966, pp. 259+viii.

This book consists of fourteen articles, written by the author des had already appeared in historical journals, but many have written during the last two or three years and are being pub-

276

lished for the first time. The essays are arranged under three headings—History and Historiography, Government and Politics, Religion and Society. Though commonplace, the first article, entitled Meaning and Purpose of History, is written in an interesting manner and occupies 79 pages of the book. In emphasizing the need of objectivity in historical investigation, the learned author gives two unhappy examples of the critics of Professor M. Habih and Dr. R. P. Tripathi, whom he describes as impartial historians and their critics as pro-Muslim and pro-Hindu. Dr. Lal believes that Muslim critics found fault with Habib for, though a Muslim himself, he did not commend the invader Mahmud of Ghazni as a champion of Islam. Dr. Lal is oblivious of the fact that Mahmud was twice honoured by the Caliph, the recognised head of the Muslim world, for his jihad against the Hindus of India, and that he was held in high esteem by the entire Muslim community as one who had glorified Islam and rendered it conspicuous service. Professor Habib has been criticised for ignoring contemporary evidence on the point and for presenting an incorrect image of the invader. As regards the critics of Dr. Tripathi, who took Rana Pratap to task for refusing to recognise Akbar's suzerainty, Dr. Lal has again indulged in wishful thinking. The criticism of Dr. Tripathi is that he has completely ignored the contemporary recorded evidence that while Akbar was pressurising Pratap through four diplomatic missions sent to him one after another to persuade him to submit peacefully, the Great Mughal was at the same time blockading that part of Mewar that still remained in the Rana's possession and isolating him completely. Although the encircle ment of Western Mewar annoyed the Rana, he agreed to submit and he put on the royal khilaat and sent his crown prince, Amar Singh, to the imperial court. But Akbar insisted on the Rana's personal attendance and personal homage at Fatehpur Sikari. This the proud Rana declined to do, and hence the final rupture for which both Akbar and Pratap were equally to blame. It is definitely were nitely wrong to lay the blame entirely at Pratap's door. It is pertinent to remember that the terms proposed by Pratap were accept ed by Jahangir in 1615 and that no reigning Rana was ever obliged to pay personal homage to any Mughal emperor. Dr. Lal, who blames the critic and misrepresents his motive for putting things in correct never the misrepresents his motive for putting things in correct never the misrepresents his motive for putting things in correct never the misrepresents his motive for putting things in the misrepresents his motive for putting things in the misrepresents his motive for putting things in the misrepresents his motive for putting the misrepresents his misrepresents his motive for putting the misrepresents his misrepresent his misrepresents in correct perspective, has pronounced an ex-parte judgment with out reading the present reviewer's book, Akbar the Great, Vol. I.

and his the Indithat Drio be Dot Dr.

The

India.

of anti-But wh anti-Mu Muslim larity a named nothing to rema has bee Prakasl reaction nate of of the historia almost taste no Prasad.

'Quarau

him for

Kamal

and err

Shippin

person.

least ca

through

The sought up as h

Christia

and his article on the subject contributed to the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, 1960. I am not aware that Dr. Tripathi has dubbed Pratap a 'tribal leader', which seems to be Dr. Lal's discovery. At any rate, that has not been the basis of Dr. Tripathi's criticism.

er three

Politics,

ticle, en-

zing the

d author

I. Habib

istorians

believes

Muslim

hazni as

Mahmud

d of the

unity as

service.

mporary

ge of the

ok Rana

Dr. Lal

Dr. Tri-

recorded

igh four

ade him

me time

Rana's

encircle-

submit,

e, Amar

Rana's

ri. This

ture for

is defi-

t is per-

acceptobliged

al, who

g things nt with

Vol. I.

The next article deals with the modern historians of medieval India. For some time it has been Dr. Lal's favourite theme to talk danti-Muslim and pro-Muslim schools of medieval Indian history. But whereas he has mentioned prominent historians of the so-called ati-Muslim school by name, he has discreetly avoided naming pro-Muslim Indian historians, probably for fear of risking his popularity and injuring his chances of worldly rise. He has, however, named two Pakistani writers of this school perhaps because he has nothing to fear from the latter. As regards himself, he would like to remain without a 'label'. It is, however, a pity that Dr. Lal has been obliged to abjure his "Muslim State in India", (Vichar Prakashan, Allahabad, 1950) by saying that it was written as a reaction against Dr. I. H. Qureshi's "Administration of the Sultapale of Delhi" (though published ten years after the publication of the latter work) lest he should be considered an anti-Muslim historian. While he has noticeably shown his bias in favour of almost all historians of Allahabad, Dr. Lal has neither shown good laste nor a sense of objectivity in finding fault with Dr. Ishwari Prasad, his former teacher and research guide, by stigmatising his Quarauna Turks', Vol. I as a "weak production" and castigating im for not writing his promised II Vol. He has confused Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee with the late Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee and erroneously supposed that the authors of 'A History of Indian Shipping' and 'Economic History of India' are one and the same Derson, One should have expected the learned author to have at least cast a glance at the title pages of these works, if not gone brough them carefully, before commenting on their value. As this has not been so with our author, he has laid himself open to the tharge of making quite a few mistakes of omission and commission.

The essay on Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi, in which the main point sought to be made by our author is that the emperor set himself of the reformation era, which idea he had borrowed through the missionaries at his court, deserves notice. In the first

place, Akbar did not assume the headship of the Church and all that he did was to have claimed (a) the position of a Mujtahid (interpreter) of the Muslim law in case of a conflict among the jurists and (b) the right to promulgate an ordinance, if it was in conformity with a verse of the Quran. These powers did not make Akbar head of the Church. In the second place, the above enact. ment (Mahzar Nama) was made in August-September, 1579, that is, more than six months before Akbar came into contact with the Portuguese missionaries of the first mission who were competent to discuss the Christian doctrines and who arrived at Fatehpur Sikri on 28th of February 1580. Akbar had no doubt met some other Portuguese Christians earlier-a few troops at Surat in March 1573, commandant Pedro Tavares (1577) and Julian Pereira, a priest (March 1578)—but these were not competent to expound the tenets of Christianity and advised the emperor to send for Christian missionaries from Goa, if he was keen to have a knowledge of that religion. Thirdly, all the Christian missionaries whom Akbar met were Catholics either from Portugal or Spain or some other Catholic countries and these would not naturally discuss the Reformation and the repudiation of the Pope's authority by Protestant rulers. Fourthly, although these missionaries have described in their letters and books many topics, including those relating to the Pope's power, authority and religiosity, there is absolutely no evidence that they discussed the Reformation and the challenge to the Pope's authority. There is also no evidence that Akbar had any knowledge of Elizabeth of England or of any other European monarch to have assumed the headship of the Church. The only Protestant Christian to visit Akbar's Court was the English traveller Ralph Fitch who reached Fatehpur Sikri in July or August 1585, years after the promulgation of the so-called Infallibility Decree and three years after the establishment of Din-i-Ilahi. And it is doubtful whether this Englishman, who was not competent to discuss subtle matters of religion, was received in audience by the great Mughal. Evidently Dr. Lal has allowed his imagination to work havoc with facts of history, and that is why he writes "Surely, Akbar, who was in direct contact with Christians almost daily ..... must have learnt that the Pope exercised powers which prejudiced the rights of rulers and how the authority of the Pope and the clericals of the church had been challenged in Europe". Does it not mean that the very clericals who were

christia selves a Akbar a lation, fi of the m to teach ful asser

Som India', 'I in Medie are good that he paper, p.

rolume

THE CY Mich ton

The ambitious history of through through lappen of the period of the per

withor.

h and all Mujtahid mong the it was in not make ve enact. L579, that with the ompetent Fatehpur net some Surat in Pereira, expound send for a knowes whom or some

cuss the Protesescribed relating solutely hallenge bar had uropean

he only travel-August llibility i. And npetent ence by

gination writes: almost powers of the ged in

were were

to convert Akbar to Christianity—of course Catholic Cat gives and their head, the Pope, and driving a wedge between that and their own religion? And Dr. Lal, indulging in specubion, further writes: "Akbar, however armed with the knowledge the methods employed by European monarchs as he was decided pteach the Ulema a lesson". One comes across many other fanciassertions of the learned author in the essays presented in the plume under review.

Some of his essays, such as 'Nature of the State in Medieval India', 'Ideas leading to the impoverishment of the Indian peasantry in Medieval times' and 'conditions of the Hindus under the Khaljis' are good and useful. It must also be said in fairness to Dr. Lal that he is a forceful writer and that his style is pleasant. The paper, printing and get up of the book are good.

A. L. SRIVATSAVA.

THE CYCLE OF CIVILISATION by Charles Henderson Brough, Michigan, 1965. Published by Harlo Printing Co., 16721 Hamilton Ave, Detroit, Michigan, Price \$ 5-95.

The author of this book has undertaken a laudable, but very ambitious task, difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. He puts bisiory on the same category as physical science. As science, brough analysis of what has happened can predict what will men under such-and-such conditions, so, the author thinks, is possible to predict what will happen to human civilization by bjecting to a critical and scientific study the important characthistics, processes, and principles of human civilisation in the The author has attempted such a study in respect of Meso-Manian, Egyptian, Hindu, Chinese, Hellenic, Muslim, and some Modern Western civilisations and, on the basis of some principles deduced therefrom, has formed, to his own stisfaction, if not of others, more or less definite idea of the future human civilisation. The following are some of the most pro-The following are some or the changes in future as envisaged by the 280

"Europe is moving towards Russia by moving towards the Left . . . Indeed as Slav Communism continues to drift towards the West in outlook, culture and technological materialism, the point will come when the difference between European socialism and Slav Communism will be insignificant enough to enable all the rest of Europe to fall under the control of the Communist Party." (p. 367).

"ASIA: The Communist rural revolution in Asia is a successful, society-forming movement. Its very successes ensure that it will spread further. Nothing we can do will more than temporarily stop it—and then only in certain areas as described earlier" (p. 368).

"AFRICA: South of the Sahara, Africa will continue to divide into smaller, single-party governments. More of them will be Communist. Friction between these governments and the remaining white-dominated states will grow. Probably by the end of the century, the long-expected racial revolution will take place and the whites in South Africa will be killed or driven out Throughout the rest of Africa, the whites will lose their positions and become objects of contempt and discrimination."

The author predicts the ultimate "Communization of all Lain America" (p. 372) and transformation of the Moslem world from Morocco to Pakistan by the Communist ideology. (p. 373).

So far as India is concerned we may quote the author's views in extenso. "As inefficiency, lassitude, superstition and corruption continually bog down the efforts of the planners, it will increasingly become apparent that some drastic change, such as a revolution, will have to take place. India will not much longer endure present humiliations. After 1500 or so years of decline the time is near when she will be ready for a new religion and the beginning of her new age of civilization. For both reasons (actually, they are both the same), India's time is near—perhaps within the next fifteen years. When it comes, the revolution will be under the control of the Communist Party, but somewhere along the line, the party leadership will be taken over by individuals who owe allegiance not to Peking but to some place or somebody else." (p. 371).

On tions, t The adamong

Fir from hi natural

Sec

As

lating s to ascer of social

world e

task, a

may ju

from tl

book. I year up cular s ample, democration more b priate s being not the age

describe called remark: Roman ralizatio lays dov sual-ma achieve

New Killy

Mustrat

Wards the ft towards talism, the enable all Communist

a successire that it an tempod earlier."

e to divide n will be ne remainne end of ake place riven out positions

all Lain orld from 3).

d corrupt will insuch as a ch longer f decline, igion and 1 reasons —perhaps ation will ere along dividuals comebody One may justly question the scientific value of these deductions, though some of these may prove to be true or nearly so. The admission of such a value depends upon two assumptions, among others:

First, the possibility of accurate inference and generalisation from historical or social data such as is done by the scientists from patural phenomena.

Second, accumulation of exact and sufficient data, and correct interpretation or understanding of them.

As regards the first, the most important element in formulating scientific hypothesis, viz. testing and experimenting in order to ascertain the truth of such hypothesis, is not possible in the case of social sciences at least to anything like the same extent.

As to the second, a critical study of human history in the vast world extending over five thousand years is almost a superhuman lack, and is certainly beyond the capacity of the author, if we may judge the quality and quantity of his historical knowledge from the statements and generalizations scattered throughout the book. In his view each civilization passed through a cycle of 500 year ups and downs and therefore, "it is useless to say any partitular social conditions characterize a given civilization. For example, not one of the early civilizations was significantly more democratic than the other. Neither of them was more cultured or more barbaric. They all had the same conditions at their appro-Mate stage of the cycle." (p. 63). Such a view of human history being moulded in the same pattern all over the world throughout the ages is belied by well-known historical facts. The author describes the ancient Roman State as fascist, regards all the souniversal empires as products of fascist states, and then temarks: "Fascist societies have been notably uncreative—the Roman State being a case in point" (p. 86). The author's genealization is of a sweeping character. For example, he seriously lays down that each civilization had its theocratic, capitalistic, senmal-materialistic and colonial age, and also an age "when women achieved a prominent social and economic position in Society", and New Kings the last by observing that "in Babylon, Gupta India, New Kingdom, Egypt and Imperial Rome, the businesswoman, the lamily matriarch and the famous courtesan became symbols of

282

ancient women-suffrage" (p. 87). The author's knowledge of Indian history is evident from the following passage: "By 1450, however, the southerners had still not contributed to the Hindu civilization except insofar as the fierce people of the Chola empire and the fascistic Vijayanagar empire stopped the Moslem armies. Characteristic of the later was the cruel punishment (flaying, cutting off of hands, feet, etc.) and the intrigue and assassination that plagued its oppressive regime" (p. 41). Finally the author traces all the troubles of Modern India to "errors that go back to Hinduism—the oldest, most decadent of the world's main religions." (p. 347).

After reading this nicely printed volume with a fine get-up, the one thought that would probably occur to many is that even today a class of men would rush in where angels fear to tread.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

In

tions o

until it

ly defin

ilems t

(4) av

versial

index.

in footi

find for the ind

index u

diacritic

items ( of Erra

Subrahi hundred takes is pliment;

his des

obvious

rial of

have be

tion of

muttolla

author's

bases, th

serves to

name.

honoure

in the bo

ing him

iounded.

S. Vaiy

his pur

he has r

In 1

The

Th

'PRE-PALLAVAN TAMIL INDEX' by Dr. N. Subrahmanian, Published by the University of Madras, Madras 1966, Introduction I-XIX: Index 1-823, Price Rs. 30/-.

The realization that an index is a necessary tool for research is not recent in Tamilnad. The nearly complete word index prepared by E. V. Anantarama Aiyar for Kalittokai, the select word and phrase index appended to all editions prepared by U. V. Caaminatha Aiyar, now almost forgotten but, a comprehensive index for Tirukkural by V. Markkasahaayam Cettiar (1924) and the exhaustive index of Caami Velayudhan Pillai for the same classic, the thorough subject index for porulatikaaram of Tolkaapiam by the late lamented scholar M. A. Nagamany (1935) are only a few old indexes known to Tamilnad. With the popularity of grammatical studies, more precisely linguistic studies, preparation of indexes has become an essential step. If oral report can be trusted, it is heard that the same text has been indexed in more than one University in the South; even departments of a for a single tout my are said to have prepared separate indexes for a single text. These are definite indications of the popularity of index studies now dominant in the field of Tamil research.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Indexing is a hard job: if done well, will be a boon to generations of scholars: if done clumsily will be a source of irritation will it is improved.

The minimum requirements for a good index are (1) a clearto defined purpose, (2) complete collection and presentation of lems to fulfil the set purpose, (3) exactitude in the citation and (4) avoidance of controversial glosses or explanations. If controresial interpretations are relevant to the set purpose of the index, they should be documented properly in the index itself or n footnotes or in the appendix. Assumptions that the user will and for himself the source will only minimize the usefulness of the index. With these as our guide lines we will examine the index under review. It has an introduction (I-XIX), a table of decritical marks, a list of works indexed, abbreviations, index of iems (1-807), a supplementary index (809-823) and two pages of Errata It is an admirable example of the industry of Dr. N. Subrahmanian, the author. To see through the press nearly eight hundred and thirty pages of bilingual material with fewer mistakes is not an easy job for which the author deserves our complinents. His intimate familiarity with the early Tamil texts and his desire to bring together disparate points of view are also obvious from the index.

The set purpose of this work is to index the historical material of all Pre-Pallavan Tamil classics. Forty three Tamil texts have been examined by the author for this purpose. To the selection of these texts, if based on traditional belief, one more text, muttollaayiram could have been added. If it is based on the author's evaluation, in subject matter and diction which form his bases, that work belongs to the Sangam group. Therefore, it deserves to be treated in this index.

In the preface the author has mentioned several scholars by honoured by citation for about a dozen times in the preface and in the body. A greater honour has been done to him by contradictionaried in almost all places. Some of the contradictions are ill
N. Vaiyapuri is not reluctant even to misread a commentary for he has read it as Pir caanroor (later scholars) and not 'Piracaan-

vledge of By 1450, he Hindu la empire in armies, lying, cutnation that or traces back to hain reli-

e get-up, hat even tread.

an, Puboduction

research
dex preect word
U. V.
ehensive
24) and
ne same
of Tol035) are
pularity
prepara-

ort can

exed in

word v

might

from t

is an

agains

bility prime

Whene

of hist

or Pat

Th

ful. I

Lexico

symbo

the inc

The v

either

Vide A

ception

stop is

stop, (

'h'. 1

for in

are w

stop a

e.g., i

some i

the vo

introd

When

are co

not li

374.16) atakka 10.7, 1

(Pura

0

In

284

roor' (other scholars). The qualified Pira has a non-gender plural suffix -a. The noun qualified is a gender plural noun. According to him it should be Pirar Caanroor or Pircaanroor. He preferred the second reading which will create lesser number of problems. One may disagree with the segmentation of Vaiyapun Pillai for the word Pira. But one cannot fail to concede that he has a valid point of grammar and it is unfortunate that this attempt has been described by the author as an effort to 'misread the text'

In the Preface, instead of drawing punches on others, the author could have clearly explained his method of selecting the index items. The explanation available in this regard is meagre For instance on p. i, he says that 'Every piece of information event, personal names, toponym etc., occurring in these texts which have some relevancy either to the political or social history of the country have been collected in the Index. But in the index, chapter headings, as for instance arattuppāl on p. 66\* innāceyyāmai on p. 125, iniyavai kūral on the same page and uvamattorram and other grammatical categories collected from Tolkaapiam on p. 183 are found which are not relevant to history. Again almost all occurrences of names of animals, birds, trees, etc., are given in full, as for instance, yaanai on p. 719, the entries for which run to two full pages. No additional information is gleaned from the full list except that the item is found in all texts indexed. But arasan on p. 49, which is much more relevant to the purpose of the index has been cited selectively from the texts.

Without selection, the index will be unmanageably bulky. When selection in citations is adopted, it should be clearly explained. For instance, from the item, irai on p. 123 one can infer that the selection and classifications are based on the glosses which are relevant to the history. But this classification is not consistently maintained. For instance, in Karikālan on p. 224, all information regarding the head word is clubbed together. If the user wants one particular information only, say Karikālan's victory in venni, he has to check all references to pick up the relevant citation. The index therefore is not strong enough to help the user to give all historical information with regard to a particular head

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>\*</sup>I am grateful to R. Panneerselvam, Research Fellow, Department of Linguistics, University of Kerala for helping me in checking the references

Accord.

He preser of proVaiyapun
e that he
is attempt

the text'.

hers, the cting the s meagre. ormation, xts which ry of the ex, chapyāmai on rram and on p. 143 lmost all given in hich run from the ked. But urpose of

y bulky.
y explaininfer that
es which
of consisall inforthe user
victory in
vant citathe user
har head

artment of

mord with exact references, though in some instances it does. This might be on account of a change of planning which is inferable from the author's statement in the Introduction that, 'The work is an index of names, events, institutions, flora and fauna' as against his statement in the Preface (p. i) cited above.

In the Preface no discussion is included about the dependability of historical information gathered from literary texts the prime function of which is not social or historical documentation. Whenever there is incongruity between texts in the presentation of historical information, as in Patirruppattu and Silappatikāram or Patirruppattu and Puranānūru, how the author has handled it is not mentioned in the Preface.

The index follows a transliteration system which is not helpfil In several places it is misleading. It follows the Tamil Lexicon system which is out-dated. In transliteration, one Roman symbol is substituted for one Tamil graph consistently. But in the index more than one symbol is substituted for one Tamil letter. The voiceless stops for example, which occur intervocalically are either written with a voiced stop or with a voiceless fricative. Vide Adaiyal (p. 28) Asoham (p. 25). There are also a few exceptions to this practice. In some instances the initial voiceless stop is written with a sibilant as in Senni (p. 389) or with a voiced stop, Gangai (p. 191). The letter aaytam oo is transliterated with h. Medial k is also transliterated with h. In e % kam (p. 156) for instance, the transliteration given is ehham, where on and k are written with h, which indeed is ambiguous. The voiceless stop after a nasal is voiced in some places and voiceless in others: tg, ilangovendu and ilankon both occurring on p. 118. y in some places is transliterated with i which is also the symbol for the vowel i; eg. māinda (p. 120) and ennei (p. 158). This will introduce non-existent vowel clusters in Tamil, like ai and ei.

Omissions of citations and omissions of items are not few. When a few pages of the 'Index of PuRanaanuuRu' and this work are compared the word anjanam found in Puram song (174.5) is listed. Under Andiran, two citations from Puram (240.3, 374.16) are left out. Items relevant to the social history, like logony, 127.7) anal: beard (Puram 93.11) aticil: food (Puram (Puram 33.14) avil: boiled rice (Puram 159.12) and ali: hay,

286

(Puram 125.7) are left out. Again, for want of space the results of checking only one word, kadampu, found on p. 197 in the present Index with a few indexes available in the Departments of Tamil and Linguistics, University of Kerala, are given below: A reference found in Paripāḍal, 21.11 is not found in the present Index. A reference in Maduraikkāñji, 613 is omitted. Four additional references in Silappatikāram are not found. Sirupān citation 61 should read 69. And Padir 10.4 should read 20.4. Other citations are correctly given.

Information gleaned from colophons is indicated in some items: but not in several other cases. For the former an example is Aiji on p. 26: for the latter, Andar on p. 29.

Incidentally the abbreviation for colophon (p. 267) is not explained in the list of abbreviations. So also the abbreviations, not found on p. 731 and P. V. M. on p. 288 are not expanded.

Repetition of citations is found in related items. For example idaikkādanār and idaikkādu on p. 102 have the same citations except, the former has a mistake in transcription in addition (kuruñ for kurun).

Loose explanations are found in several places in the index. Example. on p. 107 it is stated that 'of these two' but, the Demonstrative pronoun has no reference. Another on p. 549, is that 'He was himself a tolerable poet'.

Digressions not relevant to the index are found in a few places. On p. 85 a reordering of the text line is suggested which will involve serious errors in the Sandhi grammar. On p. 96 ān and āl are brought under the same root and the male dominance is inferred. But, the word āṭṭi meaning 'woman' has the root āl which will go against the inference.

In a few instances, transliteration serves as explanations. A non-Tamil scholar for whose benefit the index is published in English will find difficulty in understanding the head-word. Iraque porul on p. 127 will illustrate this.

Erutu and eruttu on p. 162 need not have been separated. Their meaning is the same. In the body of the index at least half a dozen scholars have been mentioned without reference to their publications. Some of them are authors of several publications

and a publication in foot the sta

lew are as wore called. has dec the err comings stability

history

So

A BIBI SUI Pub

The

the abo and con pated cr that the

authors
138, it h
"Cochin
Anantha
Anantha
Castes;"
have to 1
Who has
Travance

author o

and Cast

the prements of elow: A present our addipan cita-

ne items: e is Añji

not ex-

ions, not

example citations addition:

e index. Demonthat 'He

v places.
ich will
ān and
nance is
root āl

nations. shed in . Īraŗu-

parated. ast half to their ications and a few of them have shifted their stand from publication to publication. Their publications and page numbers (as given in one instance on p. 539 when R. Raghava Iyengar is referred to) if given to K. Subramania Pillai on p. 176, M. Raghava Iyengar on p. 211, U. V. S. and Dr. M. Rajamanikkam on p. 501 etc., at least in footnotes or in a bibliography, will enable the user to check the statements.

Some misleading errors are not corrected in the Errata. A few are: on p. 550 duty by should be read as duty to; wared (p. 485) as wore; fasted on p. 129 as fast; It so called on p. 83 as it is so called. When the index is to be reprinted as the author himself has declared on p. XII of the Preface, he may 'rectify or supply the errors of commission or omission.' Inspite of these short-omings, the varied uses to which the Index can be put and the stability it can bring to the research activities centring round the history of Tamilnad remain unquestioned.

V. I. Subramoniam.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN FOLKLORE AND RELATED SUBJECTS by Sanker Sen Gupta and Shyam Parmar, Indian Publications, 1967, Calcutta, Rs. 36.

The joint authors have done a laudable work in bringing out the above publication. In a work of this magnitude, omissions and commissions are always possible. The authors have anticitated criticism in this regard. It is therefore in no carping spirit that the following observations are made for rectification.

In the Chapter on Social and Cultural Anthropology, the authors have muddled about authorship. For instance on page Cochin Tribes and Castes." This is a mistake, as Dr. L. K. Castes," and "Lectures on Ethnography." The above two works ho has been following his trail in the field of Anthropology in author of the "Travancore Tribes and wider Kerala since 1961. He is the castes," Travancore Tribes and Castes."

288

## JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Similarly, on page 108, the same mess is made in the Chapter on "Totem, Taboo, Belief and Superstition"; there L. A. Krishna Iyer is wrongly referred to as the joint author of the "Cochin Tribes and Castes," along with Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer,

Lastly, work in blood-grouping was done in Travancore on the suggestion of Dr. Ruggles Gates in 1938 among the Kanikkar, the Pulayas, and the Muthuvans—with the co-operation of the Public Health Department. The results were published by L. A. Krishna Iyer in the 'New Review of Calcutta' and 'Anthropology in India' about which no reference is made. These may be incorporated.

The authors have made a strenuous effort in bringing out the work. The spelling mistakes however could have been avoided. We commend the work to all who are interested in the study of Folklore and related subjects.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE WELFARE STATE. Edited by S. P. Aiyar, Published by P. C. Manaktala & Sons Private Ltd., Bombay, 1966, Price Rs. 32/50.

The phrase "Welfare State", though introduced in politics, within the last quarter of a century, has come to occupy a prominent place in the vocabulary of politics. Indeed it seems to connote today "the proper functions of a modern state. The influence of the phrase extends to the history of the past, for though the expression was then unknown, modern historians are apt to judge of the success of a State in every age by the extent to which it conforms to the modern conception of a Welfare State. Opinions differ widely on the actual contents of this all-embracing concept or designation, but there is perhaps a general agreement on the broad outline of what should constitute a Welfare State. This is stated by Asa Briggs in the following words:

"A 'welfare state' is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income

second, duals a ample, to indi-

citizens sandar services

Th

Part I rasan, the histountrie in the articles M. Ven in under nadham

with the of a W stress of

The different fair ide the atte such the State is

ISLAM 271

Whauthor
Karachi
that he

had bee

Chapter Krishna "Cochin a Iyer. ncore on Kanikkar,

n of the

by L. A.

ropology

may be

g out the avoided, study of

YER.

by S. P. ate Ltd.,

politics, a promiconnote uence of the exto judge which it Opinions concept; on the

is delin effort ectionsincome

This is

inespective of the market value of their work or their property; inespective of the market value of insecurity by enabling indivigood, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain "social contingencies" for (exmple, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise
in individual and family crises; and third, by ensuring that all
dizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best
gandards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social
grices." (pp. 10-11).

The book is a collection of 13 articles, divided into two parts. Part I contains six articles by Asa Briggs, S. P. Aiyar, R. Sriningan, Mark M. Healed, A. R. Desai and N. G. S. Kini which trace the historical growth of the concept of a Welfare State in various countries. Part II deals with the actual working of the concept in the actual administration of a State, and naturally most of the articles are concerned with India. This Part is introduced by M. Venkatarangaiya with a general discussion on the Welfare State in underdeveloped Economics. The four articles by V. Jagannadham, Ashok V. Desai, R. Bhaskaran and R. Morton Smith deal with the different issues arising in India out of the general ideal of a Welfare State, while M. V. Pylee and V. K. Narasimhan lay stress on its legal and constitutional aspect.

Though the different contributors approach the problem from different standpoints, a perusal of their articles would convey a fair idea of what Welfare State means or should mean, and focus the attention of the readers on its more important aspects. As such the book will serve a very useful purpose as the Welfare State is the ideal professed by all modern politicians.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

SLAM. By Fazlur Rahman, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London; 271 pp. + 24 pages of photographic reproductions; 55 sh.

Whether one does or does not agree with all that the learned author (who is the Director of Islamic Research Insitute of hat he has given his analytical thought to the subject he has had been "Islam and the Muslims", for page after page carries

290

the impression that pristine Islam, as taught and practised by the Apostle (the word 'Prophet' connotes an entirely wrong meaning), was diversified into many devious paths which tended to separate the Muslims from the real Islamic ideal. The chapters 14 in number, deal with practically all aspects of Muslim religion and religious thought from "Muhammad" to "Modern Developments" and "Prospects". The notes on the chapters are appended at the end of the book with the result that the reader has to turn the leaves of the whole work before he finds any reference. There are 38 illustrations spread over 24 pages and a fine jacket drawing representing the beautiful Moti Masjid within the Red Fort at Delhi (name not mentioned), but unfortunately not one of the buildings illustrated has been described in the text.

Th

on the

though

the Inchanded

the Ch

the Mi

the vie

the 19t

and its

became

cation,

cularly

the frir as Islan

a way

men w

of Eur

was no Muslim

Scientif

Mahom

Profess

beginni

lege wi readers

along.

this mu

'the Mi

The lea

blems t

allowing

Contrar

than "ir

The

Most of these chapters have only an indirect reference to Indian history; but at least some have pointed reference to India. The learned author may not see eye to eye with the Sufis, but he is definite that "the spread of Islam in....India was carried on through Sufi brotherhood". The chapter on "Pre-Modernist Reform Movements" and "Modern Developments" has references to religious and social movements in India during the eighteenth and nincteenth centuries, although even here Indian movements, either "progressive" according to the connotation of the author or otherwise, are dealt with, and rightly, as a part of world movements. Thus the so-called Wahhābī movement was really a movement to resuscitate early Islam and was initiated by two revivalists, Murtada and Showkani of the Yemen and taken up in earnest by Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Nejd (1703-1792). This movement had vast religious and political repercussions in India. There was a direct clash between the Sultan of Turkey, who held sway in the Ḥijāz and the disciples of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, resulting in the suppression of the Wahhabis in the Turkish Empire. When Sayyid Ahmad of Rāe Bareli (U.P.), who was a protagonist of the movement in India, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, "he was interrogated about his beliefs and banished from there". On his return home he became a zealous preacher against accretions to Islam and the famous source. In this connection the author takes us to the of the Great Bull III of the Great Rebellion of 1857 (as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan calls the movement) by the disciples of the great reformer Shah Walīyu'l-lāh of Delhi.

d by the
g meanended to
chapters,
religion
Developappended
s to turn
e. There
drawing
Fort at
e of the

rence to to India. ūfīs, but carried Codernist ferences ghteenth vements, ithor or l movea moveivalists, enest by move-There ld sway g in the Sayyid moverogated n home and the to the

failure in calls : Shāh

The author then traces the impact of Christian missionaries the Muslims of India. Here it may be pointed out that in the bought-provoking book by Sayyid Ahmad Khān, The Causes of the Indian Revolt (1858), one of the appendices details the highhanded policy of the British Indian Government to have supported the Christian missionaries in their proselytising work among both the Muslims and the Hindus. The author has briefly dealt with he views of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He lived almost right through the 19th century (1817-1898) and saw the downfall of one culture and its replacement by another. As time went on, his character became versatile and his reforming wand touched religion, education, society, morals and practically all aspects of life, particularly of the Muslims of India. Mr. Fazlur Rahman only touches the fringe of what was later called the Aligarh Movement. So far a Islam is concerned Sayyid Ahmad Khan presented it in such a way as should be understandable not merely to Muslim young men who were prone to deviate from the Path under the influence of European winded education, but also non-believers. But his was not an exclusive life. Some of his boon companions were non-Muslims, such as Raja Jai Kishan Das, the Joint Secretary of the Scientific Society, which was the fore-runner of the famous Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, and the great mathematician, Professor Jadhav Chander Chakravarti. Moreover, from the very beginning, non-Muslims were admitted to the school and the college without any restriction whatsoever, and it may interest the teaders to know that Sanskrit was taught in these institutions all along. Sir Sayyīd put his faith on the touchstone of reason, and his must have helped him to round off the corners, if any existed.

The subject matter of the book is not so much "Islam" as the Muslims", and this fact should have been made more explicit. The learned author has contented himself with seeing the pro-allowing the Publishers to translate the word "Hijra" by "Flight". Than "informative"

H. K. SHERWANI

PRE-L

Bo

27

Th

tural a

hook f

versition pressio

This re

ian, et

suffer

indicat

Hunter

and Fa

Jungle of Bea

Religio Man S

treatme

intellig

A ST

19

Pr

Ca intellig

of the particin

ed by t

stituted

had tric

Kai-She in land

We

Th

292

EXCAVATIONS AT DWARKA. By Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate. Published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1966. Price Rs. 25/- Pp. XIV + 103.

This volume contains a detailed report on the excavations conducted in 1963 by Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate at Dwarka, one of the famous Vaisnava centres of ancient India and located on the Western coast of Saurastra. The location and antiquity of Dwarka has been a subject of much controversy among scholars for nearly a century and Dr. Sankalia in his introduction "Dwarka in Literature and Archaeology" has brilliantly discussed the question on the basis of evidence obtained from several literary works and archaeological excavations at this site. He has brought to light the importance of archaeological field work which could alone supply evidence to check, corroborate and correlate the information supplied by literary works on certain sites of historic and archaeological importance. The excavations at Dwarka reveal the existence of three Dwarkas at this place in different periods covering a time span of nearly 2000 years from about 2nd century B.C. to 18th century A.D.

The excavations have also revealed four different occupational deposits representing three phases in the cultural history of Dwarka starting from about 2nd century B.C. to about 18th century A.D. The occurrence of a few structural remains in the deposits as also their behaviour and contents suggest the destruction of old Dwarka and the emergence of new ones in different periods.

The minor antiquities from the excavations include objects of terracotta, stone, glass, metal and coins of the Sultans of Gujaral. The occurrence of Muslim coins in the topmost levels (Period IV) covering a time span of about six centuries from about 12th century to 18th century A.D. tell the history of the last phase of Dwarka and its cultural contacts with the Islamic world. The Report also contains a good account of different ceramic industries of ancient India and detailed study of the Muslim coins unearthed from the site.

On the whole the Report is an important addition to the slender literature available on Field Archaeology in Gujarat. The treatment of the subject though brief, is comprehensive and will be found useful to the general reader and those interested in archaeological work.

T. V. Mahalingam

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

. S. Mate. Research

ccavations varka, one ocated on tiquity of scholars "Dwarka the questry works rought to ich could elate the f historic

upational istory of 18th cens in the destrucdifferent

ka reveal

t periods

dentury

bjects of Gujaral. riod IV) 2th cenphase of Id. The c indusm coins

to the rat. The and will ested in

RELITERATE MAN. By P. Gisbert, published by Manaktelas, Bombay, 1967; pages 264 (excluding Bibliography and Index—27 pages); price Rs. 28.00.

The author of the book ably deals with the problems of cultural anthropology, and the work is expected to be a good text book for the under-graduate students of the subject in our Universities. Following a modern line of approach, he uses the expression 'Preliterate' to indicate what we usually call 'Primitive'. This reminds us of the history of designations like Mehtar, Haring, etc. Of course the author's synthetic exposition does not suffer from the nomenclature.

The book is divided into 14 Chapters, the titles of which indicate their scope and are quoted below: I. Food-gatherers and Hunters, II. Pastorals and Agriculturists, III. Kinship, Marriage and Family, IV. The Position of Women, V. The Law of the Jungle, VI Law and Order, VII, 'Homo Faber', VIII. The Sense of Beauty, IX. Property and Personality, X. Mother Earth, XI. Religion and the Supernatural, XII. The Evil that Men do, XIII. Man Surveys Man, and XIV. The shape of things to come. The treatment of the various topics generally exhibits the author's intelligence, sobriety and width of study.

We recommend the book to the students of Ethnology.

D. C. SIRCAR

A STUDY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, 1927-34, by Shanti Swarup, Oxford University Press, 1966. Price 35 s. net. (U.K. only).

Cast for a long time under the spell of the West, the Chinese intelligentsia began to change their line of thinking from the time of the great October Revolution, "a supreme example of mass participation in politics". The peasantry, though adversely affected by the advent of European business and warlord tyranny, constituted yet a powerful centripetal force in China. Sun Yat Sen Kai-Shek little appreciated the immediate need for radical changes in land tenure and agriculture, while communists stressed the need

for agrarian revolution. Chiang broke with them and relied on landlords and warlords. The re-emergence of warlordism proved an erosion into the nationalist aims of the Chinese Government. The Kuomintang lost touch with "the pulse of the nation" as the government failed to tackle Japan during 1931-32 and as the youth became disillusioned. But the communists too could not take advantage of the situation because the peasants could not rise in all provinces at the same time.

The years 1927 and 1934, are crucial in the history of Chinese Communism. During 1923-27 the Communists emphasised national interests and worked with the Kuomintang but on their defeat at the hands of its military wing they reversed their priorities and began to lay stress on agrarian revolution. They slowly built up organisational power at the height of which they were again defeated by the Central Government troops. These two failures gave them insights and experience that enabled them to gain ultimate victory.

Mao thought that the Chinese revolution could not succeed at one stroke. His strategy was one of slow victory for the social revolution. Conscious of the revolutionary potentiality of the peasantry, he understood and catered to their psychology and emphasised class struggle.

The author comes to the conclusion that the Communist policy in China was not shaped by the Comintern during 1925-34, but the latter, on account of its limited knowledge of facts, rather relied on Chinese opinion. Mao's genius lay in the fact that he appreciated that "in China the national and social revolutions were inseparable and must be fought simultaneously".

The author also comments on the view that the Communist victory was due to leadership of a social revolution based on plex as any other revolution, could not have been motivated by a single cause. Apart from peasant dissatisfaction, the communists had to tackle the demands of other dissatisfied elements in society as well. To Mao the double task was to overthrow the imperialist oppression from outside and to crush the feudal landlord oppression. The national revolution and the democratic revolution were "simultaneously mutually exclusive and yet mutu-

plex in had to demand the They had to rolution rolution

forces in the forces in the forces in the force in the fo

Dir

and gro graphy and attr

groups,

a fine s

range o

Ph.I by to that he research deals wi

of the C

relied on
m proved
vernment,
n' as the
the youth
take adise in all

Chinese I national rit defeat rities and built up in defeat-res gave ultimate

succeed he social the peal empha-

st policy 5-34, but 5, rather that he volutions

nmunist
ased on
as comated by
communents in
cow the
al land-

al landatic ret muluplex in the twenties and thirties. The sophisticated intelligentsia do reconcile some of their ideas with some of the more urgent temands of the different sections of people. This was the challenge that the communists successively faced before achieving power. They had to "synthesize the fundamental forces" of revolution with the "peculiar problems" of power in their own society. The repultion, the author opines, was neither exclusively a social repultion nor purely a national revolution.

Divided into nine chapters, the book analyses the political forces in China during the period under review, traces the evoluion of communist strategy and its relations with the peasantry, and discusses the problems of nationalism and relations with the Comintern. The author's task must have been difficult because there is little authentic information about the movement so far some has to rely, to a great extent, on the views of hostile people or on the subjective writings of ex-communists. The book, the author admits, does not address itself so much to the study of conditions and forces in Chinese society as the response of the communists to the situations they faced in China and their major policies, intended to meet the conflicting demands of various goups, in the context of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The book is a fine study based on a critical analysis of facts within the narrow range of its object and offers a clear interpretation of the rise and growth of communist power and its victory in China. Bibliogaphy and Index are added at the end. The book is neatly printed and attractively got up.

P. K. K. Menon.

Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, Patna University. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1967, pp. vi+82. Price Rs. 3/-.

It is pleasing that in spite of his heavy administrative duties, that he finds time to continue his life-long pursuit of historical deals with some of the recently discovered sources and the nature the Great Rebellion of 1857 about which scholars and writers

in this country and also abroad have not ceased thinking and writing. Dr. Datta's small book consists of Calcutta Universitys Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures that the learned author Was invited to deliver in 1964. First of all he discusses on the basis of fresh contemporary evidence the tangled problem whether the outbreak of 1857 was a mere mutiny or a wide-spread national rising against the foreign rule. He gives copious quotations from the letters and statements of the British officers posted in the districts to show that the rising had spread to the rural areas and the people of many villages in Bihar and the modern Uttar Pradesh had risen against the British and given active military assistance to the 'insurgents'. Although he has not thought it necessary to enumerate the causes of the rising, he says that the hauteur and arrogance of the generality of the British officers and their rough and insulting behaviour towards the people were very important factors responsible for it. Dr. Datta gives a graphic picture of the revolting policy of retribution consistently followed by the British, and of how it alienated the people for a long time indeed. Some of the details of barbarous executions of men and of innocent women and children, the burning of villages and large-scale devastations, normally so unlike the handi-work of the British are given in the words of the prepetrators themselves. The reaction of the rising in foreign lands, particularly in France, Ireland, Italy, the U.S.A. and Russia is described briefly, but on the basis of contemporary records. Then follows the sequel, that is, the death of the English East India Company and the transference of the dominion of India into the hands of the British Crown. The lectures conclude with an assessment of the significance of the great rising in the history of Indian nationalism, which some of the previous modern writers, notably Dr. R. C. Majumdar, had denied.

A. L. SRIVATSAVA.

KAMARAJ—A STUDY by V. K. Narasimhan; Manaktalas, Bonb bay 1967, pp. X, 176, with Appendix, Chronology, and Index, Price Rs. 12/-.

As an economist and a social thinker with a critical acumentowards study of men and political celebrities, V. K. Narasimhan,

the li

the P

Jawa

with

of po

have

in th

Kama

outlin

son, a

dhian

from

of 5 h

his sc

of his

his m

Karup

turne

with t

dhian

with (

the B

comm

in 193

turned

Wards

the jai

the ter elected then h

gress f

It has

to the Vice-C

ruse to

in Apr J. 38

T

I

nking and niversitys ithor was the basis ether the l national ions from ed in the areas and r Pradesh assistance essary to uteur and eir rough important oicture of d by the e indeed. of innoarge-scale British, The reac-Ireland, the basis t is, the

dar, had AVA. as, Bom

erence of

vn. The

e of the

some of

acumen asimhan,

d Index

the leading journalist of South India is eminently fitted to sketch the profile of Kamakshi, otherwise called Komarasami Kamaraj, the most crucial figure in Indian politics since the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru. The author's wide travels have equipped him with a frame of mind, essential to a keen observer of the evolution of politics. His contacts with Kamaraj and his closest associates have provided the necessary background to watch and portray, in this biography, the environmental forces that have shaped Kamaraj's career.

In the 26 short chapters covering 161 pages, the author has outlined the entire personality of Kamaraj, as a pupil, a friend, a son, a disciple and head of a political group, shaped by the Gandhian creed. Born at Virudupatti in July 1903, Kamaraj comes from a poor Nadar family, running a coconut shop. At the age of 5 he was put to the 'Pide Arisi' (handful of rice) school where his scholastic career was not very bright. With the passing away of his father and grandfather, Kamaraj, under the protection of his mother, Nagammal, became a trade apprentice in his uncle Karuppiah Nadar's cloth shop. But the Amritsar tragedy of 1919 turned that lad of 16 into politics. His simple habits, identification with truth and the cause of the suffering, made him accept Gandhian ideals heartily. The Nadars were business people in alliance with Governmental agencies and hence, when Kamaraj was against the British bureaucracy, his kinsmen called him a traitor to the community (Kodaali Kambu). But the fall of the Justice Party in 1936 and the formation of Rajaji's Ministry in Madras in 1937 the minds of the Nadars towards the Congress and towards the blooming youth Kamaraj.

The Vedaranyam salt satyagraha campaign saw Kamaraj in the jail for 2 years. He was released in 1931 before the expiry of the term, following the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. Then he was elected to the Congress Committee to represent Ramnad. Since then he played a significant role in the affairs of the Madras Congress first as an ardent disciple of the President, S. Satyamurti. It has been said that his political sagacity outran his guru's when to the surprise of all, he advised Satyamurti not to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of the Madras University, as it was a political hase to stifle his career. With the failure of the Cripps' mission April 1942, the 'Quit India' campaign gathered momentum and

298

Kamaraj rose equal to the occasion. He was hunted from pillar to post by the police till he finally surrendered of his own accord. As the President of the T.N.C.C. from 1940, he moved with all the great Congress leaders of India. But, an unpleasant occasion created a rift between him and Rajaji, which continues even to this day. He even mildly reacted to Gandhiji's note about the "Clique" in Madras Congress. Yet Kamaraj became a King maker, and made in turn first O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar and then, Dr. Subbaroyan, Chief Ministers of Madras.

With the fall of Rajaji's Ministry at Madras on April 8, 1952, Kamaraj took the Chief Ministership under trying conditions. As a Chief Minister for two terms, he made a mark as a statesman and put into practice his pet idea "that the rules existed for the public and not the public for the rules" (p. 53). The organization of the Avadi session in 1955 reveals the high watermark of his organizing and unifying capacity, which caught the eye of Nehru. In chapters 13 and 14 the Keezathooval incident with the Thevars and the Alagiriswamy affairs are discussed. The coming in, into the political arena, of the D.M.K. and its growing power caught Kamaraj's searching eye.

The pretty squabbles of the Congress members and the lust for power nauseated him so much that he proposed the Kamaraj Plan, which made him an All-India figure. His presidential address at the Bhuvaneswar session of the Congress is a masterpiece of political statesmanship. On hearing of the death of Pandit Nehru on May 27, 1964, he had to shoulder the heavy responsibility to choose his successor. The unanimous choice of Lal Bahadur then, and then the modified democratic method of choosing Indira Gandhi (after Lal Bahadur's death), are examples of Kamaraj's political sagacity. As the President of the All-India Congress Committee, he chanced to go to Russia to study the working of the institution there. He moved with the Russians in such a way that, in spite of his language difficulty, he did not exhibit any sense of inferiority.

The year 1966 witnessed a trial of strength for the Congress. Its internal dissensions, added to the food and water famine and the thundering challenges and frequent walkouts of the opposition in the Lok Subha created an unpleasant situation, added to demonstrations of language fanaticism. Though a man of destiny, Kamaraj was no visionary and in spite of his tremendous efforts, born of

standa of Fel to pov

T

of Kar

stance duce t agains a hear simple

life as

THE NOI ch

 $F_0$ 

and dy spirit of tal feat spired clash of period, through

Dr tuent A the Pre aspirati rating i regards

Indian has pro om pillar
n accord
th all the
occasion
even to
bout the
a King

diar and

l 8, 1952, ions. As tatesman l for the anization k of his f Nehru. Thevars in, into r caught

Kamaraj Laddress rpiece of it Nehru bility to lur then, a Gandhi political mmittee, stitution in spite

the lust

eriority.
ongress.
and the
sition in
demons.
Kamaraj

born of

his personal convictions and integrity, he failed to evolve a moral standard among the members. This ended in the political debacle of February 1967, when many non-Congress Governments voted to power, much against his expectations.

The book, written in a lucid style, gives an impartial account of Kamaraj, who got into the political scene, under crucial circumstances. That even his efforts at consolidation have failed to produce the needed moral purity among the members does not reflect against him. The disease had got too far and the Congress paid a heavy penalty in the election. Yet Kamaraj, as a model of simple living and high thinking and as one who has dedicated his life as a bachelor for the welfare of the poor, serves as an example to true politicians interested in the country's welfare.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC—SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTION IN THE MAKING: By Panchanand Misra—Scientific Book Agency, 22, Raja Woodmunt Street, Calcutta-1, 1966, Price. Rs. 12/-.

Formal amendments, growing conventions, judicial decisions and dynamic changes in socio-economic life may transform the spirit of a constitution, but it will continue to retain its fundamental features and to reflect the essential ideas and ideals that inspired its framers. It will certainly be instructive to study the clash of contemporary ideas and forces during the formative period, 1946-50, and the final expression of the national will through the Indian constitution.

Dr. Misra examines the democratic features of the Constituent Assembly and of the business procedure and shows how he preamble adopted by it was the realisation of long-cherished rating the provisions about citizenship and fundamental rights. As Directive Principles, the author observes; "Genesis of has provided a receptive soil to all foreign ideas with whom she

had come in contact. And the process of Indianisation of foreign ideas still goes on. The Directive Principles of State policy is a good example."

In fixing the nature of the Union Executive different opinions were taken into account and the provisions of the Act of 1935 utilised with suitable modifications. There was practically little controversy about having the parliamentary type of Executive. Careful study of the working of other constitutions is revealed in the adoption of provisions regarding India's Parliament. It is not clear, however, why the Federal Judiciary has not been dealt with, though it plays an important role in the establishment of healthy constitutional traditions and in the protection of individual freedom in the Indian republic.

The author strongly defends the Constituent Assembly against the criticism that it was not truly representative of the people. Popular participation in the making of the constitution is revealed in the adoption of several clauses based on the "experience of the people." The spirit of compromise characterised the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which adopted many articles irrespective of party considerations, after re-opening them several times and inviting public criticism. The author shows that the conception of secular state evolved by the Constituent Assembly was based on the traditional Indian concept of toleration.

The author has made use of the voluminous proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, papers in the Ministry of Law and those in the hands of the makers of the constitution and above all, papers in the President's Secretariat. He has clearly indicated the trend of discussions in the Constituent Assembly relating to various provisions. Thus as Prof. Norman D. Palmer rightly observes, his book is a "basic reference work on the making of the Indian Constitution." This handy volume, based on a clear study of authoritic documents, is bound to be useful to research scholars interested in analysing the basic ideas and ideals that guided the makers of India's constitution in their responsible task.

P. K. K. MENON.

THE I B. Pri

Th

indepent 18th countries the author the first macy of equal substitutions administ the judical and the first machines the substitution of the first machines the substitution of the first machines are substitutional to the substitution of the subst

sure."

AltiEnglish
Companion in 1
at Calcuin India
the Chithe contithree neopposed
the latter
declarat
(p. 75)...
account
of the til

"The cial concording the performance of the perform

for supr

foreign cy is a

pinions
of 1935
y little
ecutive,
aled in
It is
n dealt
nent of

people.
evealed
of the
rations
irresseveral
at the
embly

against

those papers trend arious es, his Contracted

ers of

THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH LAW INTO INDIA: by B. N. Pandey, Asia Publishing House, 1967, pp. XIII-248. Price Rs. 26/-.

This book, substantially a London University Doctoral thesis, traces the early stages in the evolution of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary in India under the British in the 19th century. This is one of the greatest gifts of the British, and the author justly draws attention to the two essential features of the first, unknown before in India, namely, "the absolute supremacy or predominance of the regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power," and "equality before the law, or the equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts." "The independence of the judiciary signifies the security of the judges in their office and their freedom from governmental influence and public pressure." (p. 1).

Although these were regarded as fundamental principles of English constitutional law in the 18th century, the East India Company's Government in India fought hard against their adopion in India. According to the author, it was the Supreme Court at Calcutta, established in 1774, which laid down these principles in India, and the chief credit for this goes to Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of that court. The author narrates in detail the conflict between the Government of Bengal and Impey. The three new Councillors, Clavering, Monson and Francis, who were opposed to Hastings, were also dead against Impey, the friend of the latter, and were in favour of a 'War with the Judges' and a declaration against the establishment of the Supreme Court' (b. 75). The author illustrates the conflict by giving a detailed account of the famous or notorious trial of Nandakumar, a protége of the three Councillors whose commitment occasioned a struggle for supremacy between the Government and the Supreme Court.

"The Council claimed a general power to supervise the judidial conduct of the judges in general and their conduct as justices bendence in particular, while the judges claimed absolute indeauthor, at least one member of the Council, Clavering, even thought "of using force against the Supreme Court" (p. 75). This

thrice-told tale has been re-stated from a new angle of vision, The author not only exonerates Impey and other judges of a vile motive of accomplishing the death of Hastings' accuser, but regards it as the first step in the establishment of rule of law. "The real motive", says he "of the judges was to establish the supremacy and the independence of the Supreme Court against a hostile executive government and to let the Indians realise that the court stood for equality before the law and that it would not be dictated to by the executive power" (p. 108). So in the view of the author, "the trial and execution of Nandkumar represented the first victory of the Supreme Court over the executive government of Bengal It also marked the beginning of a new era; an era in which the rich and poor, the Brahman and the Sudra, the governor and the governed-all were to be equal before the law" (p. 110). The author next deals with a few other cases illustrating the steps taken by the Supreme Court against the arbitrary acts of the Government. These are (1) Kamaluddin's case (1775) involving the right of the Supreme Court to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus in favour of a revenue farmer taken into custody under the orders of the Government; (2) the case of John Stewart, Secretary to the Supreme Council, who appealed to Supreme Court for a writ mandamus against the Government for his dismissal; (3) the Patna case involving the question of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over Company's revenue collector residing in a remote part of the Province; and finally (4) the Kasijora case, the most interesting of all, which involved the question whether the Zamindars were subject to the jurisdiction of the court. It was now the turn of Hastings, who had gained the majority in the Council. to oppose the Supreme Court, and he even went to the extent of sending troops against its officers to prevent them from executing

As a result of this the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was in effect reduced to the town of Calcutta, and this was legalised by the Act of 1781 which vindicated the stand of the Government against the Supreme Court. But as the personal friendship between Hastings and Impey remained as before, a compromise was effected by the appointment of Impey as the judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in addition to his office as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This act of Hastings was strongly denounced

by ma office le approv superv.

does no Law in a review be account a much

Th

KUNW AN ger

It

demie,
It is divided in the second of reput veterance for his forbids however the pen standard from the with a property of the pen standard from the with a property of the pen standard from the with a property of the pen standard from the pen

of the 1

Haye of

Ashraf,

of the n

by many, but is defended by the author. The acceptance of the office led to Impey's recall and impeachment. But the author fully approves of it on the ground that "it was under Impey's short supervision that the Company's courts assumed for the first time as semblance of justice."

The author ends his book with this vindication of Impey, and does not discuss further stages in the "Introduction of English Law into India". Though this is the title of the book, it is really a review of the career of Impey in India. Though the author may be accused of partisanship for Impey, he shows great industry and critical insight in throwing fresh light upon the character of a much maligned judge.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

KUNWAR MUHAMMAD ASHRAF, AN INDIAN SCHOLAR AND REVOLUTIONARY, 1903-1962. Edited by Horst Kruger, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. Pp. xvi + 495. Price not given.

It is a fascinating production, published by the Berlin Akademie, to commemorate the memory of the late Dr. K. M. Ashraf. It is divided into six sections, namely, history, culture, an account of the freedom movement in Mewat, tributes and reminiscences, minor scripta dicta of Ashraf and an index. The history and culthre sections consist of twenty-one papers contributed by scholars of repute, Indian, British, German and Russian, including such velerans as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. H. K. Sherwani. In the history section is included Mulk laj Anand's article in the form of an undelivered letter. Space lorbids assessing the value of these research papers. It must, however, be said that one or two of them, such as the one from the pen of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, do not seem to conform to the standard attained by most of the contributions. More important hom the stand-point of recent history is the third section dealing with a narrative of the freedom movement in Mewat and the role the late Dr. Ashraf therein. It is written by Chowdhry Abdul Haye of Mewat, a principal participator and a close associate of Ashraf, and cannot, for obvious reasons, be an objective narrative of the movement. In fact it depicts Ashraf as a hero as the well-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

vision,
f a vile
but rethe
The
remacy
ile exee court
lictated

author, victory Bengal, ich the and the . The

e steps e Goving the rpus in orders ary to a writ 3) the

preme te part t inteindars w the puncil.

ent of

et was calised nment bet-

sadar f the 304

known book 'Mission with Mountbatten' does the last British gov. ernor-general and viceroy of India. The tributes and the reminiscences by the late revolutionary's comrades and fellow-travel. lers are also eulogistic. The most balanced assessment in this section is the one from Sri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the present Chief Minister of Kerala. Dr. Sarup Singh, the principal of Kirori Mal College where Dr. Ashraf served for a few years, describes him as an "outstanding historian and a remarkable teacher." He says that in Ashraf's death the country has lost "a great man." A meeting of the citizens of Delhi convened to mourn his death described him as "an eminent scholar and historian" and an authority on the Mughal period of Indian history. A more factual account is the short biographical sketch written by Ashraf himself and included in the volume. It was intended to show how various personalities and influences moulded his life, first as an orthodox Muslim in his boyhood, next as a liberal-minded patriotic young man, and finally as a staunch communist. The present reviewer met him for the first time in Lahore in April 1946 when, being the Head of the History Department of the Panjab Univerversity, he was approached by a group of post-graduate students to spare one of the departmental lecture theatres in the University Hall, for a lecture by Dr. Ashraf on the political situation in the country. Speaking in flowing Urdu Dr. Ashraf vehemently criticised the Indian National Congress and advised it to spurn the British offer of the country's freedom, combine with the Muslim League and continue the struggle with the 'imperialists'. He said that if his advice was not heeded, 'rivers of blood will flow'. As Ashraf's prophecy came true, the suspicion went round that he was in league with the League, or at least he was fully posted with the League's future programme of killing. Whether Ashraf in cited a popular rising in Mewat is more than can be said with absolute certainty. But evidence seems to be in favour of the 'presumption.' Abdul Haye's account does not clear him of the charge, and Ashraf refusing to face trial in an open court of law, fled to Pakistan. He was distrusted there and thrown into prison. On his return to India, he sought Maulana Azad's intercession, and the charge of rebellion was dropped. Ashraf's differences with Gandhiji and Nehru and his hostility to the Congress policy and programme were those of his party, the C. P. I., and he held the opinion that I. I. the opinion that India became independent not because of the

Congress
o double his school fortunate Persian occupation research and economic conference of the conf

The scholar and tho views e

the Sul

Congress but because of Stalin's success against Hitler. There is doubt that Ashraf was an intellectual of a high order, but scholarly pursuits were vitiated by his communistic bias. Union to the sound not utilise his vast knowledge of the original persian sources of Medieval Indian History on account of his precupation with political activities. We have therefore no other seearch publication of his except his Ph.D. thesis on the social and economic condition in Northern India during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi.

The memorial volume under review written to honour a scholar and revolutionary of Ashraf's calibre is thrice welcome, and though one might not be in a position to endorse many of the riews expressed therein, it certainly repays perusal.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

J. 39

ish gov.

ne remi-

v-travel-

in this

present of Kiro-

escribes

er." He

t man."

is death

and an

himself

w vari-

as an patriopresent when, Univertudents iversity in the y critiirn the Muslim Te said N'. As hat he ed with raf ind with of the of the of law, prison. ession, rences policy e held of the

1. An 2. Bh

2. Bh

į. Br į. Bu

6. Bu

8. Bu

9. Bu

11. Inc 12. Inc

12. Inc

14. Inc 15. Inc

16. Jon 17. Jon

18. Jo19. Jo20. Jo

20. Jo 21. Jo 22. Jo

23. Po 24. St 25. U1 28. U1

27. Vi

Prin M

#### Our Exchanges \

- 1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 2 Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.
- Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
- 1. Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
- 1 Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.
- 6 Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.
- 1. Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
- & Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London.
- 9. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- 10. Folklore, Calcutta.
- 11. Indian Archives, Delhi.
- 12. Indian Review, Madras.
- 13. India Quarterly, New Delhi.
- 14. Indica, Bombay.
- 15. Indo Asian Culture, New Delhi.
- 16. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
- 1. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- 18. Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
- 19. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- 10. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- 1. Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
- 2. Journal of United Provinces Historical Society, Lucknow.
- 3. Political Scientist, Ranchi.
- 4. Studies in Islam, New Delhi.
- University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Birmingham.
- M. University of Ceylon Review.
- 7. Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur.

Printed by S. Ramaswami, at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum

#### FORM IV

Vol. XI

DR

#### (See Rule 8)

Statement about ownership and other particulars about the Journal of Indian History to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

1. Place of publication .. Trivandrum,

2. Periodicity of its publication .. April, August and December.

3. Printer's Name .. S. Ramaswami.

Nationality .. Indian.

Address .. G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram St, Mount Road, Madras.

4. Publisher's Name .. P. K. Karunakara Menon.

Nationality .. Indian.

holders holding more than one

Address .. Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Kerala.

5. Editor's Name

.. P. K. Karunakara Menon. Nationality

.. Indian. Address .. Professor and Head of the Department

of History, University of Kerala.

6. Names and address of indi- University of Kerala. viduals who own the newspaper and partners or share-

per cent of the total capital ... I, P. K. Karunakara Menon, hereby declare that the paticulars given

above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date: 25-2-1967, P. K. KARUNAKARA MENON, Signature of Publisher.

Vol. XLV, Part II

August 1967

Serial No. 134

# JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. K. K. MENON, M.A., M.LITT., L.T.,
Professor and Head of the Department of History,
University of Kerala, Trivandrum

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A., (Oxon.),

Professor of History,

Catholicate College, Pathanamthitta

P. C. JOSEPH, M.A., Emeritus Principal, C.M.S. College, Kottayam

DR K. K. PILLAY, M.A., D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (Oxon.),

Professor of Social Sciences, University of Madras



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

ournal of the last

ıram St.

oartment ala,

artment ala.

given

ENON,

On

Sul

Viro

THE THE

Poli

MAH

TERR

Mew

Appa I

A NO

TRIA

-u/h

#### CONTENTS

On Hiuen Tsiang's Travels in Baluchistan—by B. D. Mirchandani	309
SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUK: ROYAL PATRON OF A CON- TEMPORARY SANSKRIT WORK—by Dr. Sadashiva L. Katre, M.A., D.Litt.	357
VIRGIN AND THE DIVINE SEED-LAYER (Rg. V. X. 61)—by Dr. Sadashiv, A. Dange	369
THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN KINGS—by E. Burke Inlow	399
THE MODERNIZATION OF BRITISH INDIAN FINANCE, 1859-62—by Bhupen Qanungo, Ph.D., (Indiana)	439
POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN LYTTON'S TARIFF POLICY —by Ira Klein	465
Mahitandhradesa—by Dr. (Mrs.) V. Yasodadevi, M.A., D.Litt.	481
Terracotta Figurines and other objects from Kanci Excavations, 1962—by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam and K. V. Raman	501
Mewat Affairs during the Sultanate Period—by B. S. Mathur	509
Dr. G. R. Parihar, M.A., Ph.D. (1828-1840 A.D.)—by	521
Aparna Chattopadhyay MA DhD FRAS	535
1858-1872—by Sanit Singl P. 11	541
Tarasankar Reposition A Legal Wrangle—by Dr.	553
EXPLORATION ALONG THE RIGHT BANK OF RIVER SUTLEJ IN PUNJAB—by K. N. Dikshit	561

iv CONTENTS	
Indian Studies in Russia—by Surendra Gopal	. 569
King Nasir ud Din Haider of Awadh (1827-37)—by Dr. A. Mukherjee	. 583
ELPHINSTONE'S MISSION TO KABUL—by Dr. S. R. Bakshi .	. 605
Reviews: (1) Khajuraho, (A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society): By Vidya Prakash, M.A., Ph.D.; (2) Phitsutras of Santanava: Ed. by G. V. Devasthali; (3) The Sphotanirnaya: Edited by S. D. Joshi; (4) Congress and Congressmen in the Pre-Gandhian Era (1885-1917): By Bimanbehari Majumdar and Bhakat Prasad Majumdar; (5) The Partition of India; 1947: By C. H. Philips; (6) Two Great Indian Revolutionaries: Rash Behari Bose & Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee: By Uma Mukherjee; (7) British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837: "The History of Serampur and its Mission": By E. Daniel Potts; (8) Panjab, Past and Present, Vol. 1, Part 1, April 1967: Edited by Ganda Singh; (9) Studies in Indology, Vol. IV, by V. V. Mirashi; (10) The Chronicle of Buddhism in China, 581-960 A.D., by Jan Yün-Hua; (11) Indian Numerals: By Shobhana Laxman Gokhale; (12) The Sakti Cult and Tārā: Edited by D. C. Sircar; (13) A Bibliography of the Punjab: By Ganda Singh	. 615
OUR EXCHANGES	635
April 10 to 10 to 10 Southware Prince by B. S. 100 other	
Same Brown of Manyas (1829-1948 AD)-live of C. C. B. Pariber, M.A. Ph.D.	
Sort rose reast 'Astervastava' to Page had be	
S. or Supermentation of Cotes or Name States States	
or Proper Personner: A Lanet Whence by Dr. use washing Penerjee	1/48
the little event on walk were the contract the	

In kingdon was dist Arabs in

In the Chi Fa-la-no part of they inv Sind. of error identify '0-fan-c division now kn properly of the distance called t geograp! and Bal names |

1. "s tu kingdo Special v

it; Watte

569

583

605

615

635

### On Hiuen Tsiang's Travels in Baluchistan

BY

#### B. D. MIRCHANDANI

In an earlier paper I showed that the Sin-tu (Skt. Sindhu) kingdom described by Hiuen Tsiang in the record of his travels was distinct from the kingdom of Sind that was conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 712.

I now propose to locate and identify the countries visited by the Chinese pilgrim from the time he left Sin-tu till he reached la-la-na, whence he proceeded by way of Ghazni to China. This part of his itinerary has presented difficulty to scholars, because they invariably start with the supposition that Sin-tu was modern Snd. That unwarranted assumption has led them into a series of erroneous determinations. For example, 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo they identify with Cutch or the Indus Delta, and Pi-to-shi-lo and '0-fan-ch'a they take to be parts of Sind, whereas these political divisions of India, it seems to me, lay in the Trans-Indus region how known as Baluchistan. When once the position of Sin-tu is properly established, it is fairly easy to fix the broad locations of the countries mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang if we follow his distances and his bearings. The earliest Muslim chronicle of Sind the Chach-Nāma and the writings of the medieval Arab geographers, which shed light on the historical geography of Sind Baluchistan, also help in identifying these regions. Only the by which the Chinese pilgrim designates these countries

<sup>1. &</sup>quot;Sind and the White Huns and Identification of Hiuen Tsiang's Sin-\*\*\* kingdom," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (J. Gerson Da Cunha Volume), 1964-65, xxix, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2.</sup> Beal, Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, ii, pp. 272-Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, ii, pp. 252-54.

and their capitals are difficult to account for.3 For one thing, the Indian topographical names that were transcribed by Hiuen Tsiang into Chinese are not traceable in Sanskrit writings. For another, scholars are not unanimous as to the proper rendering of these Chinese transcriptions back into their Indian originals. Besides, many of the present place-names in Baluchistan are either Arab or Baluch impositions or corruptions and alterations of the older Indian names.4 As Fergusson justly observes "it is very rarely that we find the names mentioned by Hiouen-Thsang on our present maps, or anything like them, even when, from the bearings and distance, we are able to fix the locality with almost absolute certainty. When we find the names agreeing, it is of course a very satisfactory confirmation of our views; but in no instance can I conceive that a nominal discrepancy or deficiency should be considered as decisive either for or against any particular locality being the one visited by our author."5

- 3. Lambrick (Sind: A General Introduction, p. 146), a recent inquirer into the early geography of Sind, says: "A large number of Yuan Chwangs place-names can be identified with certainty, but this is not so in Sind and provinces described by him as subject to that kingdom, and the reconstruction of this part of his itinerary must be partly conjectural." Cf. Haig (The Indus Delta Country, p. 40): "It would have been interesting if we could have traced his route along the countries on the Indus with some degree of certainty, but his fancies, or his errors, in the matter of place-names have rendered that impossible."
- 4. Alberuni notes that "names change rapidly, when, for instance, a foreign nation with a different language occupies a country. Their tongues frequently mangle the words, and thus transfer them into their own language, as is e.g. the custom of the Greeks. Either they keep the original meaning of the names, and try a sort of translation, but then they undergo certain changes... In this way new names spring up as translations of older ones. Or, secondly, the barbarians adopt and keep the local names, but with such sounds and in such forms as are adapted to their tongues, as the Arabs do in Arabising foreign names, which become disfigured in their mouths. However, what is more curious and strange is this, that sometimes one and the same language changes in the mouth of the same people who speak it, in consequence of which strange and uncouth forms of words spring up, not intelligible save to him who discards every rule of the language."—Albertunis India, i, pp. 298-99.
- 5. "On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi," JRAS, 1874, vi., pp. 220-21.

reckons
Saint-IV.
shown
equal to
4.88 li t
aut his
practica
consiste
stated i
Ii—we i
too str.
recessar
ihis acc
his, reck

in aver days' m in writi

Li,

Son arises from tries is of his to the travelent, I Hiuen of direction almost and the identification are wood are wood arises from the next and the identification are wood are wood arises from the next and the identification are wood are wood arises from the next and the identification are wood are word arises from the next are wood are wood are wood are wood are word and are word are word are word are word are word and are word are word are word and are word are word are word and are word and are word are word

6. Hi 7. Ar 8. O be reckor fixth." (U 9. Li

#### HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN 311

Li, the Chinese measure of distance, in which the pilgrim reckons his estimates of distances is valued by M. Vivien de Sint-Martin at one-fifth of an English mile. Père Gaubil has that the li, shortly after the time of Hiuen Tsiang, was qual to 329 metres or 1079.12 English feet.6 That works out to 188 li to the mile—in round numbers say 5. Cunningham throughat his Ancient Geography of India allows 6 li to the mile as a mactical road-measure, but that valuation of the li does not give consistent results. As Hiuen Tsiang's distances are invariably stated in round numbers—in so many hundreds, or thousands, of I-we must take them as approximations and not interpret them to strictly. According to Fergusson, "we may safely, when necessary, allow a certain margin-say 10 per cent either way on this account."7 Lambrick thinks that the pilgrim "probably made his reckoning in days' journeys of 50 li, or about ten English miles in average conditions. Where the conditions were unusual, his days' marches might be longer or shorter than this average, but writing of them subsequently he would be liable to calculate his ordinary equivalent."8

Some difficulty in following the route of the Chinese pilgrim trises from the fact that the order in which he visited these counties is given somewhat differently in the abbreviated account of his travels by his biographers, Hwui Li and Yen Tsung.9 As he traveller himself would be the better authority on such a point, I have in proposing my identifications depended mainly on Huen Tsiang's own account in the Records. The distances and directions given by the pilgrim as from country to country are always the distances and directions from one capital to the next one described by him, and I have treated them as such; and these I have neither modified nor disregarded to suit my dentifications. Hiven Tsiang's statements in regard to distances bearings, so far as this part of his itinerary is concerned, Worthy of confidence and require, in my opinion, hardly

6. Histore de l'Astronomie Chinoise, i, p. 77. 7. Art. cit., p. 218.

inquirer Chwangs Sind and struction aig (The we could degree of

ning, the

n Tsiang

another,

of these

Besides,

er Arab

he older

y rarely our pre-

bearings

absolute

course a

instance

should

locality

a foreign ues frelanguage, meaning o certain der ones vith such Arabs do

nes have

ouths... one and speak it, up, not lberuni's

15, 1873,

<sup>8.</sup> Op. cit., pp. 218.

10 p. cit., pp. 146-47. Cf. Vincent Smith: "In easy country the li may reckoned as 2 country the li may be reckoned as 3/16ths of a mile, or somewhere between one fifth and one ixth." (Vide Watters, ii, p. 337). 9. Life of Hiven-Tsiang, translated by S. Beal.

any correction. Only in one instance have I found it necessary to suggest the modification of the distance specified by him. "It is marvellous", remarks Fergusson (art. cit., p. 219), "how accurate Hiouen-Thsang is in this respect, and extremely difficult to understand how he arrived at such precision without better means of observation or better maps than we have reason to believe then existed."

At this point, for the sake of clearness, let me set out briefly my reasons for my view that, at the time when Hiuen Tsiang travelled in India (A.D. 629-45), Sin-tu and Sind were two distinct kingdoms. From the Chach-Nāma10 it appears that the kingdom of Sind comprised modern Sind, eastern Punjab and the greater part of Baluchistan, together with Makran. 11 It formed a confederacy of subject states, and its capital was Alor, situated on the east bank of the Indus, near modern Sukkur. The Rai dynasty ruled over this vast kingdom from A.D. 489 till 622. Sīharas II, the fourth Rai king, was killed in action, while repelling an attack on Makran by the ruler of the Persian province of Seistan. In A.D. 622, on the death of the fifth Rai king, a talented Brahman named Chach seized the throne. As the feudatories in the kingdom were not disposed to acknowledge the usurper, Chach had to undertake prolonged campaigns against them, in all the parts of his dominion. These engaged him for several years. After the death of Khusru Parviz, when there was confusion in the kingdom of Persia and a woman sat on the throne,

10. The Chach-Nāma is a Persian version, made in A.D. 1216, of an original Arabic chronicle, now lost, which Elliot believes was composed not very long after Muhammad Kasim's conquest of Sind. Though it purports to be a record of the Arab general's transactions during the invasion, the work in the earlier portion treats of Sind when it was ruled by Hindu kings, and takes us back to the closing years of the fifth century AD. Selected extracts from the chronicle translated into English by Elliot appear in the first volume of his History of India as told by its own Historians, edby Dowson, while Kalichbeg's Chachnamah is a complete English translation of the chronicle.

11. In the Chach-Nāma the limits of the kingdom are thus described. On the east (north-east) the boundary of Kaśmir; on the south Debal and the sea; on the west Makrān; and on the north (north-west) Kaikānān and the mountains of Kusdār. Kardān in the texts is a corrupt reading for Kusdīr, which the Arab authors usually spell Khuzdār or Khozdār.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

was p in ba Pūrān reigne the lai fore, c lier, p later c

Chach

between

appear

whole throne him w of its

Hiue

Punjal

times
to the
countr
divides
river [
that ri
nated
and D
word [

12. i, pp. 5. 114-19; 13. India",

lysing to also car accession ningham in A.D. 64

Cabool,

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

chach marched through Makrān and determined "the boundary between Makrān and Kirmān" (Elliot, i, pp. 151-52). It would appear his real object was to assert suzerainty over Makrān, which was probably lost when Rai Sīharas II was defeated and killed in battle. Chach's expedition evidently occurred when either pirāndukht or Āzārmidukht—daughters of Khusru Parviz—reigned in Persia, the former from May 630 to October 631 and the latter for a few months immediately thereafter. It is, therefore, certain that Chach's usurpation took place a few years earlier, probably in A.D. 622 as stated in the Tuhfātu-l Kirām, a later chronicle of Sind. Chach reigned for 40 years. During the whole time that Hiuen Tsiang was in India, the king on the throne of Sind was Chach. The Brahman dynasty founded by him was overthrown by the Arabs in A.D. 712, during the reign of its third ruler, Dāhir.

Hiven Tsiang's Sin-tu kingdom on the other hand, lay in the Punjab. It seems to have occupied the tract of country in modern times known as Dēraiāt, together probably with some small area to the south of it. Dērajāt comprises the long, narrow strip of country bounded on the west by the Sulaimān range (which divides the Punjab from Baluchistan) and on the east by the river Indus, extending below the Salt Range to the point where that river is joined by the waters of the Punjab. It is so designated from the two principal towns in the tract, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan; Dērajāt being the Arabic plural of the word Dera. In A.D. 641, when Hiuen Tsiang visited the Sin-tu

12. See Malcolm, History of Persia, i, pp. 160-64; Sykes, History of Persia, i, pp. 527-30; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 401; Paruck, Sassanian Coins, pp. 14-19; Valentine, Sassanian Coins, p. 7.

13. R. C. Majumdar, in an admirable article ("The Arab Invasion of India", Journal of Indian History, 1931, x, supplement, pp. 25-6), after analysing the conflicting chronological data provided by the chronicles of Sind accession. Elliot (i, p. 414) erroneously places that event in A.D. 631, Cuningham (Num. Chr. 1894, p. 272) in A.D. 642, Vincent Smith (E.H.I., p. 369) A.D. 646 and Vaidya (History of Mediaeval Hindu India, i, p. 20) in

14. See Balfour's Cyclopaedia of India, i. p. 907; Alexander Burnes, p. 76; Herbert Edwardes, A Year on the Punjab Frontier, i, p. 31.

n. "It is accurate to undermeans of ieve then

ut briefly

n Tsiang two disthe kingand the t formed situated The Rai till 622. vhile reprovince a talent-1datories usurper, hem, in several vas conthrone,

16, of an posed not purports usion, the by Hindu ury A.D. ot appear rians, ed.

escribed: ebal and inān and Kusdīr,

transla-

kingdom, it was ruled by a Sūdra king, and its capital was a large city named Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo.

It may be noted with respect to the name Sin-tu of this kingdom that the level portion of Dera Ghazi Khan District (the southernmost of the three revenue districts of the Dērajāt) along the Indus, which includes all the lands within the influence of that river, and so is capable of irrigation either by means of canals, wells, or by inundation direct from the river, is even at the present day called Sindh after the river Indus. 15

Sin-tu is described by Hiuen Tsiang as being 7,000 li in circuit and its capital city, P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo, as 30 li round. The soil was favourable for the growth of cereals and produced abundance of wheat and millet. The country abounded in gold and silver, and also copper. It was suitable for the rearing of oxen, sheep, camels and mules. It yielded various kinds of salt, red white, and black, and a white rock salt which was used as medicine by people of various foreign countries. The inhabitants were upright and honest. Although superficial in learning, they were firm believers in Buddhism. There were several hundreds of monasteries occupied by some 10,000 monks, all of the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school. There were 30 Deva temples in which sectaries of various kinds congregated. The king was of the Sūdra (Shu-t'o-lo) caste, who was by nature honest and sincere and he reverenced the law of Buddha. Buddha had frequently passed through this country and Aśoka had built several tens of stūpas as memorials of his visits; there were also monasteries or stupas erected in places where the great arhat Upagupta had preached and taught. By the side of the river Indus, along the flat marshy lowlands for some thousand li were settled myriads of families who supported themselves by rearing cattle. They were of an · unfeeling and hasty temper, and were given to bloodshed. Nor did they observe any social distinctions or had any government Beal, ii, pp. 272-74; Watters, ii, pp. 252-53.

the car Bhillam north-w ii, pp. and dan we con eastwar along t

Hit is the

and Mukingdon
That is
present
from 'C
of Kac
the we

p'u-lu",

It is quently along, the we and abing the Punjab

16. 1 p. 72; R 17. 1 modern capital Ind. An

He says:
toration.
with its
in the C
tobbed
of Mult:

<sup>15.</sup> Dera Ghazi Khan District Gazetteer, p. 2. Cf. Balfour's Cyclopaedia of India (i, p. 907): "The lower part (of Dērajāt) bears the name of Sind from its bordering on the Indus, and the upper part that of Daman or skirl from its bordering on the Sulaiman mountains."

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN 315

Hiuen Tsiang went to Sin-tu from Gurjjara (Kiu-che-lo), that the district of Mārwār in south-west Rajputana. 16 Pi-lo-mo-lo, the capital of Gurjjara, as named by the pilgrim, corresponds to Billamāla, now known as Bhinmāl or Śrimāl, which lies 50 miles forth-west of Mt. Abu. 17 From Gurjjara, the pilgrim says (Beal, i, pp. 271-72, 274): "Proceeding northward through wild deserts ad dangerous defiles about 1900 li, crossing the great river Sin-tu, we come to the kingdom of Sin-tu." Again: "Going from this astward 900 li or so, crossing the Sindh river and proceeding the eastern bank, we come to the kingdom of Mu-lo-sanpulu", that is, Mūlasthānapura; or modern Multan. 18 Sin-tu and Multan, thus, according to Hiuen Tsiang, were neighbouring kingdoms in the Punjab, lying on the opposite sides of the Indus. That is confirmed by the pilgrim's biographers, although they represent him (Life, pp. 151, 152) as having travelled to Sin-tu from 'O-fan-ch'a, which, as we shall see farther on, is the region of Kachhi, which borders on the north-west of Sind and lies to the west of the Punjab.

It is this Sindhu (Sin-tu of the Chinese pilgrim) that is frequently mentioned in the Sanskrit Epics, Purānas and other works along, or conjointly, with Sauvīra. Sindhu was the district to the west of the Indus, while Sauvīra comprised the area round and above Multan to the east of that river; and the region bearing the composite name of Sindhu-Sauvīra lay entirely in the Punjab. It did not comprehend any part of modern Sind as erro-

16. Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, P. 72; Rajputana Gazetteer, i, p. 14.

17. Pi-lo-mo-lo has been erroneously identified by Cunningham with modern Bārmēr. That place was not founded till the 13th century. The lid. Ant., 1888, xvii, p. 192; Rajputana Gazetteer, i. pp. 193, 194.

18. Watters (ii, p. 254) is needlessly doubtful about this identification. toration." The pilgrim's description of the celebrated temple of the Sun in the Chach-Nāma and by the Arab geographers. This ancient shrine was of Multan.— Elliot, i, pp. 21, 27, 123, 206; Alberuni's India, i, pp. 116-17.

l was a

of this rict (the t) along nence of neans of even at

i in cird. The
abundold and
of oxen,
alt, red,
s medits were
reds of
tayānist
n secta-

Sūdra and he passed stūpas stūpas eached marshy

of an Nor nment

opaedia of Sind or skirt

neously supposed by several scholars.19 Alberuni defined Sauvira as "Multan and Jahrāvār", and Jahrāvār lies at the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab 30 miles north of Multan.20 To support his theory that Demetrius, king of Bactria (2nd century B.C.) founded a city and port in Sind called Demetrias after him, Tam postulated that "Sauvira-Sindhus", at this time, were on the lower Indus and occupied the Delta.<sup>21</sup> Johnston has ably refuted that suggestion. Review of all the evidence in Indian literature bearing on the position of Sauvīra led that distinguished Indologist to the following conclusions: "Firstly that at quite an early date Sauviras ceased to be recognizable as a tribe, their name being applied to a country, and secondly that at the earliest period the name may have indicated the part of the Indus valley immediately below Gandhāra, and later certainly meant the area round and above Multan."22 Mention of two Sindhus, one before Sauvīra and the other after Sauvīra, by Varāhamihira in his Brhat-Samhitā (chap. xiv), composed in the sixth century, makes the distinction between the Sindhu-deśa in the Punjab and the lower Indus courtry of Sind clear beyond doubt.23 That distinction is confirmed by the Matsya Purāṇa, which in enumerating the countries traversed by the Indus mentions Sindhu as well as Saindhava.21

Some indication of the position of the pilgrim's Sin-tu country is obtained from his remark that: "They find here a great quantity of salt which is red like cinnabar; also white salt, black

- 20. Alberuni's India, i, pp. 260, 300, 302.
- 21. Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 142.
- 22. "Demetrias in Sind?", JRAS 1939, p. 231.

salt a nowh is cle in pa that t vario places is tru

kingd tions a by me it app A sec said t northextend

sons-

P

25. east to 26. gali, M lun; ar 27. ply is

medici ing pa third ( pieces; Parthia of ther eccordi 28.

Thsang in his pura. qui se In 1853 interro

anitive J. 2

<sup>19.</sup> Compare Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. Buhler (Ind. Ant., 1878, v. p. 259): "Sindhu-Sauvīra probably comprised modern Sind and a portion of Multan districts"; Jackson (Bom. Gaz., i. pt. 1, p. 36 n): "Sindhu is the modern Sind and Sauvīra may have been part of Upper Sind"; Vaidya (Epic India, p. 253): "Sauvīra must be the part of modern Sind near the sea-coast called Patalene in Alexander's time"; Ali (The Geography of the Puranas, p. 144): "Sauvīra coincides with the Rohri-Khairpur region of Sind."

<sup>23.</sup> It is curious that Kern in his English translation of the Brhat-Sain hitā (JRAS, 1871, v. p. 84) renders the second Sindhu as "the Indus".

<sup>24.</sup> See Alberuni's India, i, p. 261.

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN 317

selt and rock salt." Rock-salt comes from the Salt Range<sup>25</sup> and nowhere else lower down the Indus can rock-salt be found. It is clear from this that the Salt Range was included, in whole or in part, in the Sin-tu kingdom. It is for that reason, I suppose, that the term for rock-salt throughout North India is Sindhu, in various modifications. Hiuen Tsiang notes that "In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine." That is true even now. 27

Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo, the name of the capital of the Sin-tu kingdom, was rendered in 1861 by M. Julien on phonetic considerations as Vijambha-pura.<sup>28</sup> The real name of the city, as conjectured by me from Sanskrit literary sources, was Vṛṣadarbha-pura, and it appears to have been so named after the founder of the kingdom. A section of the ancient Anu race (Ānavas), headed by Śivi, is said to have occupied the whole of western Punjab except the north-west corner. Śivi established the kingdom of Śivapura, and extending his conquests westward, founded, through his four sons—Vṛṣadarbha, Suvira, Kaikeya and Madra—four other

25. The Salt Range, 150 miles long, stretches from the Jhelum on the test to the Indus on the west, and crops up again beyond that river.

26. For instance, in Sanskrit rock-salt is called Sindhu-lavaṇa; in Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati Saindhava; in Hindi Saindav; in Sindhi Sandholun; and Punjabi Sindhā.

27. Cf. Andrews (The Indus and its Provinces, pp. 200-201): "The supply is inexhaustible from a complete range of hills... This salt from its medicinal and general properties is most extensively exported." The following passage relating to Indian rock-salt occurs in a Chinese work of the third century A.D.; "There is rock-salt as white as rock crystal in large parthia), the Yüeh-chih, Tien-chu (India), as far as Ch'ia-na-l'iao-yu, allowers, the highest opinion of this salt." — Petech, Northern India occording to Shui-Ching-Chu, p. 15.

28. "In 1853, M. Stanislaus Julien in his translation of the life of Hwen-in his translation of the vorte the word as Vijanva-pura. He transcribed it in 1858 pura. Finally in his Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits in 1853 and 1858 M. Julien accompanied his transcriptions with a note of finitive." — Ind. Ant., 1879, viii, p. 336.

at-Saii-15".

Sauvira

nction of

support

y B.C.),

im, Tarn

he lower ited that

bearing

st to the

Sauviras

lied to a

me may

ow Gan-

d above

and the

-Samhitā

stinction

us coun-

onfirmed ries trava.<sup>21</sup>

u coun-

a great

t, black

78. v. p.

ortion of

u is the

Vaidya

near the

y of the

egion of

and n

that t

above

Brahn

endea'

of Sin

extend Salt I

book

they

Sind;

Sansk

a mis

east o

as I h

mwai

ancier

routes

consti

me ta

Hiuer

and th

direct

lay to

32, Nama

sovere

family

he say

33. matic Chwar India,

34. In the

course

westin

the n which

It

kingdoms to which they gave their individual names.29 It was this kingdom of Vṛṣadarbha that was visited by the pilgrim and which he describes under the name of Sin-tu. Sindhu was evidently its popular name, derived from the river Indus on which the kingdom bordered "for some thousand li," as attested by the pilgrim. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang the classical name had probably gone out of use. Cunningham,30 quoting Lassen,31 remarks: "The name of Vrishadarbha is perhaps preserved in the Brisabrita or Brisam. britae of Pliny, who being coupled with Taxillae must have been near neighbours of the Sauviras."

Misled by the name Sin-tu (Sindhu), Cunningham and other writers have all along supposed that the kingdom visited and described by the pilgrim was the Lower Indus valley kingdom of Sind. Hiuen Tsiang's account, however, is irreconcilable with that in the Chach-Nāma. The difficulty of reconciling the two accounts is shown by the following observations of Haig (The Indus Delta Country, pp. 34-5): - "Hiuen Tsang's Sindh, in fact, is not the Sindh of any period known to history, and his description of it is wholly irreconcilable with the facts which we gather from the contemporary history embodied in the Tārīkh-i-Hind wa Sind (Chach-Nāma). He places the capital on the west of the Indus, whereas we know it was on the east bank, its ruins and the long dried-up channel of the river being still to be seen in attestation of the fact. He calls it Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo, which Chinese scholars take to represent such names as Vichavapur, or Vasmapur, or Balmapur; and General Cunningham, taking rather an unwarrantable liberty with the Chinese syllables, turns into Abhijanwapur. All these names, unknown in Sindh and unmentioned in its histories, serve only to mystify us, and the case becomes worse when Hiuen Tsang says that Multan was only '900 li or so'that is, some 150 miles—distant from the capital of Sindh, and to the east of it, the fact being that Multan was 250 miles from it

his article in JRAS for 1914 Pargiter at p. 277 remarks that the position of Vrsadarbha was "tracertain" Vṛśadarbha was "uncertain". In the sketch-map accompanying his book, however, he shows Sindhand. however, he shows Sindhu to the west of the Indus, and opposite to Sauvira precisely where Sindhu to the west of the Indus, and opposite to Sauvira precisely where Sin-tu has been located by me.

<sup>30.</sup> Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., 1862-65, ii, p. 14. 31. De Pentapotamia Indica, p. 13.

was this d which ently its singdom rim. In ly gone he name Brisam-ve been

d other ed and dom of ith that ccounts s Delta ot the n of it om the a Sind Indus, ie long station cholars our, or n un-Abhiitioned

93. In tion of book, auvīra,

ecomes

r so'-

and to

rom it

and north-east of it. To all of this must be added his statement that the king was a Shudra (Shu-t'o-lo), while from the source above-mentioned we learn that at this time (about 641 A.D.) a Brahman ruled Sindh". Notwithstanding all this, scholars have endeavoured to fit somehow the pilgrim's account to the kingdom of Sind. To that purpose they suggest that Chach had probably extended the northern boundary of his dominion as far as the Salt Range; that Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo was perhaps another name or book-name" for Alor; that in 641 the last Rai sovereign—the Rais, they assume, were Sūdras<sup>32</sup>—must have been still reigning in Sind; that Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu cannot possibly be a rendering of the Sanskrit Mūlasthānapura; and that the pilgrim in any case made a mistake in his bearing when he said that Multan was to the east of Sin-tu, which they take to be Sind.33 All these suggestions, I have explained at some length in my earlier paper, are entirely unwarranted.

It now remains to settle the position of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. That ancient city has disappeared and the pilgrim's description of his routes (a) from Gurjjara to Sin-tu and (b) from Sin-tu to Multan constitutes the only data to guide us in determining its site. Let me take up route (b) first. From Sin-tu- that is, its capital—liuen Tsiang tells us that he went eastward, crossed the Indus, and then proceeding along its eastern bank, evidently in a northerly direction, reached Multan. Vṛṣadarbha-pura clearly, therefore, lay to the south-west of Multan city, and the distance, 900 li, men-

33. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog., pp. 286-87 and his article in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1894, pp. 243 f; Haig, op. cit., pp. 34-5; Watters, Yuan
Chwang, ii, p. 254; Vaidya, op. cit., p. 19; Vincent Smith, Early History of
India, pp. 368-69.

<sup>32.</sup> Only Vaidya (op. cit., i, p. 19) offers an explanation. As the Chach-Nama describes Mahrat, the ruler of Chitor, as a brother of the last Rai sovereign of Sind, he infers that the Rais were Sūdras. The then ruling family of Chitor, according to him, was of Mauryan origin and the Mauryas, he says "were of course Sūdras".

India, pp. 368-69; Lambrick, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

34. The Indus of the present day flows 30 miles to the west of Multan. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang it flowed probably to the east of its present course. As Cunningham (Anc. Geog., p. 288) has pointed out "the gradual westing of all the Panjab rivers which flow from north to south, is only the natural result of the earth's continued revolution from west to east, which gives their waters a permanent bias towards the western banks."

at the

aproxit

rapital ras 700

ountry of Kach

a is id

the th

District,

a accor

Thirteen

ay suc

he assign

we may

stage fro

traverse

are quit other co

IS now

us descr Eratosth

west, an

Ptolemy,

mmedia

portions

tan. He

places be

parts we

conquest Tsiang that Bal

India bo

the Foot

Islam, sh

leiang. F

Wanjh-rui

NASB, 1

Bikaner, }

The

tioned by the pilgrim represents the length of his journey in  $t_{W0}$ directions, first east and then north. The summary account in Watters's Yuan Chwang (ii, p. 254) on this point is misleading in that it suggests that the capital of Sin-tu was 900 li (180 miles) west of Multan. If it had been, we should have to seek for it on the other side of the Sulaiman range in the mountainous and arid region of Baluchistan—a location unthinkable for the capital of a kingdom lying on the Indus. It seems to me far more likely that Vṛṣadarbha-pura was situated in the south of the present Dera Ghazi Khan District, somewhere below the point of confluence of the Panjnad35 with the Indus and close to the western bank of the latter river. From there the pilgrim's devious journey to Multan could have been 180 miles long, because of the many detours which he must have been obliged to make in this marshy riverine tract. I now turn to Hiuen Tsiang's description of his route (a). From Gurjjara, that is, its capital, Bhinmal, he says he travelled 1900 li, or some 380 miles, northward "through wild deserts and dangerous defiles", and then crossing the river Indus to the west reached the Sin-tu kingdom or, as he probably meant, its capital. This bearing and distance bring us again to the southernmost section of D.G.K. District. Mithankot, situated not many miles south of the point where the Panjnad joins the Indus is distant about 300 miles as the crow flies from Bhinmal. The actual marching distance across the sandy Mārwār desert, however, would be considerably more. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that Vṛṣadarbha-pura was situated in the southernmost part of D.G.K. District, somewhere not far from the Indus, as the pilgrim does not intimate that after having crossed that river he proceeded farther. This, I submit, is a fair inference from the two statements of the pilgrim noticed above.36 The indications

<sup>35.</sup> The five great rivers from which the Punjab takes its name are the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej. After various junctions these unite to form the Panjand, literally, "the five streams." It unites with the Indus near Mithankot, which lies 85 miles south of the town of Dera Ghazi Khan.—Punjab Gazetteer, i. p. 197.

<sup>36.</sup> Banfill identified this capital with Vijnot, a deserted site to the east of the Indus in Upper Sind, some 60 miles above Sukkur. He says: "Vijnot = Vijnor = Vijnaur = Vijnavapura is very near to 'Vichava-pura', M. Julien's rendering of Hwen Thsang's Pi-chen-p'o-pu-lo." — Ind. Ant., 1882, xi, p. 5. Vijnot, however, does not fit the position assigned to the capital by Hiuen

in two

ount in

ading in

miles)

t for it

capital

ely that

it Dera

ence of

oank of

ney to

many marshy

of his

ne says

h wild

Indus

meant,

to the

ed not

Indus

The

how-

o rea-

thern-

Indus,

1 that

from

ations

re the

juncunites

wn of e east

Vijnot

ilien's

p. 5.

Hiuen

the pilgrim's biographers also confirm my view as to the pilgrim's biographers also confirm my view as to the pilgrim's position of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. Sin-tu-that is, its approximate position of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. Sin-tu-that is, its positial—, according to the statement of Hwiu Li and Yen Tsung, apital—, according to the statement of Hwiu Li and Yen Tsung, apital—, according to the region of 'O-fan'-ch'a, as already noted, corresponds to the region is identifiable with modern Gandāva; and in relation to that the the general position of the southernmost section of D.G.K. Detrict, in which I have placed the metropolis of Sin-tu, is quite accordance with the indications of Hiuen Tsiang's biographers. Thirteen centuries have effaced all traces of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. Nor my such name now exists. Its exact position, therefore, cannot be assigned.

The position of Sin-tu and its capital having thus been fixed, remay now follow in the footsteps of the Chinese traveller stage by tage from Sin-tu to Fa-la-na. My identifications of the countries bayersed by Hiuen Tsiang in this portion of his travels, however, are quite different from the determinations of Cunningham and ther commentators. All these countries, in my view, lay in what now the province of Baluchistan. McCrindle (Ancient India described by Ptolemy, pp. 33-4) writes: "Strabo, following latosthenes, regarded the Indus as the boundary of India on the test, and this is the view which has been generally prevalent. Polemy, however, included within India the regions which lay amediately to the west of that river, comprehending considerable portions of the countries now known as Baluchistan and Afghanis-He was fully justified in this determination, since many beyond the Indus bore names of Sanskrit origin, and such Mrts were ruled from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan toquests by princes of Indian descent". The testimony of Hiuen lang-if my identifications be correct—affords abundant proof Baluchistan, at the time of his pilgrimage, formed part of bdia both politically and culturally. But, as Réné Grousset (In the Footsteps of the Buddha, p. 192) remarks, "The onslaught of klam, shattering in its effect, was about to change all the ideas

Resides, according to Raverty, the ancient name of that place was [ASB, 1847, p. 1200) identified Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo with Bheekumpoor in the identification is clearly a mistaken one.

of culture in the Middle Asia. Let us congratulate ourselves on the fact that, on the very eve of the great upheaval, a witness of Hsüan-tsang's calibre was able to study on our behalf this threaten. ed civilization."

Leaving the Sin-tu kingdom, Hiuen Tsiang travelled south-west 1500 or 1600 li and reached the country of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, or A-tien-p'o-chih-lo according to Watters's transcription 37 From there, again he proceeded west for about 2000 li to a country which he calls Long-kie-lo, on the north-western frontier of which lay the kingdom of Persia (Po-la-sse). From the pilgrim's indications it seems quite evident that Long-kie-lo comprehended Makrān together with considerable parts of adjoining territories.3

'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo is described by the pilgrim as having a circuit of 5000 li. It bordered on the sea, and was bounded on the west by Makran (Long-kie-lo) and on the east by the Indus. It had lately been without a ruler, but was subject to Sind. Its capital was called Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo. The country had 80 monasteries and some 5000 monks, and also 10 Deva temples. Aśoka had built six stūpas in places associated with Buddha's visit. The capital cortained a temple of Maheśvara "ornamented with rich sculpture" The character of the country is thus described: "The soil is low and damp and the ground is impregnated with salt. It is covered with wild shrubs, and is mostly waste land: it is little cultivated yet it produces some sorts of grain, but principally beans and wheat, of which there is a great quantity. The climate is rather cold and subject to violent storms of wind. It is fit for raising oxen, sheep, camels and other kinds of beasts".39

The appellation 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo has been rendered by M. Julien as Adhyavakīla,40 by Beal as Atyanbakēla41 and by

Watters ay of t 10-t

Andamb

H

ume of geordin Modhya Punjab ist cen in the F fourishe in his A

There a

Udamba Pliny43\_ reciness Khie-tsi graphy . b with near the Koteswa that this

This Delta C doubt", the nam is Khieto Kote

Khie-tsi

42. V Allan, Co 43. N 44. W Kotisvara Lassen as 45. C

formerly part of it miles from tries adjo

<sup>37.</sup> Prof. Luciano Petech of the University of Rome in a letter informs me that, according to the standard work of B. Karlgren, Grammata Sendard Racensa, the propulation of Hiller Racensa, the pronunciation of the Chinese characters in the time of High Tsiang was a-tiem-b'ua-s'ie-la.

<sup>38.</sup> According to M. Vivien de Saint-Martin Long-kie-lo answers to the eastern part of Makran, but his view is only partially correct.

<sup>40.</sup> Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang et de ses voyages dans l'India.

<sup>41.</sup> Life, p. 150.

#### HIVEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN 323

sters (ii, p. 256) as Adinava-chila. No name corresponding to of these restorations occurs in Sanskrit works.

Otien-p'o-chi-lo, says Cunningham, "may be intended for and ambatira or Audambara which Professor Lassen gives as the une of the people of Kachh." Udambaras (or Audumbaras), gording to the Mahābhārata, however, were the people of Madhyadeśa, denoting the whole of the Ganges basin from the Mujab as far as the confines of Bihar. Their coins too of the ist century B.C., bearing Kharosthi inscriptions, have been found the Punjab districts of Kāngrā and Hoshiārpūr.42 Pāṇini, who burished long before the commencement of the Christian era, his Astādhyāyī (iv. 2.132) calls the people of Cutch "Cutchava". There appears, therefore, little warrant for Lassen's view that Wambaras—presumably identical with the Odonbaeroaes of Plays-were located in Cutch. Trusting, however, to the correctness of Lassen's view, and relying on his own rendering of Mietsi-shi-fa-lo as Kotiśvara, 44 Cunningham in his Ancient Geo-Tophy of India, (pp. 346-48) confidently identified 'O-tien-p'o-chiwith the province of Cutch, on the western border of which, her the mouth of the Kori,45 there is a place of pilgrimage called Koteswar. W. H. Sykes (JRAS, 1841. vi, p. 33) also suggested hat this country corresponded to Cutch and identified its capital, Mietsi-shi-fa-lo, with modern Karachi.

This identification was warmly endorsed by Haig in The Indus Delta Country (pp. 36-7). "For there cannot be a shadow of oubt", he observes, "that 'O-tien-P'o-chi-lo-inexplicable, like he name of the Sindh capital—meant Kachchha. The chief town Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo (certainly Kotishwara, long since contracted Koteshwar and Kotesar). It lies on the river Sindh, and

rselves on witness of threaten.

south-west -chi-lo, or .37 From a country of which im's indiorehended rritories.38

g a circuit

the west s. It had Its capital teries and built six pital conculpture." oil is low s covered ultivated,

lered by and by

eans and

is rather

or raising

er informs ata Series of Hiven

ers to the

ans l'Inde,

<sup>42.</sup> Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, i. pp. 160-61; Allan, Coins of Ancient India, Introduction, p. lxxxvii. 43. Natural History, vi, 23.77.

<sup>4.</sup> Watters (ii, pp. 256-57) remarks that "Cunningham's restoration Watters (ii, pp. 256-57) remarks that "Cunningnam's little and is quite impossible." Julien rendered the name as Khajiśvara and litten as Kachel. lassen as Kachchheśvara.

<sup>5.</sup> Cf. Thornton: "Kori is an arm of the sea, supposed to have been merly the sea." funderly the estuary of the eastern branch of the Indus, and still receiving fact of its west. hat of its waters during high inundations. At Cotasir (Koteshwar), twenty bles from the open sea, it is seven miles wide."—A Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent bies adjacent to India, i. p. 404.

borders on the ocean', and I may add that it still contains a temple of Maheshvara where the 'Pashupata heretics' worship just as in the days of the Chinese pilgrim. Again: 'Lately there has been no ruler; it (the province) is under the protection of Sindh. The soil is low and damp, and the ground is impregnated with salt. It is covered with wild shrubs and is mostly waste land'. Here we have Kachchha exactly described. Its very name is unconsciously explained by Hiuen Tsiang, for it is due to the circumstance of its surface being 'low and damp'. It is surprising that Professor Beal could miss the identification."46

There are several objections to this identification which cannot be lightly disregarded. The general direction of Cutch from Dērajāt (Sin-tu of our pilgrim) is south, not south-west. Being cut off from the mainland, Cutch is neither bounded by Makran on the west nor by the Indus on the east. Nor does the pilgrim intimate that in his journey he had crossed the Indus (it being his habit to mention the crossing of large rivers), which the traveller must to get to Cutch from Sin-tu. 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo can hardly be a transcription of the word Cutch. Nor does the Gazetteer of Cutch (see pp. 229-31) bear out the statement of Haig about the presence of a temple of Maheśvara at Koteswar. Cutch probably, was a dependency of Sind, 47 but that fact would of itself

46. This is an allusion to Beal's identification of K'ie-ch'a or K'i-t's of the pilgrim with Cutch, which is proposed also by Vincent Smith (see Watters, ii, p. 341). Relying on that identification Vaidya in his History of Mediaeval Hindu India (i, p. 253) wrote that in Hiuen Tsiang's time Cutch was subject to Malwa. As Haig (op. cit., p. 36) rightly points out, K'ie-ch'a, which lies at a distance of 1200 li from the western frontier of Malwa. Fergusson (Art. Cit. p. 272) and Cunningham (Anc. Geog., pp. 563-65) also agree in identifying K'ie-ch'a with the Kaira District.

47. Biladuri records (Elliot, i, p. 121) that Muhammad Kasim, during the invasion of Sind, crossed the Indus to the east and "effected a passage in a place which adjoined the dominion of Rāsil, chief of Kassa, in Hind." ("Qassa", Haig explains (op. cit., p. 62), "is the nearest approach to Kachch, just as Sassa is to Chach, the letter cha being unknown in Arabic and unpronouncable by the Arabs." The Chach-Nāma, while it does not mention of Bet, situated to the east of the Indus, which belonged to Basami Rāsal, a tributary ruler of Dāhir, king of Sind (Kalichbeg, p. 100). From these two under Sind.

be not O-tien fication Hills; Tsiang

Vi

the In (ii, p. ever the nates of Khie-ts from the pri but as have be to expende the country of t

'O-Nāma co of Sindo of Chaco bounda Muham Debal 50 State, v corresp

Sea.

48. V Indus de province 49. T Armaēl, Elliot, i, 50. E

1.3

325

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

be not sufficient to justify the view that Cutch was identical with Otien-p'o-chi-lo. Depending, however, on this doubtful identi-Rushbrook Williams in his interesting book The Black Hills; Kutch in History and Legend, I find, has applied Hiuen Islang's account to the province of Cutch.

Vincent Smith and Lambrick identify 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the Indus Delta. In his essay appended to Watters's volumes (i. p. 342) Vincent Smith remarks that "A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, whatever the Sanskrit phonetic equivalent may have been, clearly desigmiles the delta of the Indus."48 Lambrick further suggests that Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo was the same as the Indus valley port of Debal. From other sources we know", he observes (op.cit., p. 148), "that the principal city of the Delta country at this period was Debal: but as this is nothing more than the word 'temple', it may well have been a nick-name instead of which the Chinese pilgrim tried 6 express its real but less popular name." This identification of the country with the Indus Delta, though perhaps less wide of the mark, is also not in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's indications. Otien-p'o-chi-lo, I think should be looked for in a section of Baluchistan which adjoins Makran and borders on the Arabian

'0-tien-p'o-chi-lo' my view, was Armābel,49 which the Chach-Nama describes as a Buddhist principality subject to the kingdom of Sind, on the high road to Makran. In that chronicle we read of Chach marching through Armābel and Makrān to define "the boundary between Makrān and Kirmān"; and we also read of Muhammad Kasim capturing it on his way from Makran to Debal 50 It has long been recognized that the present Las Bela State, which lies to the west of Sind, on the coast of Baluchistan, to the principality of Armābel of medieval times.

is a temple just as in has been indh. The with salt, nd'. Here is unconie circum-

rising that

hich canutch from st. Being y Makran ne pilgrim (it being n the trahi-lo can he Gazet of Haig r. Cutch d of itself

K'i-t'a of (see Wat-History of ime Cutch K'ie-ch'a not Cutch wa. Fer-3-65) also

m, during a passage in Hind." Kachchh, and unt mention r the fort Rāsal, a these two

tory state

<sup>48.</sup> Vincent Smith in his Early History of India (p. 368) writes: "The hous delta to which the pilgrim gives the name of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo was a province of Sind."

<sup>49.</sup> The name in the MSS appears also in several other forms, such as Armane in the MSS appears also in several other rotal. — See Diot, i, p. 364; Kalichbeg, p. 38. 50, Elliot, i, p. 151; Kalichbeg, pp. 38, 77-8.

<sup>1, 3</sup> 

The maritime State of Las Bela is 100 miles long and 80 miles broad, and is bounded on the north by the hills of Jhalawan, on the south by the Arabian Sea, and on the east and west by mountain ranges which separate it from Sind and Makran. Sonmiani, the principal sea-port of the State, is 50 miles west of Karachi, and the capital, Bela, lies 78 miles from Sonmiani, "Las Bela", writes Aurel Stein, "was the scene of Alexander's last military operations during his invasion of India, and from it he started on that hazardous retreat through the wastes of Gedrosia which cost his army such grave sufferings and losses as all his historians have graphically recorded. It has been recognized long ago that Las Bela corresponds to the territory of the Oreitai in which those operations took place". 52

Armābel is also mentioned by the Arab geographers, but owing to the uncertainty of Arabic orthography and the carelessness of scribes the name in their works (as in the Chach-Nāma) assumes diverse forms. The exact form of the name, therefore, remains uncertain. Elliot (i, p. 365), however, remarks: "Considering all these several names together, I am disposed to consider that Armābel is the ancient and correct reading; and that the name is partly preserved in, while its position corresponds with, the modern Bela, the capital of the province of Las... What adds much to the probability of this identification is that Bela is mentioned in native histories, not simply as Bela, but as Kārā-

Bela; which

H

city 0

great
record
to Inc
the m
tribe
pictur
immed
ancier
kahar
are th
conject
constr

pointe trinke light f

is nov assign pilgrin

hower

the co

anoth

54. the na country '0-tien

by Car

56. Holdick in min

<sup>51.</sup> Cf. Balfour's Cyclopaedia of India (i, p. 256): "Las has an area of about 5000 sq. miles. It is a flat plain, barren, and lies between mountains and the sea, and has the Purali river, the Arabis of the Greeks, and other streams, the banks of which are fertile." Arabis of the classical writers is the Hab river, which forms the boundary between the Las Bela State and Sind, and not the Purali.

<sup>52. &</sup>quot;On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia: An Archaeological Tour in Las Bela", Geographical Journal, 1943, cii, pp. 193-94. Gedrosia denotes the inland region which extended from Oreitai (Las Bela) to Karmania (Kirmān). The coast line is described by the classical writers as the country of Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters.

<sup>53.</sup> Cf. William Anderson (J.A.S.B., 1839, p. 49): "I consider there to exist no reasonable form into which any given Arabic proper name may not be contorted under constant copying."

Bela; showing that it has been usual to prefix another name, which is now dropped in ordinary converse."54

Holdich in The Gates of India (pp. 304-305) writes: "The of Armail, Armabel (sometimes Karabel) or Las Bela, is of great historic interest. From the very earliest days of historical record Armail, by right of its position commanding the high-road India, must have been of great importance. Las Bela is but the modern name derived from the influx of the Las or Lumri tibe of Rajputs. It is at present but an insignificant little town, picturesquely perched on the banks of the Purali river, but in its immediate neighbourhood is a veritable embarras de richesse in ancient sites. Eleven miles north-west of Las Bela, at Gandakhar, are the ruins of a very ancient city. Not far from there are the caves of Gondrani, about which there is no room for onjecture, for they are clearly Buddhist, as can be told from their construction".55 Writing in 1840, Masson says: "Bela, the capital, however long it may have represented the capital of this part of the country, seems to have been preceded in the middle ages, by another town, the site of which, or rather of its sepulchres, is pointed out about five miles westward where at this day coins and trinkets are occasionally found. Funereal jars are also brought to light filled with ashes, charcoal, and other incinerated substances".56

Whatever be the correct form of the name, there is no reason to doubt that Armābel corresponds with 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, which is now represented by the Las Bela State. Not only the position assigned to 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo fits the Las Bela State, but even the pilgrim's description of the character of that country is still per-

54. While it is likely that Armabel was the correct Arabicised form of the name, it could not, I think, have been the exact Indian name of the country, for phonetically Armābel does not sufficiently accord with either '0-tien-p'o-ch-lo, or A-tien-p'o-chi-lo or even A-tiem-b'ua-sie-la.

55. See Las Bela Gazetteer (pp. 38-41) for an account of these caves who visited them in 1839.

56. Journey to Kalat, pp. 304-305. Neither the Las Bela Gazetteer nor holdich mentions any ruined site 5 miles west of Bela. Masson evidently had the site at Gondakahar.

Jhalawan, l west by land. Sonwest of mi.51 "Las der's last rom it he Gedrosia as all his lized long Oreitai in

1 80 miles

carelessch-Nāma)
therefore,
s: "ConI to conand that
cresponds
... What
hat Bela
as Kārā-

m area of mountains and other al writers State and

Tour in enotes the nia (Kir-

there to may not

W

equiva

the na

the ca

ollgrin

tioned

or 143

The ca

Kusdār

tsi-shi-

Eleven

ruins o

the sit

miles s

known

describ

mdout

from F

country

fied thi

doubt,

by Alex Stein p

stood o Hit Las Be

trict the

man ra

have v

60. 7

Kachchh

that the

of the n

to Kusda

62. A

64 I

61. F

fectly applicable to Las Bela territory.57 The eastern boundary of the Las Bela State is now defined by the Hab river, but the principality of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo in Hiuen Tsiang's time extended on the east up to the river Indus. What part of the Indus Delta. if any, 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo comprehended we do not know. But it is quite certain that the port of Debal was not included in it for the Chach-Nāma records that, in A.D. 636, when an Arab force under Mughaira attacked Debal, it was governed on behalf of Chach by his brother named Sāmba or Sāmha.58 From the same source we learn that, in the year 631, when Chach led his expedition to the border of Kirman, Armabel ('O-tien-p'o-chi-lo) was ruled by a Buddhist chief, who "had revolted from his allegiance". The rebellious chief, however, offered no resistance to Chach and submitted to him. The State of Armābel must have been eminently Buddhist, as that thinly populated country had as many as 80 convents with some 5000 monks. The caves near Gondakahar, Holdich remarks, "testify to the ascetic fervour of the Buddhist priesthood".

In the Life (p. 150) Hiuen Tsiang is represented as having travelled from Suratha westward—for what distance is not stated—to this country. This statement is, of course, a mistake, for that bearing from Suratha (Su-la-ch'a<sup>59</sup> of the pilgrim), that is to say the peninsula of Kathiawar, would place 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo in the middle of the ocean.

57. Cf. Thornton (op. cit, ii, pp. 29-30) "It (Las Bela) is in general rather level, especially towards the sea-coast, where the soil is impregnated with salt... The country between these (the mountain ranges on the east and west) is level, or slightly broken by low hills, having an unproductive soil covered with stunted woods, or scanty pasture, grazed by horned cattle, goats, sheep, and numerous herds of camels... Such a country must of necessity be pastoral, the scanty population that exists being confined to the course of the Poorally, and producing only a little grain, pulse and tobacco. The people are supported almost entirely on the produce of their flocks and herds, pasturing great number of their flocks.

and herds, pasturing great numbers of goats, cows, buffaloes and camels."

58. Elliot, i, p. 416; Kalichbeg, pp. 57-8

59. Su-la-ch'a answers to the Sanskrit Surāstra (Ptolemy's Syrastrene), the ancient name of Kathiawar, which in its Prakrtized form is preserved in Sorath, the present designation of the Junagadh District. Orhotha of Cosmas Indikopleustes, who wrote in the first half of the sixth century, says Yule (Cathay and the Way Thither, i, pp. 229-30), is Sorath or Surāstra.

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

Where exactly was Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo? The proper Indian quivalent of that name is uncertain;60 nor any modern trace of the name has as yet been discovered. The position of the city, bwever, can be easily fixed from its bearing and distance from the capital of Pi-to-shi-lo, the country subsequently visited by the dgrim from Las Bela. The name of that capital city is not mentoned by Hiuen Tsiang, but he indicates that it was distant 700 li. a 143 miles (at 4.88 li to the mile), north from Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo. The capital of Pi-to-shi-lo, as I will show later, was the town of Kusdār, which lies 139 miles north from modern Bela.61 Khietrishi-fa-lo, therefore, must have been somewhere near Bela Eleven miles to the north-west of Bela, at Gondakahar, lie "the mins of a very ancient city". I have no doubt these ruins occupy the site of the ancient city of Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo. Thirty-three miles south of Bela is another ruinous site with an old mound, known as Khaira Kot of Khaira Bela, which Aurel Stein<sup>62</sup> describes as "of reputed antiquity" and Holdich63 regards as "an moubted relic of medieval Arab supremacy", but its distance hom Kusdar precludes its identification with the capital of the country in Hiuen Tsiang's time. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin identihed this capital with modern Karachi, but the identification is, no doubt, a mistaken one. It seems to me that Rambakia mentioned by Alexander's historians as the capital of the Oreitai, which Aurel Stein places in the vicinity of present Bela, in all probability also stood on the ruined site at Gondakahar.

Hiuen Tsiang gives no hint of the route by which he reached Las Bela from Sin-tu. From the south of Dera Ghazi Khan Distict there are several roads leading over the low hills of the Sulairange into Baluchistan.64 As the pilgrim does not seem to bave visited Sind, he must have proceeded to Las Bela from

but the extended us Delta. . But it in it for cab force pehalf of the same s expedi--lo) was egiance". nach and minently

indary of

having is not mistake, , that is o-chi-lo

y as 80 dakahar,

Buddhist

general regnated the east roductive ed cattle, must of d to the tobacco. ir flocks amels."

astrene), reserved hotha of century, Surāstra.

<sup>6).</sup> The name has been variously rendered as Khajīśvara (Julien), Rechehhesvara (Lassen) and Koţiśvara (Cunningham). It is certain only the second half of the name was the Sanskrit word isvara, which is one the numerous names of Siva.

<sup>61</sup> From Bela to Ornach the distance is 70 miles, and from there, again, kusdār vie tr Kusdar via Wad another 69 miles. See Jhalawan Gazetteer, pp. 311, 329.

<sup>8.</sup> Op. cit., p. 150.

M. Dera Ghazi Khan District Gazetteer, pp. 4-5.

Dērajāt via Kachhi or Kachh Gandāva region of Baluchistan. The easier course for him no doubt would have been to proceed to Sind and then take the high road from the Indus Delta to Las Bela. The reason why Hiuen Tsiang avoided Sind is not clear, Sind, as attested in the Chach-Nāma, had a large Buddhist popus lation. Nor is there evidence of persecution of the Buddhists by Chach or other Hindu kings of Sind. Vaidya no doubt suggests that Chach's usurpation of the throne was actuated by "religious motives",65 but there is little warrant for such a view in the chronicles of Sind. Whatever may have been Hiuen Tsiangs reasons, the fact remains that he did not visit the Lower Indus valley, and scholars to my mind, are in error in suggesting that 'O-tien-po-chi-lo, Pi-to-shi-lo and 'O-fan-ch'a were parts of what is now the province of Sind.

From 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo (Las Bela), as has been already mentioned, Hiuen Tsiang made a long journey to the west, about 400 miles ("less than 2000 li"), to a country which he calls Longkie-lo, on the north-west of which lay the kingdom of Persia.

"This country", says that pilgrim, "is several thousand li from east to west and from north to south. The capital is about 30 li round. It is named Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo (Sunurisvara).65 The soil is rich and fertile and yields abundant harvests .... The population is dense. It possesses abundance of precious gems and stones. It borders on the ocean. It has no chief ruler. The people occupy a long valley, and are not dependent on one another. They are under the government of Persia. The letters are much the same as those of India: their language is a little different. There are some hundred sanghāramās and perhaps 6000 priests....There are several hundred Deva temples....In the city is a temple to Mahēśvara-Dēva: it is richly adorned and sculptured".67

The length and breadth ascribed to the territory of Long-kie-lo show that it was a province of considerable extent, which must have embraced modern Makran, with some considerable parts of

67. Beal, ii, p. 277.

Persia into P places of '0pear r quite

M

and po

states:

exist t crop a was gr quanti of agr of Mal "They traders

(p. 32 appear These ment particu ed was

tions".

M and we of Kec describ in by portion and m

68. by some Makran Ci. Ball Gedrosia Ween P

69,

<sup>65.</sup> Mediaeval Hindu India, 1, p. 164.

<sup>66.</sup> Watters (ii, p. 257) transcribes this name as Su-t'u-li-ssu-jo-lo, ich he thinks is a word til which he thinks is a word like Strī-īšvara, i.e., "Woman Paramount."

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

Persian Makran, 68 Khārān and Jhalawān. Its westerly extension Persian Makran is evident from the fact that Hiuen Tsiang places Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo, nearly 400 miles west of the capital of O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, which, as I have shown, was at Gondakahar, pear modern Bela. Greater Makran, I should think, would be quite an appropriate modern designation for this country.

Makrān, in former times, was probably more fertile, prosperous and populous than it is today. The Gazetteer of Makran (p. 137) tates: "The fact that numerous traces of irrigation works still exist throughout the country, even in tracts which are now dry gop areas, and the circumstance mentioned by Idrīsī that sugar ray grown in the country and that silk was produced in exportable quantities, indicates that Makran enjoyed in the past a high degree of agricultural and commercial civilization". About the people of Makran Marco Polo, at the end of the thirteenth century, wrote: They live by merchandize and industry, for they are professed traders and carry on much traffic by sea and land in all directions".69 G. Le Strange in The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (p. 329) notes that "during the earlier middle-ages the country appears to have been more fertile and populous than it is now". These opinions bear out to some extent the Chinese pilgrim's statement that he found the country fertile and thickly populated, particularly as the part of Makran that he appears to have traverswas its most favoured tract, namely the Kej valley.

Makran is a region full of long narrow valleys running east west, of which the most important is the great central valley of Kech or Kej. In the Gazetteer of Makran (p. 295) it is thus described: "The whole consists of a long narrow valley hemmed by high ridges, and widening at the extremities. The central portion possesses a large irrigated area, and is better cultivated and more thickly populated than the eastern and western parts

stan. The roceed to ta to Las not clear. nist popudhists by suggests "religious w in the

Tsiang's

ver Indus sting that

s of what

already est, about lls Long-Persia.

d li from out 30 li vara ).66 ....The gems and he people er. They nuch the

t. There ... There emple to

ng-kie-lo ich must parts of

-ssu-fa-lo, unt."

<sup>68. &</sup>quot;Makrān consists of two parts to which the term Makrānāt is applied by some writers. That situated in Baluchistan is generally known as Kech lakran to discrete of Makran, p. 3. lakran to distinguish it from Persian Makran." — Gazeteer of Makran, p. 3. Ci Balfour's Cyclopaedia of India (i, pp. 255-56): "Makrān, the ancient Gedrosia is Cyclopaedia of India (i, pp. 255-56): "Baluchistan, lying bet-Gedrosia, is partly Persian and in part belongs to Baluchistan, lying betheen Persia and the Baluch province of Las." 8 Yule, Marco Polo, ii, p. 410.

five !

whic

desci

Mak

li-ch

in P

prope

of th

Kasa the c

the c

Kasa

is kn

still s

S

must

route

leadir to Se

forme

75.

the na pillage

which

monar 76. 77.

existed

Ween '

perhap

highwa

78. of it:

broad,

eight n

of above

twenty

dates :

See als

p. 129.

J. 4

where dry crop cultivation is more extensive.... The total length of the valley is about 200 miles. The breadth, at the widest point excluding Buleda, is about 12 miles and at the narrowest about 6" The Kej valley, writes Aurel Stein,71 "forms the economic back. bone as it were of Makran. This is illustrated by the fact that the valley tract extends for upwards of 200 miles and contains close on one-third of the whole population of the country. It also accounts for the current application of the name Kēj-Makrān to the whole territory, as attested since mediaeval times by Marco Polo72 and others".

Hiuen Tsiang's "long valley" could only have been the valley of Kēch that traverses Makrān from east to west. Nor is there great room for doubt that it was through this valley that the pilgrim passed in his journey from Gondakahar to Su-nu-li-chishi-fa-lo, the capital of Long-kie-lo. Holdich in The Gates of India (p. 297) observes that "the old highways through Makran, however much they may have assisted trade and traffic between East and West, could only have been confined to very narrow limits indeed. It is, in fact, almost a one-road country". The Kech valley, which Holdich evidently had in mind, forms a natural highway between Las Bela and Persia.73 As Su-nu-li-chi-shifa-lo by the Kēch valley route was nearly 400 miles west of Gondakahar (which is 11 miles to the north-west of Bela), its position is easily determined. Now from Bela to Gayab, situated near the western extremity of the Kech valley, the distance is 308 miles." Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo, therefore, was further to the west. Seventy-

71. Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., No. 43, p. 8.

72. Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 410. Kesmacoran of the Venetian traveller is the Makran of today.

74. See the description of the Kech valley route in the Gazetteer of kran, App. viii, pp. 341-44 Makran, App. viii, pp. 341-44.

<sup>70.</sup> Cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, xiv, p. 701, 14th ed.: "With the exception of the Kej valley, and that of the Bolida, which is an affluent of the Kej, there are no considerable spaces of cultivation in Makran. These two valleys seem to concentrate the whole agricultural wealth of the country. They are picturesque with thick groves of date palms at intervals, and are filled with crops and orchards."

<sup>73.</sup> Cf. "The old pilgrim route from India via Las Bela crosses the Jaulak I traverses the whole I route from India via Las Bela crosses the Persian and traverses the whole length of the Kech valley leading into Persian Makran." — Gazetteer of Makran." Makrān." — Gazetteer of Makran, p. 298.

five miles as the crow flies to the west of Gayab lies Kasarkand, which Curzon in his Persia and the Persian Question (ii, p. 263) describes as "the principal town and seat of government of Persian Makran". I have no doubt that Kasarkand corresponds to Su-nuli-chi-shi-fa-lo of the Chinese pilgrim. It is the only likely place persian Makran with which the capital of Long-kie-lo can properly be identified; Geh and Bint further to the west are out of the question on account of their distance from Gondakahar. Kosarkand is a Muslim name which must have been applied to Takrān to the old city after the Arab conquest of Persia or was given by by Marco the conquerors to a new city built on, or near, the old site.75 Kasar in Arabic means Castle and Kand, says Bretschneider, 76 "as is known, in Persian means a village, a town". A large mud fort

> Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo (now Kasarkand), in former times, must have been a considerable city, for it lies on two old trade routes, one connecting Persia with India via Makran,77 the other leading from the famous medieval port of Tiz on the Persian Gulf to Seistan and beyond. Kasarkand shows but few signs of its former greatness now.78

> 75. Although the earliest mention of Kasarkand is in Istakhrī (A.D. 951), the name is probably much older. Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo may have been pillaged and destroyed by Arab armies "thirsting for rapine and renown", which overran the provinces of Persia, after the overthrow of the Sassanian monarchy at the battle of Nehavend in A.D. 641.

16. Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources, 1, p. 21.

77. Holdich (Geographical Journal, vii, pp. 392-93) remarks that "there existed through Makran one of the great highways of the world, a link bet-West and East such as has never existed elsewhere in the world, save perhaps through the valley of the Kabul river and its affluents. Along this highway flowed the greater part of the mighty trade of India."

78. Grant, who visited the place in 1809, gives the following description of it. "Kaserkand lies in a fertile valley, about twenty-one and a half miles broad having the place in 1809, gives the rollowing the self-walls of it." broad, having the Kaju Nulla running through it; the cultivable part is about eight miles in circumference. The town stands on the west side, and consists of about 500 huts and a large mud fort; water is plentifully supplied from twenty-five the twe twenty-five large springs on the north side of the valley. Wheat, rice, and dates are 1839, v. p. 331. dates are produced in the greatest luxuriance." — JRAS, 1839, v. p. 331. See also St. John's description of the place in Goldsmid's Eastern Persia,

etteer of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

tal length dest point about 6"70 mic back. fact that contains V. It also

he valley is there that the n-li-chi-Gates of Makran. between narrow y". The a natural -chi-shif Gonda-

position

near the

miles."

Seventy-

still stands in Kasarkand.

the exent of the hese two country. and are

veller is e Jaulak Persian

If I am right in identifying Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo with Kasar. kand, the presence of a "richly adorned and sculptured" Siva temple in a place so far west of Sind is very interesting, as it shows the wide extension of Hindu worship in the first half of the seventh century. The last place of Hindu pilgrimage and wor. ship in that direction now is Hinglaj, 160 miles to the west of Karachi, in Las Bela territory. The shrine at Hinglaj is dedicated to Pārvatī, or Hingula Devi, consort of Siva. 'Thornton's Gazetteer (i, p. 249) describes Hinglaj as "a celebrated place of pilgrimage for Hindoos, in consequence of being one of the fifty-one pitas or spots on which the dissevered limbs of Sati or Doorga were scattered'. "The large batches of Hindu pilgrims", writes Aurel Stein (art. cit. p. 202), "are guided to Hinglaj all the way from Karachi by a duly recognized purohit known as Agowa, who arranges for their transport and supplies. He collects from them the fees which are levied by the Las Bela administration and form a regular source of revenue to the State."

L

Chine

and t

p. 25

rende

of the

(Geo

"Drav

of Va

west".

"Mak

initia1

Prof.

his let

is and

possib is giv

reason

Chine

thing

me re

by sc

before

Makra

cation,

Long-1

having

natura

Bela.

Makrā

p. 1201 dar (a "corres

80. T

82, 5

In

Sovereignty over the border region of Makran appears to have alternated from time to time between Sind and Persia. 79 Originally it formed part of the dominion of the Rais, but during the reign of Rai Siharas II it was annexed by Persia. Later, about A.D. 631, when Chach advanced to the border of Kirman, he absorbed it into the kingdom of Sind. Supremacy over Makran, however, must have soon passed to Persia, for when Hiuen Tsiang visited the country in A.D. 641 he found it "under the government of Persia". Again, in the year 643, when the Arabs reached Makran, it is described by the Muslim historians as a dependency of Sind. "The ruler of Makrān, a Malik named Sāād''—a Hindu name vitiated—, states the Gazetteer of Makran (p. 43), "managed to offer a stubborn resistance with the help of large reinforcements, which were sent to him from Sind, but was eventually defeated with heavy loss in a sanguinary battle, and Makran fell into the hands of the victors".

<sup>79.</sup> Cf. Aurel Stein (M.A.S.I. No. 43, p. 10:) "Dependence either on the power holding the neighbouring Persian provinces of Kirman and Sistan or else on the rulers of Sind and the hills immediately adjoining the Indus valley westwards has always characterized the political status of Makran, from the earliest times to which reliable data allow us to go back right down to the present."

#### HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

Kasar-

d" śiva

g, as it

half of

nd wor.

west of

edicated

azetteer

grimage

pitas or

re scat-

el Stein

Karachi

iges for

ne fees

regular

to have

iginally

e reign

D. 631,

rbed it

r, must

ed the

ersia".

i, it is

"The

ated-

ffer a

which

with hands

on the Sistan Indus

Takrán,

right

Long-kie-lo, the appellation of this country as given by the Chinese pilgrim, is rendered by M. Julien as Langala or Langala.80 and these equivalents have been adopted by Beal.81 Watters (ii, p. 257), who preferably reads the name as Lang-kie (ka)-to, renders it as Lankar. No topographical name corresponding to any of these equivalents is to be found in Sanskrit works. Curzon (Geographical Journal, vii, p. 557) remarks that Makran is a Dravidian name, which appears as Makara in the Brhat Sanhita82 of Varaha Mihira, in a list of tribes contiguous to India on the west". As Watters's restoration "Lankar" is near enough to "Makara" of the Brhat Samhita, I was inclined to think that the initial Chinese character Lang might be a corruption of Mang, but Prof. Petech rules out the possibility of an error in the text. In his letter to me the distinguished Sinologist writes: "Lang-chieh-la s ancient lang g'iat la. Chinese l may transcribe l or r, thus the possible equivalents are Rangala, Langara, Langala. No variant is given in Taishō critical edition and there is not the slightest reason for admitting a corruption of the text". I confess the Chinese designation, which I am thus unable to elucidate is something of a riddle to me.

In concluding the discussion on the position of Long-kie-lo let me refer to the various identifications that have been proposed by scholars. M. Vivien de Saint Martin, as I have mentioned before, thought that this country answers to the eastern part of Makran. Vincent Smith in his essay did not propose any identification, but in his map appended to Watters's volumes he shows Long-kie-lo somewhere to the west of Lower Sind. Lambrick, having already identified 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the Indus Delta, naturally supposed that Long-kie-lo "included the modern Las Bela, together probably with parts of Jhalawan and Eastern Makran."83 According to William Anderson (JASB for 1847, . 1. 1201) Long-lie-lo was either Makran or Kirman. R. C. Majumdar (art. cit. p. 7), on the other hand, was of the opinion that it "corresponded to modern Makran and Kirman." However, from

<sup>80.</sup> Vie et Voyage, pp. 208, 360.

<sup>&</sup>amp;I. Records, ii, p. 277; Life, p. 151.

<sup>&</sup>amp; See Kern's English translation in JRAS, 1871, v. p. 84. 83. Op. cit., p. 148.

what we are told in the Chach-Nama about the expedition of Chach to the border of Kirman,84 it would appear that Kirman formed a separate province. It is curious that Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India (pp. 356-57) suggests that Long-kie-lo "corresponded as nearly as possible, with the modern province of Baluchistan." Hiuen Tsiang, writes the distinguished archaeologist, "fixes the capital of Lang-kie-lo at 2000 li, or 333 miles, to the west of Kotesar in Kachh, but as this bearing would place it in the middle of the Indian Ocean, the true direction must be north-west. Now this latter bearing and distance correspond with the position of the great ruined city of Lakorian, which Masson (Journey to Kelat, p. 63) found between Khozdar and Kilat. In older maps the name is written simply as Lakūra, which appears to me to be very fairly represented by the Chinese Lang-kie-lo, or Lankara. Masson describes the ruined fortifications as 'remarkable for their magnitude, as well as for the solidity and the skill evident in their construction.' From the size and importance of these ruins, I conclude that they are the remains of a large city, which has at some former period been the capital of the country. The Chinese pilgrim describes the province as being many thousands of li in breadth as well as in length. It is clear, therefore, that it corresponded, as nearly as possible, with the modern district of Baluchistan, of which the present capital, Kilāt, is only 60 miles to the north of Lakura. In the seventh century, the capital was called Su-nu-li-shi-fa-lo, and was 30 li, or 5 miles, in circuit. The Chinese syllables are rendered by M. Julien as Sunuriśwara, of which he offers no translation. But as Hwen Thsang describes a magnificent temple of Siva in the middle of the city, I infer that the Chinese transcript may be intended for Sambhuriśvara, which is a well-known title of Siva as the lord of divine beings', or the · 'god of gods'. By assuming that this name belongs properly to the temple, the other name of Lang-kie-lo, or Lākara, may be applied to the to the capital as well as the province." This identification has nothing to support it except some similarity of sound between Lakūra and Lānkara, the former the name of a city and the latter that of a country. Watters (ii, pp. 257-58) rightly dismisses it with the comment of the country. with the comment that: "Cunningham's remarks on this country

84. Elliot, i, pp. 151-52; Kalichbeg, pp. 37-8.

is temp mother cles in m enth

and its

(Las B country Sind. 5 300 li o had no but doe dencies

Pi-ti
and Bud
medieva
two dist:
in The
morth-ea
the Ara
which the
of which
of the m
tified w

85. In pilgrim purification produced to the pilgrim produced to the pilgrim produced to the great the great structure of the pilgrim produced to the p

the north-

89. Va

# HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

tion of

n form-

Ancient

o "corince of

rchaeo-

niles, to

place it

ust be nd with

Masson

Kilāt,

appears

-kie-lo.

as 're-

nd the

ortance

ge city,

ountry.

thou-

refore,

rn dis-

nly 60

capital

circuit. śwara, scribes

er that

which

or the

to the

pplied

n has

tween

1atter

sses il

ountry

ad its capital are in his usual style and need not be quoted." One is tempted to recall in this connection his sarcastic criticism of wither of Cunningham's identifications—that certain discrepandistances and bearings are "not inseperable difficulties to nenthusiastic Indian archaeologist."

From Long-kie-lo Hiuen Tsiang returned to 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo (las Bela) and thence proceeded northwards for 700 li to the mutry called Pi-to-shi-lo,85 which, he tells us, was dependent on Ind. Then, again, from Pi-to-shi-lo he journeyed north-east for Mli or so to the country of 'O-fan-ch'a, which, like Pi-to-shi-lo. had no chief ruler but was subject to Sind. The pilgrim mentions but does not name the capitals of these two provinces or dependencies of the kingdom of Sind.

Pi-to-shi-lo and 'O-fan-ch'a appear to be the districts of Turan and Budha (spelt also Budah, Budahah, etc.) mentioned by the medieval Arab geographers.86 The Chach-Nāma also mentions these two districts, but it calls the latter district Būdhiya. G. Le Strange in The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (p. 331) writes: "On the with-eastern frontiers of Makrān, and close to the Indian border, the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely, Tūrān,87 of which the capital was Kusdār,88 and Budahah to the north of this of which the capital was Kandābīl." Kusdār is the headquarters of the modern Jhalawan District, while Kandābīl<sup>89</sup> has been idenwith Gandava, the headquarters of the modern Kachhi

85. In the Life (p. 151) we are informed that from Long-kie-lo the proceeded direct to Pi-to-shi-lo, which is described as 700 li to the to This is evidently an erroneous statement.

8. The forms Nadha and Nudha in Idrīsī and Kazwīnī appear to be tornptions of Budha. In Arabic characters the letter ba (B) can be easily mistaken as nun (N), if the diacritical point is not properly placed. Cf. Miot (i, p. 388): "These later authorities are of no value when arrayed spirit the Chach-Nāma, and Gainst the repeated instances to the contrary from the Chach-Nāma, and great main repeated instances to the contrary from the Chach-Nāma, and Breat majority of readings in Ibn Haukal and Istakhri."

87. Ernst Herzfeld in his Paikuli (p. 39) remarks that Turan, if correctly itten in A-1 witten in Arab sources, "is not used in a vague sense as opposed to Iran, but means at 1 Courte" but means the district of Kuzdar, to the south of Quetta."

8. The Chach-Nāma makes no allusion to the town of Kusdār, but hentions that "the mountains of Kusdār" together with Kaikānān formed that "the mountains of Kusdar tog Sind.

80. Variable Moundary of the kingdom of Sind. Variant readings: Kandāīl, Kandābēl, Kandhābēl, etc.

District. These two Districts of Baluchistan are, therefore the approximate representatives of Pi-to-shi-lo and 'O-fan-ch'a countries of the Chinese pilgrim.

The capital of Pi-to-shi-lo is not named by Hiuen Tsiang, but as he indicates that it was 700 li, or 143 miles, north from Gonda. kahar, the capital of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, it seems quite evident that Kusdār was the place meant. Kusdār lies 139 miles north of Belass . From Gondakahar (11 miles to the north-west of Bela), therefore, the distance to Kusdār would be just a few miles more. There can therefore, be no doubt that Kusdar corresponds to the Chinese pilgrim's unnamed capital of Pi-to-shi-lo.

Pi-to-shi-lo, the pilgrim tells us, had a circuit of about 3,000 k or about 600 miles. It was subject to fierce cold winds and was thickly populated. The soil was salt and sandy; a great quantity of beans and wheat was grown, but flowers and fruits were scarce There were 50 monasteries with some 2,000 monks, and also 20 Deva temples. The people were fierce and rough in manners, but were sincere Buddhists. Their language slightly differed from that of Mid-India. The capital city (not named) was 20 li in circuit About 3 miles north from the capital, in the middle of a forest, was a stūpa several hundred feet high, built by Aśoka. It enshrip ed a relic associated with Buddha in his birth as a rishi. New this was an old monastery and beside it, again, another stupe to mark the place where Four Past Buddhas had walked for exercise.91

The Jhalawan District, which has an area of 21,128 square miles, is roughly equivalent in size to Pi-to-shi-lo, which is des cribed by the pilgrim as being some 600 miles in circuit. "The country", states the Jhalawan Gazetteer (p. 1), "is for the most part broken and mountainous, being intersected here and there by valleys of varying width. It forms the catchment area of three large rivers and of several small ones." Again: "The country slopes gradually southward, the highest valley being about 6,500 feet above the control of the south south and feet above the control of the south sou feet above the sea level near Kelāt, and the lowest about 1,000 feet

90. See note 61. 91. Beal, ii, pp. 279-80.

also not populati vidian 1 all the tongues. lo "sligh to this Baluchis and the mance I cast m 92. Me Gazetteer

Watered, a

93. At

d Februar

hosts take

- Gazette

94. Cf. spoken in of Kalat. thnic feat

isople of

Studies in

above 1

sparsely

dense"

true or

Stein, "

and of

Wakran

About

Yakut

district

other fi country

is true

unen "t

higher .

efore the h'a coun-

siang, but m Gondaident that of Belas therefore, There can e Chinese

t 3,000 li, and was quantity re scarce d also 20 ners, but from that n circuit. a forest, enshrini. Near stūpa to lked for

8 square is des it. "The the most there by of three country ut 6,500

,000 feet

the sea level near Sārūna." For its size Jhalawān is very parsely populated. The pilgrim's remark that "the population is dense" seems, therefore, an exaggeration. That could have been only of the valley tracts, and of Kusdar, which, says Aurel Stein, "enjoys the advantage of adequate irrigation from its river and of being situated at a point where main routes coming from Makran and Sind, from Kandahar and the sea-coast meet."92 About Kusdar the Encyclopaedia of Islam (ii, p. 1159) writes: Yakut (A.D. 1225) describes it as a small town in a fertile district which he calls Turan, producing grapes, pomegranates and other fruits, but not dates." Hiven Tsiang's statement that the ountry was "subject to cold and tempestuous winds" however, is true of Jhalawan even now.93 Aurel Stein specially remarks wen "the cutting cold of the winds which sweep down from the higher valleys" in the Jhalawan country during the winter. He also notes (op. cit., pp. 13-4) that "a vast majority of the present population of Jhalawān is composed of Brāhuīs, who speak a Dravidian language and are thus wholly distinct linguistically from the surrounding population speaking either Indian or Iranian ingues." The pilgrim's observation that the language of Pi-to-shib "slightly differs from that of Mid-India" has reference probably this Dravidian dialect still spoken in the central highlands of Baluchistan.94 Masson in his Journeys in Balochistan Afghanistan and the Panjab (ii, pp. 43-4) writes: "Khozdār, figuring in Persian nomances and having been formerly beyond doubt, a place of note, l cast my eye over the plain to ascertain if there was any object

Memoir Archaeological Survey of India, No. 43, p. 13. Cf. Thornton's Gazetteer (i, p. 384): "It (Kusdar) is situated in a narrow, fertile, well-National (I, p. 384): "It (Kusdar) is situated in a nation, and highly-cultivated valley, amidst gardens and orchards."

At Kusdar (3,800 feet above the sea-level), towards the latter part d February, the thermometer falls many degrees below freezing point, severe hosts take place nightly, succeeded by intensely cold winds and heavy rain. Gazetteer of Jhalawan, p. 32.

94 Cf. Basham: "Most surprising of all is Brāhūi, a Dravidian language Basham: "Most surprising of all is Brahu, a Dravidian in the far north-western corner of the sub-continent, in the region Kalat. The Kalat. The speakers of this language, incidentally, show no Dravidian the speakers of this language, incidentally, snow no language features whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other to be of the whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other to be of the whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other to be of the whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other to be of the whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other to be of the other to be of the whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other to be of th reatures whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from Aryans', studies in Indiana, "Some Reflections on Dravidians and Aryans', Studies in Indian History and Culture, p. 22.

which might be referrible to a remote epoch. My attention was directed to a considerable tappa or mound, north of the town, and towards it I bent my steps. On the way I found the soil strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery over a very large space, indeed I could not define its full extent. I strolled for some time over it, in the hope of picking up a relique, perhaps a coin. In this I was disappointed, but met with numerous lumps of slag iron, and fragments of dark-coloured glass, or some other vitified substance. The tappa itself had the remains of mud-walls comparatively modern, on its crest, and at its base, were sprinkled a few mulberry-trees." These objects and the mound noticed by Masson was probably the remains of the Buddhist monuments, three miles to the north of the capital, which are mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

Pi

nates :

the na

рр. 323

with I

adds "

ander's

head c

Bheda-

had re

and he

designa

identifi

him.

represe

placed

Easterr

mon th

tions w

the tru

a guess Patta-ś

meet" ;

silā acc

97. F

appellati

dition di

maintain:

Was Poto

krit-Engl 99. C Kusdār) tect the

Panjgur

through

and through

98. W English I

Kusdar is an ancient place. That name 'however' is either an Arabicised form of an older Sanskrit name or an altogether new name for the town. Kusdar was captured by the Arabs some time before their conquest of Sind.95 G. Le Strange writes (op.cit. pp. 331-32): "Ibn Haukal describes it (Kusdar) as standing on a river (wadi), and having a fortress in its midst. The plain around the town was very fertile, producing vines and pomegranates with other fruits of a cold climate. Mukaddasi adds that the city lay in two quarters, on either side of the dry river-bed; on one side was the place of Sultan and the castle, on the other, which was called Budin, dwelt the merchants, whose shops in the market were much frequented by the Khurāsān folk." In the days of its prosperity Kusdar must have been a considerable city and a place of note. Pottinger, who passed through Kusdar in 1810, speaks of it as having 500 houses occupied mostly by Hindu merchants from Multan and Shikārpūr. He remarks that "such is their influence in the place, that the keys of the town gate are entrusted in the hands of their senior Brahmin every night, of which class there are several, who officiate at a Pagoda that the comments of their senior branch and pagoda that the community have here dedicated to Kalee."96

<sup>95.</sup> Bilādurī records that Kusdār was captured in the reign of Caliph Muāwiya (A.D. 661-79). — Elliot, i, p. 118.
96. Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, pp. 36-7.

ntion was town, and il strewed rge space; some time coin. In os of slag her vitrinud-walls sprinkled oticed by onuments, tioned by

is either altogether abs somes (op.cit., nding on The plain pomegrathat the r-bed; on he other. ps in the In the able city usdār in ostly by irks that

of Caliph

he town

in every

Pagoda

Pi-to-shi-lo, the name by which the Chinese pilgrim desigmodern Jhalawan, is quite a puzzle. M. Julien Sanskritized the name as Pīta-śilā or "yellow rock". Cunningham (Anc. Geog., 923-24) rendered it as Pāta-śilā or "flat rock" and identified it with Lower Sind, the chief town in which is Hyderabad situated on a flat-topped hill. "The names of Pātalpur and Pāta-śilā", he adds "further suggest that Haiderabad may be the Pattala of Alexander's historians, which they are unanimous in placing near the head of the Delta."97 Watters (ii, p. 259) rendered the name as Bheda-sira or "cleft-head". "The name", he observed, "may have had reference to the Jātaka of which the pilgrim makes mention, and here, as on other occasions, he may have used a Buddhist designation unknown to ordinary Indian literature." No specific intification of the country intended was, however, proposed by him. Haig (op.cit., pp. 37-9) thought that the Chinese syllables represent probably such names as Bēdāsīr and Pītāsīr and he placed Pi-to-shi-lo in the region of Nagar Parkar or Umarkot in Lastern Sind, as place-names terminating in  $s\bar{\imath}r$  or sar are common there and in the adjacent region of Mārwār. These restorations would have been convincing if they had answered better to the true geographical position of the district. If I may venture a guess, Pi-to-shi-lo was probably intended as a transcription of Paṭṭa-śilā. In Sanskrit Paṭṭa means "a place where four roads meet" and Silā means "a stone, rock or crag." The terms Pattaaccurately describes the rocky, elevated plain of Kusdar on which caravan routes from all the four directions converge.99 If

97. Patalpur, according to Burton (Sind, ch. 1, note 7), was an old appellation of Hyderabad. Haig (op.cit., p. 20n), on the authority of a tradition discount of Hyderabad. discovered in Tibet by the Hungarian philologist Cosma de Koros, maintains that the true name of the town which the Greeks called Patala ss Potala or Potalaka. See also JASB, ii, p. 385 and vi, p. 349.

98. Wilson, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, pp. 492, 898; Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1958 ed.), ii, p. 953, iii, p. 1553; Monier-Williams, A Sans-

knit-English Dictionary, pp. 579, 1073.

99. Cf. Bellew, From the Indus to the Tigris, p. 53: "It (the fort of Kusdār) is well situated for the purpose it is meant to serve, viz., to protect the care National National State of the care National Nati tet the caravan routes centring in this valley through Nal from Kej and Sonmani on the south, Panjgur on the West, through Wadd from Bela and Sonmiani on the south, through the Mest, through Wadd from Bela and Shikarpur on the east, through the Miloh Pass from Kotra, Gandava and Shikarpur on the east, and through D. through Baghwāna from Sūrāb and Calat on the north."

Be

other :

that di

was I

in Jha

is noth

was m

as a ru

omissic

native

essay a

countri

identifi

somew.

1202) 1

dar (a

fication

assigne

valley

shi-lo.

Tsiang.

Chauko

Bukkun

places

or 2500

the cul

and fru

people

Pulsive.

20 mon

The car

pampoo

tery mo

to wear

still sor

Ι ( A-fon-t

The

I am right in my conjecture, there can be little doubt that the name of the Jhalawan country in Hiuen Tsiang's time was Patte. śilā or, as is more likely, a Pāli or Prākṛt form of that name. The name Tūrān for this district in the Chach-Nama and the works of Arab geographers dates probably from Islamic times. It is unknown in Sanskrit literature. Alberuni, who wrote in the eleventh century, calls even the sea along the southern coast of Baluchistan the Gulf of  $T\bar{u}r\bar{a}n$ . Turān is an Iranian tem, derived probably from the Avestan Tūr or Tūra, the name of a people represented as "the enemies of Iranians and true religion", who in later times came to be identified with the Turks of Central Asia. Some scholars suggest that the name Tūrān came to be applied to this region when, in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Scythians or Sakas had established themselves in Seistān (Śakasthāna) and extended their sway to the Indus valley and Western India.101 If that were so, then in the seventh century this border region must have had two names, one Iranian and the other Indian which our Chinese pilgrim used. Jhalawan, the present designation of the district, is of no very remote date. It is derived from jhala, a Baluchi word meaning below, or to the south, from which fact it is inferred that it was applied to the district when a Baluchi-speaking race was in power in this part of the country. The Baluchis originally dwelt in Kirman, and they entered Makrān (i.e. western Baluchistan) only after the Seljuk invasion of Kīrmān, in the first half of the eleventh century.102

100. "The coast of India begins with Tiz, the capital of Makran, and extends thence in a south-eastern direction towards the region of Al-daibal (Debal) over a discount direction towards the region of Al-daibal (Debal), over a distance of 40 farasakhs. Between the two places lies the Gulf of Tūrān." — Alberuni's India, i, p. 208.

101. Cf. Richard Frye (The Heritage of Persia, p. 41): "The district of uran in present Reliable of the Heritage of Persia, p. 41): Turan in present Baluchistan, the twgrn in the Parthian version of Shapur's (Shahpuhr) great in the twgrn in the Parthian version of the (Shahpuhr) great inscription from A.D. 260, may reflect a movement of the Turā to the south Tura to the south. Most scholars reject any connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the two but it is not impossible the connection between the connection b but it is not impossible that there was real connection." See also Encyclopaedia of Islam, iv, pp. 378 f.

102. Dames, The Baloch Race, pp. 2, 29; Encyclopaedia of Islam, i, p. 100; f. Gazetteer of Kachhi (\*\* 20) Cf. Gazetteer of Kachhi (p. 33): "Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the 10th century, tells us that Koch and D. "Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the artering of tury, tells us that Koch and Baloch inhabited the 'Iran Zamin, bordering of Hind and Sind'." See also Grand inhabited the 'Iran Zamin, bordering of the Company of the Baloch inhabited the 'Iran Zamin, bordering of the 'Iran Zamin, bor

Hind and Sind'." See also G. Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 323-24.

Before concluding the case of Pi-to-shi-lo let me mention some ther suggestions that have been made regarding the location of that district. Lambrick observed (op.cit., p. 149) that Pi-to-shi-lo was round about Sehwan, or possibly west of the Khirthar range in Jhalawan." "The former", he adds, "is more probable, as there is nothing in the pilgrim's description to suggest that the country mountainous." The topographical indications of the pilgrim sarule are so sketchy that for my part I would not regard that mission in the pilgrim's description as decisive against the alterpative identification which Lambrick rejects. Vincent Smith in his esay appended to Watters's volumes (ii, p. 342) remarks that "the ountries in the Indus valley, Pi-to-shi-lo and others, cannot be identified with precision", but in his map he shows Pi-to-shi-lo somewhere in north-west Sind. William Anderson (art.cit. p. 1002) locates this State at Bukkur in Upper Sind. R.C. Majumdar (art.cit., p. 7), unable to suggest any specific modern identifations of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, Pi-to-shi-lo and O-fan-ch'a assigned all these three dependencies of Sind generally to the valley of the lower Indus. With respect to the location of Pi-toshi-lo, W. H. Sykes (art.cit., p. 332) in 1841 wrote that Hiuen Tsiang, "must have passed through Nusserpur (in Lower Sind), Chaukor (? Sukkur) and Bhukker (Bukkur)". Sukkur and Bukkur are both in Upper Sind.

I come now to Hiuen Tsiang's country of 'O-fan-ch'a, or A-fon-t'u as Watters transcribes the name, which the pilgrim places 300 li to the north-east of Pi-to-shi-lo.

The pilgrim informs us that 'O-fan-ch'a had a circuit of 2400 or 2500 li. Its climate was windy and cold. The soil was fit for the cultivation of grain; wheat and beans abounded but flowers and fruits were few; the woods were thin. The language of the people was simple and uncultivated. Men, though fierce and impulsive, were earnest believers in "the three gems". There were nonasteries with some 2000 monks, and also 5 Deva temples. The capital city (not named) was 20 li in circuit. In a great tery mostly in ruins; here Buddha had given permission to bhiksus the wear shoes. Beside the monastery was stūpa built by Aśoka, some 100 feet high although the foundations had sunk into

that the as Pattame. The e works s. It is in the coast of in term me of a eligion". Central e to be e Chriselves in s valley ith cen-Iranian alawān,

rān, and Al-daibal lies the

te date.

r to the

to the

his part

an, and ter the

leventh

strict of Shapur's t of the the two Encyclo

p. 1005; oth cenering on

the earth. In a vihara by the side of the monastery was a blue. stone standing figure of Buddha. When Buddha had stopped here finding it cold in the night he covered himself with his three garments; on the following morning he relaxed the rule against bhikṣus wearing padded garments. Nearby were a number of other stupas, which enshrined the relics of Buddha's hair and nails.103

that n

Gustãs took a

of the hil "107

city an

The si

(i. pp.

modern

mowle

sively i

remark:

capital"

ever, ra

is not C

He reli

But Bil

persona

neither

again in

ancient

rather t

ing to I

Kandhā

this stat text, or

the conj

107. Ib

(B. C. 52: 108. Ib

109. Cf territory ( Kachhi in

of Ganday

110. Ko

111. Mi

112 El 113. Ka

No

This feudatory province under Sind, lying to the north-east of Tūrān (Pi-to-shi-lo), was undoubtedly Budha or Būdhiya of the Chach-Nāma and the Arab geographers, of which the chief town was Kandābil. We read in the Chach-Nāma that Chach, after his return from his expedition to the border of Kirman, marched from Armābel (Las Bela) via Tūrān to Kandābīl, the people of which place tendered their submission to him and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 dirhams and 100 hill horses.164 "It would appear", writes Elliot (i, p. 388), "that the old tract of Budh, or Būdhiya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kachh Gandāva, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kachh Gandava, there is still a place called Budha105 on the Nari river." Kachh Gandava is thus the modern representative of the Chinese pilgrim's country of 'O-fanch'a. It is from there, as has already been mentioned, that the Life (p. 151) makes the pilgrim travel eastwards to the Sin-tu kingdom.

"Kandabil," says Istakhrī (A.D. 951), "is a great city. The palm tree does not grow there. It is in the desert, and within the confines of Buddha. The cultivated fields are mostly irrigated Vines grow there and cattle are pastured. The vicinity is fruitful Abil is the name of the man who subdued this town, which is named after him."106 The Iranian tradition about the origin of

103. Beal, ii, pp. 280-81.

<sup>104.</sup> Elliot, i, p. 152; Kalichbeg, p. 39. Beloochistan and Sinde. The name there is spelt Buddha.

s a blueped here. nis three e against mber of hair and

orth-east dhiya of he chief Chach, Kirmān. abil, the d agreed orses.104 tract of modern orthern, which it remark a place hus the 'O-fan-

y. The within rigated. ruitful. hich is igin of

hat the

Sin-tu

ivels in

that name however, is different: it states that in the life time of Gustast, king of Persia, Bahman led an army to Hindustan and bok a portion of it. Bahman founded a city between the confines the Hindus and Turks, to which he gave the name of Kanda-Ibn Haukal (A.D. 978) describes Kandābīl as the chief gity and mart of Budha. 108 No place of the name of Kandabil now exists in Baluchistan. The site of that medieval town is ably discussed by Elliot (i. pp. 385-86) and he concludes that Kandābīl was the same as modern Gandava. His conclusion, in the present state of our bowledge, cannot be bettered. 109 Masson, who travelled extensively in Baluchistan in the first half of the last century, also remarks that Gandava is "deemed the ancient as well as modern capital" of Kachh Gandava. 110 To this identification Raverty, how-

ever, raises the following objection: "It so happens that Kandabil

is not Gandābah, but stood on a hill which Gandābah does not."111

He relied evidently on a statement to that effect by Bilādurī. 112

But Biladuri was not a traveller and had not the opportunities of

personal observation which Istakhrī and Ibn Haukal enjoyed,

neither of whom reports that Kandābīl stood on a hill. Holdich,

again in The Gates of India (p. 306) observes: "The capital of this

ancient Buddha, or Buddhiya kingdom, I believe to be Armabel

tather than Kandābēl." His view is manifestly untenable. Allud-

ing to Kandābīl the Chach-Nāma states that it otherwise is called

Kandhār or Kandahār. 113 Elliot escaped the difficulty of explaining

his statement by suggesting that it was an interpolation in the "We can only regard the passage", he says (i, p. 385), "as the conjecture of some transcriber interpolated by mistake from

M. Ibid., p. 106. Gustäsf of the Persian annalists is the Darius Hystaspes R. C. 521-485) of the Greek writers. 108. Ibid., pp. 34, 38.

log Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam (ii, p. 710): "Kandabil, a city in the kritory of Budha (Budhiya, var. Nudha), which corresponds to the modern kachhi in Kachh Gandāva in Balochistan. It is probably the modern town Gandāva, which is not now important."

110. Kalat, p. 330.

111 Malat, p. 330.
112 Mihran, p. 217n.
113 Kalichheg p. 22 701. 113. Kalichbeg, p. 39; Elliot, i, p. 152. the margin into the text." It is surprising that it did not occur to him that Kandhār or Kandahār in the text might be a corruption of Gandāva. It is easily seen that Gandāva, if badly written in Arabic characters—the letter ga (G) is unknown in Arabic—would very likely be copied as Kandhar or Kandahar. I think there is little reason to doubt the identity of Kandābīl with Gandāva, It is also almost certain that the unnamed capital of 'O-fan-ch'a was this city of Kandābīl, that is to say, modern Gandāva, which lies about 100 miles north-east from Kusdar, the capital of Hiuen Tsiang's Pi-to-shi-lo.114 The pilgrim no doubt places the two capitals only 300 li, or 611/2 miles, apart. But there is no likely place at that distance—or farther—between Kusdar and Gandava with which the unnamed capital of 'O-fan-ch'a (which was a considerable town) can reasonably be identified. I, therefore incline to the view that the figure "300" in the Chinese text is an error for "500", and Kandābīl was the place intended.

It seems that Budha (Būdhiya) under Hindu rule had also another capital, for the Chach-Nāma expressly states that when Chach, early in his reign, marched from Alor to Būdhiya its capital was Kākārāj, which "the natives of those parts called Siwīs." Siwīs (Siwi) has been identified with present Sibi, which lies close to the eastern border of Kachhi, 70 miles as the crow flies north-east of Gandāva. The history of Kachhi,

114. Gazetteer of Jhalawan (p. 217) gives the distance from Kusdar to Kotra as about 90 miles, from where, again, Gandāva is distant 8 miles. Appendix vi, Route I, in the same gazetteer gives the distance between Kusdar and Kotra as 84 miles. Bellew (op. cit., pp. 53-4) makes the distance from Kusdār to Gandāva by the Mīlch Pass 93 miles. We would, therefore, be not far wrong in taking the distance between the two capital cities to be 500 li, or about 100 miles.

115. Kalichbeg, pp. 30-31. Nānārāj, the reading preferred by Elliot (i. p. 145), appears to be a corruption of Kākāraj, literally, "the capital of Kākā. There are indications in the Chach-Nāma that Kākā probably was the cornomen of the princes of Būdhiya.

116. Cf. Gazetteer of Sibi (p. 1): "The District derives its name from the town of Sibi or Siwi as it was written in earlier times, and local tradition attributes the origin of the name to Siwi, a Hindu lady of the Sera race, who is said to have ruled over this part of the country in former times." Masson (Journeys, ii, p. 106) in 1842 wrote that "there are still some few families of the Sewa tribe at Kalāt, who, agreeably to tradition ruled the country before the Brāhuis"

states
towns
geograp
part of
(xxii,
mouths
frequer

Ka

extendi

in Balu

Sind from points repligation it can be ing hill (1921, if the modification wheat if gated last descriptions of the spin to the spin points in the

In the

village,

with w

every r

117. Gri 118. Ib 118. Ib 129. Ib 129. It 139. It 149. It 14

## HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

the Gazetteer of that District (p. 13), "centres round two of Sibi and Gandava or Kandabil as it is called by the Arab graphers. From the earliest times both places have formed gent of the same district." Of Sibi town the Imperial Gazetteer (xii, p. 344) says, "Owing to its exposed situation between the mouths of the Harnai and Bolan Passes, it has suffered from frequent sieges."

Kachhi or Kachh Gandava region is a flat triangular plain. ortending for 150 miles from Jacobabad in Upper Sind to Sibi Baluchistan, with nearly as great a breadth at its base on the Sind frontier. It has an area of 5,310 sq. miles and thus corresnonds roughly in size with 'O-fan-ch'a, which is described by the pilgrim as about 2,500 li in circuit. The soil is fertile wherever ican be irrigated by the floods brought down from the surrounding hills. "Nowhere in Baluchistan", says the Census of India (1921, iv, p. 3), "is the rainfall so scanty, yet the Kachhi plain is the most fertile area in the Province." The area outside the influence of irrigation, however, is "little better than a desert." Wheat is most cultivated on the west side of Kachhi, where irrigated lands exist. The north wind blowing at Gandava in winter described as "cold and piercing."117 It is no wonder that Hiuen Isiang found the monks in the place wearing shoes and padded saments—a practice the origin of which local tradition ascribed the special permission given by Buddha during his sojourn there. In the vicinity of Gandava, 3 miles to the north-east of Gajan village, are two mounds called after Dallu Rai, a legendary king, with whose moral iniquities popular tradition connects almost every ruined site in Baluchistan and Sind. 118 These two mounds

17. Gazetteer of Kacchi, p. 12.

18. Ibid., pp. 190-91. About the mound near Sibi (628 yards in circumkachee and 135 feet in height) the Gazetteer of Sibi (p. 34) states: "It is sid to be the ruins of an ancient city founded by a semi-mythical infidel ing named Dallu Rai, who, according to local tradition, married his own taghter contrary to all usage and established custom, and thereby incurred wrath of the deity who destroyed his city." For slightly different local badition ascribing the ruin of Alor and the destruction of Brahmanabad to the wickedness of Dallu Rai see Abbot, Sind, p. 75 and Dayaram Gidumal, Something about Sindh, pp. 65-6. Smyth in the Gazetteer of the Province Sind (B. Vol. v, p. 29) remarks that "this legend is fitted to almost every hosing heap of ruins in Sind, and they are many."

not occur corruption vritten in ic-would there is idāva, It -ch'a was vhich lies of Hiuen the two

no likely

Gandava

as a con-

e incline

an error

had also at when lhiva its ts called ent Sibi, es as the Kachhi",

Kusdar to 8 miles. een Kusdistance therefore, ties to be liot (i. p.

of Kaka. the cogeme from cal tradi-

the Sewa n former are still tradition,

represent probably the remains of the Buddhist monuments described by the Chinese pilgrim around the capital of 'O-fan-ch'a,

Let me now mention the identifications of 'O-fan-ch'a (or A-fan-t'u) which have been proposed by various writers. (Anc. Geog. p. 301) thought that O-fan-ch'a Cunningham "corresponds as nearly as possible with the province of middle Sindh" and he identified its unnamed capital with the ancient city of Brāhmanābād, the ruins of which lie 43 miles to the north-east of modern Hyderabad. Haig (op. cit., p. 39) believed that O-fan. ch'a lay "somewhere in Khairpur territory" in Upper Sind William Anderson, (art. cit., p. 1202) guided apparently by vague analogy of sound, identified 'O-fan-ch'a with Uchh in the Punjah Lambrick (op. cit., pp. 149-50), again, placed 'O-fan-ch'a somewhere to the south of Larkana. "If Pi-to-shih-lo", he observe, "was in the vicinity of Sehwan, A-fan-t'u would have been somewhat to the south of Larkana, according to the distance given by Yuan Chwang, provided that we may take his bearing of northeast to mean 'east of north'. Granted this, there seems fair ground for believing that at Bādah we have the remains of the capital of this province; while the Aśoka Tope, 'not far to the north-east of the capital', which was 'still 100 feet high although the foundations had sunk out of sight', may have been no other than the stūpa at Mohan-jo-daro." Beal (ii, p. 280 n) confused Avanda (M. Julien's transcript of 'O-fan-ch'a) with Avanti, that is ancient Mālva, as the Buddhist text Mahāvagga (S.B.E., xvii, p. 235) mentions that the Master allowed his disciples living in Avantī the indulgence of wearing foot-coverings of any kind.

Now only the name 'O-fan-ch'a remains to be explained. In a note Watters (ii, p. 259) remarks: "There is some doubt as to what was the pilgrim's transcription of the name of this country...Julien restores the name as Avanda, and we may provisionally accept this or Avanda." Avanda appears to be a Prakt or Pāli<sup>119</sup> form of the word Gandāva. In Prākṛts, there is a

from (

Avand

and d

layman

philolo

the reg

it is k

intende

the Lo

on wa

Gates

Kachel

tender

words

change

a wor

significate to the time of offers at the name derived by the Brahmir open ar

space,

betwee:

Fro went no Fa-la-n

120. M Pp. 26, 27 121. D trates Tā filoda. S brāhman, 122. Se 17-18) a 123. i,

<sup>119.</sup> Pāli, the language of the Buddhist canen, is the original Prākṛt da lect of Magadha. Philologically it is known as the Śuddha Māgadhi Bhās — Vidyabhusana, Kaccayana's Pali Grammar, p. X; Cf. Wilson (Hinda Drama, Introduction, p. lxvi): "The sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prakrit."

nents des fan-ch'a. -ch'a (or writers. O-fan-ch'a of middle cient city north-east at 'O-fanper Sind. by vague e Punjab. i'a someobserves, en some given by of northir ground capital of orth-east e foundathan the Avanda that is

kind.

ned. In
doubt as
his country proviPrākṛt
ere is a

E., xvii,

living in

akṛt diahi Bhāsa (Hindu and the

tendency to drop syllables or harsh sounds at the beginning of words; also another phenomenon peculiar to them is the interthange of position between syllables (metathesis) in the body of word, e.g., Skt. masaka, Pāli makasa. 120 Elision of the initial g from Gandava and the transposition of the other syllables make it Avanda, which in turn becomes Avanda, as  $\bar{a}$  and d change to aand d according to rules of phonetic change. 121 How far this layman's explanation is correct I leave to expert Sanskritists and bilologists to decide. If it be correct, then the original name of the region must have been Gandava. Even at the present day i is known as Kachh Gandava. The affix Kachh is probably intended to indicate that the region bordered on the valley of the Lower Indus, for Kachha in Sanskrit means "land bordering m water" or simply "a bordering region".122 Holdich in The Gotes of India (p. 35) remarks that "the term Kach, sometimes Kachchi, sometimes Katz, is invariably applied to a flat open space, even if it is only the flat terrace above a river intervening between the river and a hill, and is purely geographical in its sgnificance". The name Budha or Būdhiya was probably given to the country by the Arab conquerers, as its inhabitants at the time of the conquest were mostly Buddhists. Elliot, however, offers a different explanation about the origin of that name. "If the name had any significant origin at all", he observes, "it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote region, at the time when Brahminism was making its quiet but steady inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus." 123

From 'O-fan-ch'a—that is, its capital, Gandāva,—Hiuen Tsiang went north-east for 900 li, or 180 miles, to the country called Fa-la-na. From there, again, he travelled north-west, crossed

<sup>120.</sup> Mutsuddi, Pali Grammar, p. 5; Vaidya, Ardhamagadhi Grammar,
121. D

<sup>121.</sup> Dey, Geographical Dictionary, Preface, pp. v and viii. He illustionary, Substitution of the short vowel a for the long vowel ā is seen in the long vowel a seen in the

<sup>122.</sup> See Sanskrit — English Dictionaries by Wilson (p. 144), Apte (i, pp. 123. i, p. 389.

There

was 2 monas

he wa

the W

amids

sovere

a bree

the co

sugges countr

"is vei

with t river (

and La

hand, j

conject

Varana

Po-na

tion of

tioned the tril may be

untena

to Vaer

miles;

Ghazni

Tsiang

127. P

128. 5

129. C

130.

131. N

132. G

It .

M.

M

great mountains and wide valleys, and leaving the frontiers of India, reached after a journey of 2,000 li, or 400 miles, the country of Tsao-ku-t'a.

Tsao-ku-t'a of the Chinese pilgrim is without doubt the Arachosia of the classical writers and Zābul or Zābulistan of the Arab authors. It possessed, as Hiuen Tsiang tells us, two capitals. Ho-si-na and Ho-sa-la, of which the former has been identified with Ghazni. "Everybody is agreed", remarks Vincent Smith, "that Ghazni was either on or near the site of Ho-si-na, the ancient capital of Tsao-ku-t'a."124 The valley of Lo-mo-in-tu river in this country, which is mentioned by the pilgrim as producing asafoetida, says Cunningham, "is readily identified, with the Helmand by prefixing the syllable Ho to the Chinese transcript.125 The country of Fa-la-na has to be looked for some 180 miles to the north-east of Gandava and about 400 miles to the south-east of Ghazni.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, Fa-la-na was 4,000 li, or about 800 miles, in circuit. It was subject to the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi<sup>125</sup> and consisted mostly of mountains and forests. It had regular crops and a cool climate and was well populated. The people were rough and fierce; some believed in Buddha, others not; and their language was somewhat like that of Mid-India. There were some tens of Buddhist monasteries and about 300 monks, all Mahāyānists.

124. See Watters, ii, p. 342. Cf. Bombaci, East and West, 1957, viii, pp. 55.56. "See Watters, ii, p. 342. Cf. Bombaci, East and West, 1957, viii, pp. 342. 255-56: "Satisfactory from the geographical point of view, but not entirely from the linguistic is the generally accepted hypothesis that Ghazni is the city of Ho-hsi-na of which Hsuan-tsang speaks as one of the two capitals of the kingdom of Tsao-chü-ta i.e., of Zäbul. The archaic pronunciation of the Chinese characters is indeed Yāk-siet-na, rather different from the known denomination of Ghazni, of which, however, we do not know with certainty the ancient native name."

125. Anc. Geog., p. 45.

126. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar: "The northernmost kingdom of Afghanistan, ancient times was less than the companies." in ancient times, was known to some of the Greek and Roman geographers by the name of Kapisan by the name of Kapisene, and the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang calls it Kia-pi-she. Pānini Kia-pi-she. Pāṇini mentions Kāpishī (iv-2-99), which he derives kāpishāyanī — the name of Kāpishāyanī — the name of a wine manufactured from grapes produced in the district. The country is fire the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its grapes." — Ind. Ant. 1872: grapes." — Ind. Ant., 1872, i, p. 22. Kāpishī is also mentioned in Kautilyas Ārthaśāstra (Bk. ii, ch. xxv.)

### HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

there were also five Deva temples. The chief city (not named) 1825 20 li in circuit. Not far to the south of the capital was an old monastery, where Buddha had preached. The pilgrim adds that he was informed by local report that adjoining this country on the west was the Ki-kiang-na country. The people there lived amidst great mountains and valleys; they had local chiefs but no gvereign. The country abounded in sheep and horses, including a breed of excellent horses, large in size and highly prized by the countries around.127

M. Julien gives Varana as the restoration of Fa-la-na. Watters suggests Varna instead. Pāṇini mentions (iv. 2. 103, iv. 3. 93) a ountry named Varnu, which Bhandarkar (art. cit., p. 22) says "s very likely the same as Hiuen Tsiang's Fa-la-nu."

M. Vivien de Saint-Martin thought that Fa-la-na corresponds with the region of Vaneh which lies about the middle part of river Gumal's course. This view is endorsed by Vincent Smith 128 and Lambrick. 129 Cunningham 130 and Aurel Stein, 131 on the other hand, identify Fa-la-na with the region round Bannu. Cunningham conjectures that the original name of this district must have been Varana or Barna, which he regards as identical with Fa Hian's Po-na or Bana. According to Dey, however, Bannu is a corrupion of Banāyu. The tribe of Banāyavas, he points out, is menfioned in the Padma Purāṇa (Svarga Khaṇda, Ādī, ch. iii) among the tribes of the north-western frontier of India. 132 However that may be, both these identifications, though phonetically perhaps not Untenable, seem to be wide of the mark. From Gandava either to Vaenh or to Bannu the distance is a great deal more than 180 miles; and, again, from either of these two places the distance to Chazni is considerably less than 400 miles.

It seems to me that the province of Fa-la-na, whence Hiuen Isiang proceeded to Ghazni, lay across a main east-west route lead-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ontiers of e country

oubt the an of the capitals, identified t Smith, i-na, the -tu river

with the script.13 miles to outh-east

roducing

or about -pi-shi126 regular ole were nd their re some ayānists.

viii, pp: entirely ni is the capitals inciation rom the ow with

nanistan, graphers calls it es from uced in its fine autilya's

<sup>17.</sup> Beal, ii, pp. 281-82; Watters, ii, p. 262 128. See Watters, ii, p. 242.

<sup>129.</sup> Op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>130.</sup> Anc. Geog. p. 97.

<sup>131.</sup> Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 37, pp. 29-30 132. Geographical Dictionary, p. 221.

ing from India through Northern Baluchistan to Central Asia. Such a route traverses the Loralai District of Baluchistan and passes through the town of Duki, situated in the south of that District In the year 1614, in the reign of Jehangir, two English merchants Richard Steel and John Crowther, who were on their way from Ajmer to Isfahān, passed through Duki. Travelling from Multan they crossed the south-eastern frontier of Loralai District near Chacha and passed by way of Duki and Pishin to Kandahar. At Duki, for the protection of the caravans, they inform us, "The Mogore (Mughal) maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne "IM Again, in 1653 during the reign of Shah Jahan, when Dara Shikoh led an army to capture Kandahār, the prince marched through Duki and Pishin, while his heavy guns made their way by the Bolan Pass."134 As the position of Duki in relation to Gandava is exactly in accordance with the indications of the pilgrim, is I would place the unnamed capital of Fa-la-na at or near that place. It seems, therefore, a fair presumption that the province of Fa-la-na included a considerable part of Loralai District and the adjacent tract to the west, together probably with the Bolin That historic pass, about 60 miles long, extends from Rindli to Darwaza<sup>136</sup> and connects the Districts of Sibi and Quetta "This pass", says the Cyclopaedia of India (i. p. 446), "is particularly important, as occurring in the direct line of communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries, with Kanda har and Khorasan. The natives say that all below the pass is Hind, and that all above it is Khorasan." The Bolan Pass has for centuries been the route traversed by merchants, invaders and nomad hordes on their way to and fro between India and Central

Asia. its na it see Willia "analo

K

which

of the p. 38) Kizkai quent very g under (north anothe 658, W natives

Muawi

the In

a mou

horses

under rebellio the na

137. Index. i one of are mer of the original seems a

138. (p. 679) the Kur 139. ]

140. 141.

142. 1

<sup>133,</sup> Loralai District Gazetteer, pp. 33-4.

<sup>134.</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>135.</sup> Duki lies 125 miles north-east of Gandava as the crow flies, but the marching distance between the two places in this hilly region would be very much more very much more - say about 180 miles.

<sup>136.</sup> About Darwaza Steel and Crowther say: "This day we passed Durues, Gates of the Mountain and Crowther say: "This day we passed Durues, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, having Rocks on both sides very high, whence with sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the multitude; and diuers Carauans have been in the divers Caravans have been in these places cut off." — Loralai District Gazt' teer, p. 34. teer, p. 34,

## HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN BALUCHISTAN

Asia. It is not improbable that the country of Fa-la-na derived is name from this important pass, of which the Sanskrit name, seems, was Bhalānsah. 137 As Fa-la-na sounds like Bolan, William Anderson (art.cit., p. 1203) also in 1847 suggested that analogy would point to Bolan."

Ki-kiang-na, 138 the country on the western confines of Fa-la-na which is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, is without doubt the Kikanan of the Chach-Nama and the Arab authors. "This name," Elliot (i, n 38) notes, "appears under various aspects of Kaikānān, Kīkān, Kizkānān, Kabarkānān and Kīrkāyān,—the first being of most frequent occurrence. Though so often mentioned, we can form but a very general idea of its position." "The Chach-Nama tells us that, under the Rai dynasty, the territory of Sind "extended on the north (north-west) to the mountains of Kurdan and Kikanan"139 From another passage in the same chronicle we learn that, in the year 688, when the Arabs arrived at the mountain of Kikanan, "the natives stood up to fight with them."140 We also read of Caliph Muāwiya in 664 instructing Abdullah Sawād, who was ordered the Indian frontier, as follows: "In the country of Sind, there is a mountain, which is called Kikānān. There are big and beautiful horses to be found there ... The people are very cunning, and. under the shelter of that mountain, have become refractory and rehellious."141 Bilādurī speaks of Kikānān, or Kīkān, as he writes the name, as being "in Sind near the frontier of Khurasan." 142

137. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 226. Cf. Macdonnel-Keith, Vedic hder, ii, p. 299; "Bhalanas, plural, is the name in the Rigveda (vii, 18.7) of the of the five tribes, Pakthas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Visānins, and Sivas, who are mentioned as ranged on the side of the enemies of Sudas in the battle of the ten kings... Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, p. 431) suggests as their original hands and the Rolan Pass. This original home East Kabulistan, comparing the name of the Bolan Pass. This seems a reasonably probable view."

138. Sastri in his notes on Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, (p. 679) says that Ki-kiang-na is intended for the Sanskrit Kankana of the Kurmavibhaga.

139. Kalichbeg, p. 11. Kurdān in the text should be read as Kusdār. 140. Ibid., p. 60.

141. Ibid., p. 61.

142 Elliot, i, p. 116.

, but the

sia. Such

nd passes

District

erchants.

vay from Multan,

rict near

ahār. At

us, "The

e square

owne."133

a Shikoh

through

y by the Gandava

ilgrim,135 near that

province

trict and ne Bolan

ds from

l Quetta.

is parti-

munica-

Kandapass is has for lers and

Central

would be

1 Durues, on both ude; and ct Gazet

of tra

origin

Chines

grims

anctit

differen

ble. I

ancient

mntrib ense."

These vague references to the country, however, do not help in ascertaining its exact position. Hiuen Tsiang is more precise As he tells us that Ki-kiang-na country was on the west of Fa-La-na, I am inclined to place it in the Quetta-Pishin region. The general character of that region is mountainous, the mountains being intersected by long, narrow valleys. It is curious to find that Cunningham also suggests that Ki-kiang-na was "somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin-Kwetta",143 although the Quetta-Pishin District does not lie immediately to the west of the Bannu District but far to the south-west of it.

Several other identifications of the Ki-kiang-na country have also been proposed. Aurel Stein located it in the hill region of Waziristan, which adjoins the District of Bannu on the west14 Lambrick, who placed Fa-la-na in the neighbourhood of Barkhan which lies in the south-eastern portion of Loralai District, suggests that Ki-kiang-na "corresponded to Loralai and Zhob."145 Zhob District, I may mention, occupies the north-eastern corner of Baluchistan. G. Le Strange (op.cit., p. 332), again, was of the opinion that Kaikanan (the Ki-kiang-na of the Chinese pilgrim was at Kalat, which lies at a distance of 88 miles south of Quetta. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (vi, p. 257) locates it still further south at Nal, which place is 27 miles to the south-west of Kusdar.16 Idrisi places Kīrkāyān to the west of "Fardān", which name is a corruption of Kusdār. 147 Hodivala suggests that Kaikānān may have been the district round Lakorian, the ruins of which city le between Kalat and Kusdar, 60 miles south of the former.148

I may fitly conclude this notice of the last portion of Hiven Tsiang's remarkable iourney through India with the following observations of Bretschneider (op.cit., i, p. 4) "All the narratives

<sup>143.</sup> Anc. Geog., p. 99.

<sup>144.</sup> Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 37, pp, 29-30

<sup>145.</sup> Op. cit., pp. 150-51.

<sup>146.</sup> This identification is also suggested in the Jhalawan Gazetteer (pp. 221) and Kachbi Gazetteer 34, 221) and Kachhi Gazetteer (p. 14).

<sup>147.</sup> Elliot, i, p. 81.

<sup>148.</sup> Studies in Indo-Muslim History, i, p. 64.

t help in precise, st of Faion. The nountains s to find mewhere tra-Pishin nnu Dis-

try have region of west.<sup>14</sup> Barkhan suggests <sup>45</sup> Zhob of Baluopinion was at ta. The further usdār.<sup>16</sup> me is a fan may city lie

Hiven llowing rratives

148

er (pp.

of travels we meet in Chinese literature", he writes, "owe their origin either to military expeditions, or official missions of the Chinese emperors, or they were written by Buddhist or other pilgims who visited India or other parts of Asia famed for their snetity. The number of reports, written by Chinese travellers on different parts of Asia beyond China, is by no means inconsiderable. They often contain very valuable accounts regarding the ancient geography of Asia; but it is not easy to lay them under contribution in elucidating this subject in a European and scientific ense."

Roy

The abbreviation of an as of instructuing 5 tadhyāya ar taraṇāc

The significant representation of the si

through to tected read and night, theridians

1. As in designation with the control of the contro

# Sultan Firūz Shah Tughluk: Royal Patron of a Contemporary Sanskrit Work

BY A

Dr. Sadashiva L. Katre, M.A., D.Litt., Vikram University, Ujjain

The Yantrarājāgama or Yantrarāja, as the title is sometimes abbreviated, is a mediaeval astronomical treatise in Sanskrit verse in Mahendrasūrī. It mainly furnishes an integrated exposition of an astronomical instrument named 'Yantrarāja' (lit. the king distruments) in its total 182 stanzas of diverse metres constituing 5 chapters respectively named Gaņitādhyāya, Yantraghaṭatāhyāya, Yantraracanādhyāya, Yantraśodhanādhyāya and Yantratāraṇādhyāya.

The said astronomical instrument, though herein given a Sansin name, was originally invented or designed by a 'supreme Likim (officer? or, physician?) residing in Khurāsāṇa-deśa (Irān)' sper a hear-say tradition1 and was drawn by our author from a omlemporary Arabic or Persian source, as he duly acknowledges his Prologue, although without exactly specifying the particutr basic work used by him. It is evidently a major instrument, mewhat of the type of a sun-dial, and is constructed either with day or with metal. It usually has two distinct phases for northern southern hemispheres of the globe, but it may also be adapted binly for both the hemispheres. this Yantrarāja many vital astronomical results are de-With minute observation readily, e.g., exact horary time and legna, durations of day the hight, latitude degree of the place of observation, degrees of heridians of the Sun and other planets and asterisms, degree dis-

As recorded by Gōpirāja in his commentary— "evam Khurāsāṇa kan yatitā iti, ataś cānumīye jñāyate dṛśyate ca bahudhā, yadīdṛśany kany api...tair evopakalpitāni sarvataḥ pracaranti...." — Nagpur Unikany Api...tair evopakalpitāni sarvataḥ pracaranti...." — Nagpur Uni-

recently

itled

Yantran

Access

ny det

Comme: iributed

be publ

have fu

relevant

rendusū

c. 1540

hailing

and enjo

at vario

paper is tially as

of all fr

period, the Yan

before th

under: 5\_

The

5. (1) mind the pr

and the pr

celestial re

people, my

(lit the tin nishmer .

of gers.

uninia gible

aimy quin

treat for t

mpecial f ans, ar

(3) types

Mal mportar

tances between any two heavenly bodies, matters pertaining to rising and setting of the five planets Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, etc., etc. While some of these results are yielded by the instrument only during clear sunshine hours, the rest ones are possible only during cloudless clear nights. Thus the Yantra rājāgama admirably integrates the science of this astronomical instrument (Yantravidyā) of non-Indian origin with India's indigenous Astronomy (Golaganita) and indeed heralds, in respect of the science of the Zodiac, a departure from the hackneyed line of earlier Sanskrit astronomical treatises, which, instead of being materially influenced by the up-to-date great astronomical achievement of progressive western countries, mostly whirled round the Sūryasiddhānta or some other ancient Siddhāntas and were content at best with putting forth emending devices (Bija-samskāru) to adjust the current observations to the age-long findings of those Siddhāntas.

The Yantrarājāgama was composed about Saka 1292 or Sairvat 1427 (= c. 1370 A.C.) by Mahendrasūri, a Jaina author, who describes himself as 'a disciple of an eminent astronomer of Bly gupura (= Broach) named Madanasūri who was highly esteemed even by the ruling king.' A brief commentary (Yantrarājīgams vyākhyāna) on the treatise was composed about Śaka 1300 or Samvat 1435 (= c. 1378 A.C.) by Malayendusüri, a disciple of the author Mahendrasūri himself. The Yantrarājāgama and Malayer dusuri's commentary thereon are represented by many hither recorded<sup>2</sup> MSS and both were also printed and published from Vārānasī in 1882 under the editorship of Sudhākara Dvivēdi, who also added in the edition his own new gloss entitled Pratibility dhaka on the original treatise. Further commentaries or digest by Mathurānātha Śukla, Yājneśvara Bābā Josī Rode, etc. on the treatise were recorded by Aufrecht, 3 S. B. Dikshit, 4 etc. Ver

<sup>2.</sup> Aufrecht: Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 472, II, pp. 109b, 218b, III p. 101b, etc. Vide also later MSS Catalogues. The Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute VIII 1050 a fine 15 the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, too, has stocked in 1954 a fine 15 (Accession No. 9364) southed to the Manuscripts Library with (Accession No. 9364) scribed in Samvat 1872 of this yantrarājāgama vid Malayēndusūri's commentary.

<sup>3.</sup> CC, I, p. 472.

<sup>4.</sup> Bhāratīya Jyotiḥśāstra (Marathi History of Indian Astronomy), Potts edition, pp. 297, 300, 251 1931 edition, pp. 297, 300, 351.

ertaining to piter, Venus are yielded the rest ones the Yantrastronomical in respect kneyed line and of being all achieveround the were constantiskars; gs of those

or Sairuthor, who er of Bhr. y esteemed arājīgams a 1300 or iple of the Malayery hithero

shed from ivedi, who ratibhabo or digesis tc. on the tc. Very

Library of a fine MS

ny), Poons,

reently a broken MS of an extensive old commentary entitled Yantrakalāvilāsinī alias Vilāsavatī by Gopirāja on this Yantrakājāgama was traced by me in the Manuscripts Section (Accession No. 1120) of the Nagpur University Library. Vide of detailed notice "Yantrakalāvilāsinī alias Vilāsavatī: A Rare Commentary by Gopirāja on Mahēndrasūrī's Yantrarājāgama" contributed to the forthcoming B. N. Chatterji Felicitation Volume to be published from the Kurukshetra University. In that notice I have furnished several original extracts, have discussed many plevant data concerning the Yantrarājāgama, Mahēndrasūrī, Malapindusūrī, etc., too, and have tentatively assigned Gōpirāja to a 1540 A.C. and to a renowned Vidarbha family of astronomers haling originally from Dadhigrāma near Ellichpur (Achalpur) and enjoying royal patronage of some Muslim kings and emperors at various stages.

Mahendrasūrī and the Yantrarājāgama both bear a peculiar importance in Indian History. My main concern in the present paper is to throw vivid light on their said historical aspect, especially as the same seems to have hitherto failed to catch the notice of all front-rank historians, European as well as Indian, of the period, notvithstanding the fact that even a printed edition of the Yantraājāgama with Malayendusūrī's commentary has been before the cholars for the last 86 years.

The author's Prologue to the Yantrarājāgama runs as

5. (1 "The (Jaina) teacher named Mahēndra, having contacted in his ad the prified noble preceptor named Madanasūrī who is (as it were) the relating fee yielding good fortune, is with a desire to the welfare of the mposing this chaste treatise dealing with the science of Yantrarāja tihme.

h) "In this boundless world there have been innumerable men however, they, with mature intellect, made Astronomy rather quintessence therefrom, I am preparing this extremely charming the delight of the hearts of appreciating scholars.

(3) "The Yavanas (Greeks or Muslims) have similarly produced treatises on astronomical instruments, with their ans am incorporating herein their entire nectar-like quintessence".

(1) śrī-Sarvajña-padāmbujam hṛdi parāmṛśya prabhāvaśrīmantam Madanākhyasūrī-sugurum Kalyāṇakalpadruman/ lokānām hita-kāmyayā prakurute sad-Yantrarājāgamam nānā-bheda-yutam camatkṛti-karam sūrir Mahendrābhidhah//

- (2) apāre samsāre kati kati babhūvur na caturāḥ param tair durbodham gaṇitam araci prauḍha-matibhiḥ/ tataḥ svalpam sāram viśadam idam atyanta-subhagam vitanve 'ham śāstram sahṛdaya-hṛdānanda-kṛtaye//
- (3) klptās tathā bahuvidhā Yavanaiḥ sva-vāṇyā Yantrāgamā nija-nija-pratibhā-viśeṣāt/ tān vāridhīn iva viloḍya mayā sudhāvat tāt-sāra-bhūtam akhilam praṇigadyate 'tra//

His conclusion at the end of the treatise is as under:6-

6. (1) "Let remain over a hundred astronomical treatises of great seas (or, of master-poets) composed by them for propagating their own theories.

Our present performance herein, however, is indeed only for the benefit of others.

(2) "In this treatise on Yantrarāja, get drowned vile-mindd (or nor intelligent) ones tormented by ill-grasping, as by crocodiles in dep occan

(3) "But those endowed with pure intellect, who takesheler a though of a ship rendered very strong on account of the precept's lessent definitely remain floating by stretching their sail in the form of itronous."

(4) "This great lore (of Yantraraja) is related here in thmids the difficult science of Astronomy. One should not make a gift it to 1 stunid disciple on to a story.

stupid disciple or to an ungrateful or a wicked person.

(5) "The secret knowledge of dignified Yantraraja, when a metaler throat (i.e. learnt by heart and ready to be repeated) like a pearleckler on one's neck, creates highest grace, causing richly equipped examis los up favourably towards oneself

(6) "May this treatise on Yantraraja composed by (Madri) Guru not perish so long as the Sun and the Moon function as last the world-mansion!

(7) "In the great town of Bhrgu (i.e. Broach) there lived an it ped preceptor named Madanasūrī, who was the head-ornament of their of astronomers and was extolled even by the King. At his feet was doing cated (his disciple) Mahēndra-Guru, who composed this scientific to on the dignified instrument (Yantrarāja). In that treatise the consideration on the instrument is now completed."

con

in ti chaj

abhāvapradam

padrumam/ ājāgamam

nendrābhidhaḥ//

a-matibhiḥ/ ubhagam aye//

er:6—

ovn theoris r the benefit

dep ocean keshelter a ept's lessons of itronomy thmidst of gift it to 2

vhen 2 one's pearleckless examis loss

n as las it

ived an ipnt of theth t was dotiientific tise consider (1) paraḥ-śatāḥ santu kavīśvarāṇām svārthopapattyai gaṇita-prabandhāḥ/ asmākam etat kila kevalāya paropakārāya vidhānam atra//

- (2) granthe 'smin Yantrarājasya gambhīre 'mbhonidhāv iva/ durbuddhayo nimajjanti kugrāha-paripīḍitāḥ//
- (3) gurūpadesā-prabalam yānapātram ivāsritāḥ/ sadbuddhayas taranty eva vitatya gaņitam paṭam//
- (4) vidyeyam mahatī proktā gahane gaṇitāgame/ kuśiṣyāya kṛtaghnāya duṣtāyaitām dadīta na//
- (5) śrī-yantrarājopaniṣan niṣaṇṇa kaṇṭhe satī mauktika-mālikeva/ tanoti śobhām paramām guṇāḍhyaparīkṣakān svonmukhatām nayantī//
- (6) sūryācandramasau yāvad dīpāyete jagad-gṛhe/ grantho 'yam yantrarājasya tāvan na dyād gurūditaḥ//
- (7) abhūd Bhṛgupure vare gaṇaka-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ kṛtī nṛpati-saṃstuto Madanasūri-nāmā guruḥ/ tadīya-pada-śālinā viracite su-yantrāgame Mahendra-guruṇoditā 'jani vicāraṇā yantrajā//

The colophonic verse 7 (abhūd Bhṛgupure etc.) of the above conclusion recurs almost identically, with relevant slight variation the fourth quarter, also at the close of each of the earlier four chapters.

Malayēndusūrī commences his commentary with a solitary Introductory verse as under:<sup>7</sup>

Bhi

śisy

nāg

pād

dha

than

dhil

catu yan

sayı

prat

tha

parc

prār

sidd

cara

svep

Here

sent

Astr

Tug

Mahe

Arab

śāha,

land new

been

Mahē

trume of a (Astr

he wa

emboo

surpa

excess

view

tise,

pupils

diction

of his

uttera

10.

praṇamya Sarvajña-padāravindam sūrer Mahendrasya padāmbujam ca/ tanoti tad-gumphita-yantrarāja granthasya ṭīkām Malayendusūriḥ//

His colophonic verse recurring almost verbally, i.e. with relevant slight variation in the last quarter, at the close of each of the five chapters of his commentary runs: 8

śrī–Peroja–nṛpendra–sarva–gaṇaka–praṣṭho Mahendra-prabhur jātaḥ sūri-varas tadīya-caraṇāmbhojaika-bhṛṅga–dyutā/ sūri–śrī–Malayendunā viracite sad–yukti–yantrāgamavyākhyāne ..... ādi–kathanādhyāyaḥ samāptim gataḥ/

These citations yield us the essential information that the author Mahēndrasūrī, besides being a disciple of the royally appreciated astronomer Madanasūrī of Broach and the preceptor of the commentator Malayēndusūrī, was also head among all the astronomers in the royal court of King Peroja. The said King Peroja, contemporary of Mahēndrasūrī (1370 A.C.) and Malayēndusūrī (1378 A.C.), is evidently Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughluk (1351-1388) of Delhi.

In all likelihood, Mahēndrasūrī was instigated by Firūz Shāh Tughluk himself to compose the present yantrarājāgama, as an adaptation of a reputed contemporary Arabic or Persian astronomical treatise, for the benefit of Sanskrit astronomers. This surmise receives specific confirmation from the commentator Gōpirāja in his Prologue as under:

7. "Malayēndusūrī, having bowed to the lotus-like foot of Sarvajña and also to the lotus-like foot of Mahēndrasūrī, sets to compose this commentary on the treatise composed by him (i.e. Mahēndrasūrī) on Yantrarāja."

8. "Master-Mahendra, best among (Jaina) teachers, has become the head of all the astronomers of the venerated King Peroja. Like a bee at his low-like feet shines Malayendusūrī. In the commentary composed by that Malayendusūrī on the scientific treatise on the instrument (Yantrarāja), the chapter dealing with.....etc. has now come to a close."

9. "Now (begins Mahēndrasūrī's Yantrarājāgáma). A disciple of venerated Madanasūrī, resident of the major town named Bhrgupura flourishing on the bank of Narmadā and reputed in the Gujarāt region, was named

solitary

ith releeach of

prabhur yutā/ na-

hat the proper of the astro-Peroja, andusūri 1-1388)

z Shāh as an conomicurmise rāja in

jña and
nentary
he head
s lotust Malachapter

rishing named

" ... atha Gurjara – deśa – prasiddha – Narmadā – tīravirājita – Bhrgupurābhidha — mahāpattanādhiṣṭhita — śrīman — Madanasūri ssya – Mahendraguru – nāmaka ācārya – varya preritas ca yavanāgama – rahasya – bhūta – sāmpradāyika – yantravidyā – pratinadakabhinava – grantha – kṛtaye paropakṛtaye Kurukṣetrābhida – dharmakṣetra - samnidha - mahānagara - Perojābāda - Krtādhisthāna - mahārājādhirāja - Perojaśāha - pādaśāhena ekasaptatyadhika - Saptaśati - mite 771 Arbau śake saptavimsatyadhika caturdaśa – mite 1427 Vikrama – śake svayam atiśayita – vantravidyā - viśārado golagaņitopapatti - kalpanā - nirvāhaka sayuktikopakalpitaracanā — viśeṣa — vinoda — pradarśana — paraika pratijňāvān sakala – gaņita – sāra – bhūtābhinava – yantra – grantha – grathane mahān utsuko mahāprajñādhiko 'tīva – kalpakah paropakārārtham parama – kāruņikah sva – pratijñāta – granthasya prārabdha — parisamāptyai śiṣyopaśiṣya — paramparopacitidvārā prasiddhyai cāntarāya — nirasanārtham svābhīstadevata — guru caraṇa – smaraṇa – rūpa – maṅgalam ācarann anyokti – dvārā svepsitam samprati pratijānīte...."

Herein Göpirāja explicitly states that Mahēndrasūrī wrote the present novel treatise integrating yavana yantravidyā with Indian Astronomy under specific instructions from Emperor Firūz Shāh Tughluk, whom, too, he distinctly locates in his self-built<sup>10</sup> new

Mahendraguru and he was an excellent preceptor. He was directed in the Arab Era 771 and the Vikrama Era 1427 by King-Emperor Perojasaha-Padasaha, who had made his residence at the capital city Perojabada near the land of religion named Kuruksetra, to compose, for the benefit of others, a new treatise propounding the science of astronomical instruments that has been the traditional secret of the lore of the Yavanas (Muslims). Thereupon Mahendrasuri, himself highly proficient in the science of astronomical instrument. truments, made a unique resolve to put forth a divertive display by means of a special composition wherein the rationale and ideas of Astronomy (Astronomical Composition wherein the rationale and ideas of Astronomy) (Astronomical Mathematics) are reasonably accommodated. (Accordingly) he was extremely anxious to prepare the novel treatise on Yantravidyā also embodying the quintessence of entire Astronomy, as he was endowed with surpassing intellect and high aptitude for design and invention and was excessively. excessively compassionate to render beneficial service to others. With a view to achieving commencement and due completion of his promised treatise, to attaining celebrity through accumulation of a series of pupils and rupils' pupils and also to dispelling obstacles, he is now performing benediction in the and also to dispelling obstacles, he is favourite Deity and diction in the form of recollection of the feet of his favourite Deity and of his breast of his preceptor and is declaring his desired object through a third person

10. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, 1958 edn. (Delhi), pp. 175, 587.

capital Firūzābād adjacent to old Delhi and not far away from Kurukṣētra. Gōpirāja (c. 1540 A.C.), posterior to Firuz Shāh Tughluk and Mahēndrasūrī by hardly 160 years as he is, appears well conversant with pertinent genuine traditions of astronomers and Islamic royal courts of the country.

Mahēndrasūrī in his Prologue and conclusion states that he is composing the Yantrarājāgama out of his keen benevolent desire thereby to benefit the people ("lokānām hita-kāmyayā', 'kevalāya paropakārāya"). But, according to Gōpirāja's commentary on Mahendrasūrī's opening verse, the motive of rendering a utility service to the people by this composition is to be attributed rather to the royal patron Firūz Shāh, who issued pertinent instructions to the author mainly with that outlook:

"....lokānām hita-kāmyayā hetu-bhūtayā kṛtvā tena rājñā anujñātaḥ Mahendrasūriḥ sad-yantrarājāgamam Kurute, iti yojanā....."11

In Mahēndrasūrī's 'lokānām hita-kāmyayā' and 'kevalāya paropa-kārāya' we indeed find a very audible echo of the age. History<sup>12</sup> tells us that the welfare of the people and generosity to the people were the watchwords of the new administration of Firūz Shāh Tughluk, and several of his works were executed expressly with the object of benefiting the subjects thereby.

The contemporary monarch whose high esteem Madanasūrī, the author's preceptor, is said to have enjoyed, too, is in all likelihood none else than Firūz Shāh Tughluk himself. In the course of his early conquests and expeditions to Sindh etc., Firūz Shāh Tughluk¹³ had personally stayed in Gujarāt for many months during 1362-1363, and later on, too, was often directly concerned in appointing and dismissing the Governors of Gujarāt that was a province of the Delhi Empire. It is likely that Madanasūrī and

12. Lane Poole: Mediaeval India, 1951 edn., p. 106; Ishwari Prasad: History of Mediaeval India, 1940 edn; pp. 293, 305, etc., A. L. Srīvastava: Sultanate of Delhi, 1953, p. 243.

Mahēn c. 1362 Mahēn under in 1370 Persiar

A feature Tughlu (1325mad S cies ar own fa savage dent of of Logi Firuz S had pr preserv of whi recorde Astron by Azı title D full cre Firuz S logers, was ve Mahēn Fatühā sight, o pleasin Tarikh. and eve

> 14. I 15. I Delhi, p. 16. C 17. I

> > 1.8

<sup>11.</sup> Oxford History of India, 1958 edn., p. 257, etc. "'With a desire for the people's welfare,' i.e., with a view to serving this purpose Mahendrasūrī was authorised for the task by that king, and he is now composing the relevant treatise Yantrarājāgama: Thus stands the construction."

<sup>13.</sup> Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 173-188.

#### SULTĀN FIRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUK

365

Mahendrasūrī came in first personal contact with Firūz Shāh in that on Madanasūrī's recommendation Firūz Shāh took Mahēndrasūrī from Broach to his Imperial Court at Delhi and that mder his instructions Mahendrasūri commenced and completed 1370 the Yantrarājāgama on the basis of a current Arabic or Persian treatise for the use of Sanskrit astronomers.

Addiction to Astronomy and Astrology appears to be a common frature of all the Sultans of the Tughluk Dynasty. Ghiyasuddin Tughluk (1320-1325 A.C.) and his son Muhammad Shāh Tughluk (1325-1351) both patronised a band of court astrologers. 14 Muhammad Shah especially is seen indulging in the astrologers' prophedes and forecasts, even in his early secret intrigues against his own father, and he, despite his numerous acts of madness and Gavage repression throughout his reign, was himself 15 a keen student of Mathematics, Astronomy and Physical Sciences as much as of Logic, Philosophy and Persian Poetry. His cousin and successor Firiz Shāh in his early conquest of Nagarkot in Kāngrā in 1360-61 had procured in his arson and booty a rich collection of 1300 well reserved Sanskrit manuscripts from the Jvālāmukhī temple many which he forthwith got translated into Persian, 16 as later on tecorded by Firishta and Badāonī. One of these works dealt with Astronomy and Philosophy, and its Persian metrical version made by Āzuddīn-Khālid-Khānī under the Sultān's orders was given the tile Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī.17 There is thus every reason to give credit to the contemporary Malayendusuri's information that Firuz Shāh Tughluk patronised a band of astronomers-cum-astrologers, whether in his court or privately, and that Mahēndrasūrī Was very prominent among them. If Firūz Shāh is silent about Mahēndrasūrī and the Yantrarājāgama in his own autobiography Fatühāt-i-Firūz Shāhī, the omission is evidently due to his oversight, or rather to his keenness to record therein mainly his Islāmpleasing activities. Baranī's account of Firūz Shāh's regime in his Tarkh-i-Firuz Shāhī need not be taken to be exhaustive to each and every detail.

from

Shāh

pears

mers

he is esire

alāya

on

tility

ather

tions

rājñā

opa-

ory12

eople

Shāh

with

sūrī,

keli-

urse

Shāh

nths

rned

as a

and

for

drathe

sād:

ava:

iti

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, p. 133.

<sup>15.</sup> Lane Poole: Mediaeval India, p. 86; A. L. Srīvastava: Sultanate of Delhi, p. 222,etc.

<sup>16.</sup> Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 179, etc. 17. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 179.

366

Over two centuries later Badāonī says18 that he saw and read at Lahore in 1591-92 the pre-said Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī and other Persian translations, caused by Firuz Shāh Tughluk, of Sanskrit works from the MSS collection of the Jvālāmukhī Temple. Badāonī, while admitting the Sanskrit original of the Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī as 'moderately good, free neither from beauties nor defects.' condemns the same of some of the rest versions as 'unprofitable' and 'trivial'. It is not unlikely that some contemporary Muftis and Maulvis in Firūz Shāh's own Imperial Court, too, later on grumbled over those translated Sanskrit works, hinting that corresponding original works in Arabic and Persian on such technical and scientific subjects were far more advanced and of superior utility. Probably some such cause, coupled with his philanthropic desire to benefit his Hindu subjects with up-to-date advanced astronomical achievements of Islamic countries, inspired Firuz Shāh Tughluk, as stated by Gōpirāja, to ask his court astronomer Mahēndrasūrī to prepare the Yantrarājāgama on the basis of a current Arabic or Persian treatise. Göpirāja is even earlier than Firishta and Badāonī and due weight has to be granted to the historical tradition recorded in his commentary.

Firūz Shāh Tughluk, despite his good rule and administrative reforms and several acts of taste and public utility like building many new cities, new roads and imposing structures, digging the Sutlej and the Yamunā canals, re-erecting two Aśōka Pillars near Delhi, etc., is also notorious, hardly less than his cousin predecessor, for his exclusive extra partiality for Islam, Islamic ways and Muslim subjects, for his destructive intolerance of Hindu religion, temples and idols and for his repressive persecution of Hindus, mainly Brahmanas, usually terminating in their slaughter or mass conversion.19 Still, in the midst of these adverse facts, here is an instance of his causing something of literary permanence for the uplift of Sanskrit Astronomy of the Hindus by instructing his protégé Mahēndrasūrī to compose the Yantrarājāgama. However, in this task, notably enough, only a Jaina author, and not a Brahmana author, could be available to him. Here we are naturally reminded of his attempt to solve the mystery of the Aśōka Pillars,

18. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 179. 19. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 173-188, etc. where had d inabili ome

W

Sultan the Y stone 1903), 1919), Ishwan vastav be due rum, e luk. editio silently author Chroni ever, f clear e Yantra Firiz ,

> 20. Is note 36 21. F form in atronom depth in

Shāh T his ass

gama.

therein some equipped Panditas caught hold of for the purpose had declared, most probably in a spirit of non-cooperation, their pability to decipher not only the Brāhmī inscriptions but even ome Old-Devanāgarī inscriptions on the pillars.20

d read

d other

anskrit Badā-

-Firūz

efects,'

fitable'

Muftis

ter on

at cor-

chnical

or uti-

hropic

vanced

Firūz

nomer

s of a

r than

to the

rative

ilding

ng the

s near

deces-

s and ligion, indus, mass is an r the proer, in Brah-

irally

llars,

While most of the modern major historians of the Delhi Sultanate Period show acquaintance with the Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī the Yantrarājāgama appears quite unknown not only to Elphindone (History of India, 1841), S. Lane Poole (Mediaeval India. 1903), etc., but even to Vincent Smith (Oxford History of India, 1919), Wolseley Haig (Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, 1928), khwari Prasad (History of Mediaeval India, 1925), A. L. Srirastava (Sultanate of Delhi, 1953), etc. This to some extent may le due to Aufrecht, etc., not noticing in the Catalogus Catalogonum, etc. our Mahēndrasūri's association with Firūz Shāh Tughlk. Even Sudhākara Dvivēdi, the eminent editor of the 1882 editio princeps of the Yantrarājāgama, has almost ignored and silently passed over the peculiar historicity of the treatise and its author both in his Preface to the edition and in his later Sanskrit Chronicle of Indian astronomers entitled Ganakatarangini.21 However, from what has been said and discussed above, it will be dear enough that the historical and cultural importance of the Yantrarājāgama is in no way less than the same of the Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī. At least henceforth, no perfect historian of Firūz Shāh Tughluk can afford to go without an adequate allusion to his association with Mahendrasūri and the immortal Yantrarājāgama.

<sup>20.</sup> Ishwari Prasad: History of Mediaeval India, p. 315. Vide also footand this page citing the opinion of Edward Thomas.

<sup>21.</sup> First published in the Sanskrit journal Pandit in 1890, separate bookform in 1892, new edition in 1933 (p. 48). By the way, both the Jaina thronomena, new edition in 1933 (p. 48). the in Actual Mahendrasuri and Malayendusuri are rejected maturity and hip had been been as a maturity and Malayendusuri are rejected maturity and maturity in Actual Mahendrasuri and Malayendusuri are rejected maturity and mat depth in Astronomy and Mathematics by Sudhākara Dvivēdi!

Virgi

The from th in many myth al later de pati." prinkli shall se Cyavan is said accordi previou well kn 118.6; in the dition : From t favoure semen.

The the name have a to be o

hymn i

the Rig 2. I 14-to th

# Virgin and the Divine Seed-layer (Rg. V. X. 61)

BY

#### DR. SADASHIV, A. DANGE

The hymn that we are fixing our attention on is very important tom the point of social behaviour and ritual-history. It is unique many ways. It is believed to have in it the seeds of the famous gyth about the incest of the "Father" and the "Daughter", which bler developed into the wonderful tale of the "Incest of Prajagati." It is also known in later tradition as the hymn of the prinkling of the semen, and is known as the Nābhānediṣṭha, as we see further. It is only in this hymn that Nābhānediṣṭha and Cyavāna appear together in the whole of the Rg V. Nābhānediṣṭha said to be the seer of two hymns of the Rg V. (X. 61 and 62) according to the tradition; but his name actually occurs only in the previous of the hymns (V. 18). Cyavana (or later Cyavana) is well known as the protégé of the Aśvins, (Rg V. I. 116.10; 117.13; 18.6; V. 74.5 etc.). He does not have any hymn to his credit in the Rg V. except X. 19, which is a doubtful case; for the tradition mentions other seers also for the same hymn (Sāyaṇa). from the Rg V. we know that Cyavana was an old decrepit man avoured by the Asvins, but in this hymn he is associated with emen. The hymn itself abounds in sex-symbolism and speaks constantly of sexual friendship with a virgin.

The hymn has been admitted to be obscure by scholars; and the names occurring in it, especially Nābhānedistha, appear to have a ritual and mystic significance. The hymn also appears to be originally having different parts. According to Haugh<sup>3</sup> the hymn imbibes the mystical significance of providing the sacrificer

2. Ludwig, Tr. Rig Veda. He divides the hymn as 1-4; 5-9; 10-13; the end

3. Intr. to the Ai.Br., p. 23 ff; esp., p. 28.

the Rig Veda, p. 220.

with new body. Potdar4 does not agree with this view as it is based on later ritual, though he feels that the name Nabhanedistha is assumed for some "desired mystical effect." It is clear that Cyavāna appears in this hymn as a powerful person, and not as the decrepit old man whom the Aśvins rejuvenated. The hymn has the praise of the Aśvine also; and this, probably, led Pischel to see in this place the seeds of the later accounts about Cyavana, As the view of Pischel has influenced scholars, it will be proper to examine it prior to any fresh attempt at the interpretation of the hymn. The verse that are directly concerned with this view are the first two of the hymn. The second mentions Cyavana. We give below a translation of the verse without disturbing the portion that is doubtful: -

"He, verily, desiring for the gift that was dabhya (?), Cyavana arranged the Vedi (altar) with the suda-s. The singer of a lofty laud (gūrta-vacas-tamah), tūrvayāņa sprinkled the semen like a flow of water for hither-ward weal (kṣodo na reta ita-ūti siñcat." (V. 2).

Pischel (op.cit., p. 74) remarks— "Cyavana bringt das opfer den Aświns dar gegen den willen des Indra, den er hintergegen will. Er sieht es also ab aus ein betrügerisches opfer; er ist dānāya dabhyāya vanvan." It would be clear that Pischel feels that this place is indicative of the deceitful offering of soma to the Asvins on the part of Cyavana, whereby Indra was displeased. He corroborates his statement by pointing out that Cyavana was a protege of the Asvins according to the sat. Br. (4.1.5.1) and the Mb. (Mahabhārata) (III. 122-124). He also states that, on account of this deceit, Cyavana kindled enmity with Tūrvayana ("Den gegensatz zu ihm bildet Tūrvayāṇa"), who propitiated Indra with a rich drink-offering. Thus he believes that Cyavana became antagonistic to one Turvayana. Geldner8 accepts the opinion of

Pischel rischel l kannt. scure, gainst resents nd Tün opear t ider Cy ina wh ad fav deceit pr

> Indra 1 channā. (V. 2, sa hen, de d Turva toth Cy

bwever

ersons. a the so he Pakt ing in t It m

o Indra Maruts, tence to a clash b tot figur have to cholars,

9. Ve 10. Ibi 11. Pot 12. Ibi hot Vhan

ite not ve ession. 13. Pot

<sup>4.</sup> Op.cit., p. 244.

<sup>5.</sup> The ritual is of the sixth day of the ten-day sacrifice, where this and is said to indicate the sixth day of the ten-day sacrifice, where this hymn is said to indicate the sprinkling of semen. See Ai.Br. V. 14; Panc.Br. 20.9.4; etc.

<sup>6.</sup> Sacrifice in the Rg Veda, p. 220. 7. Vedische Studien, p. 71ff.

<sup>8.</sup> Op.cit., p. 227, N. 2.

371

## VIRGIN AND THE DIVINE SEED-LAYER

schel as to the antagonism between the two saying— "Schon Achel hat den gegensatz zwischen Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa richtig reannt." For Macdonell and Keith the hymn is no doubt but Turvayāna is a King who was helped by Indra ginst Cyavana and his protectors, the Maruts. 10 A question resents itself here — What is the relationship between Cyavana Turvayāṇa as seen from this particular context? It would gear that Pischel and the other scholars mentioned above conder Cyavana to be at some time the priest of the King Turvawhom he sought to deceive, and that the latter was saved a favoured by Indra on account of his piety as against the keit practised by Cyavana. According to a fairly recent opinion, 11 brever, Cyavana was the priest of "another patron" (?); and Indra however is said to have driven away the priests (V. 1, tunnā sapta hotīn, 12) as the offering of Cyavāna was deceptive (V.2, sa id dānāya dabhyāya vanvan. 13). According to this opinion, ben, deception by Cyavana had no connection with the sacrifice Turvayāṇa. These scholars are one, however, in believing that wh Cyavana and Turvayana in this context are real names of risons. There is one more point on which they agree. They state

It may be remarked that Macdonell's (and Keith's) opinion as oladra helping Tūrvayāṇa against Cyavāna and his protectors, the aruts, cannot be supported from the hymn; for there is no refethe to the Maruts in the hymn. The Rg V. indicates, elsewhere, clash between Indra and the Maruts (I. 170.2); but Cyavana does figure there at all. Probably in the place of the Maruts we we to read the Aśvinau. It is also worthy of note that these sholars, writing separately, do not connect Cyavana and Turva-

the same context that in this verse Turvayana is the King of

be Pakthas. This is because of the words "parsat pakthe" occur-

gegenwith a e antaion of

as it is

Vābhāne-

is clear

and not

he hymn

Pischel<sup>7</sup>

Cyavāna.

e proper

tation of

his view

ina. We

the por-

ya (?),

s. The

orinkled

sodo na

fer den

en will.

dānāya

nat this

Aśvins corro-

protégé

(Mahāof this

re this añc.Br. in the first verse in the hymn.

10. Ibid., under, Türvayāṇa. ll Potdar, Op.cit., p. 184

<sup>9.</sup> Vedic Index, under Cyavāṇa.

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., Potdar, like Pischel, takes the word ahan as a verb from the hot Vhan. But Pischel renders it as, "verhinderte". Both these renderings to the very 1. to hot very happy with the root. See Geldner, noted further in the dis-

B. Potdar, Op.cit., p. 184. Cf. Pischel, Op.cit., p. 74.

erforr

cicture

iana W

accoun

or Sar

Saryāti

does n

Grassri

meanin

only fo

ease of

(rakso

remark

how tr

Turvay

place.

a King

connec

Turvay

the bas

Macdon

on Cy

the As

thus ir

Here t

Indra a

decepti about ' Paktha

61.1 (o

called '

and qu

yana a

of the

have th

19. I

20. 5 1.9

No

yāna. Though they mention Tūrvayāṇa as a protégé of Indra,4 they do not refer to this place from the Rg V. The reason is obvious. They do not suppose this place to be, doubtlessly, an evidence to denote the antagonism between Cyavana and Turvayana on the one hand, and the favour of Indra to the latter on the other. On their contention that Pischel's interpretation of (the first two verses in) this hymn gets support from the tale of Vidanvat in the Jaiminīya Br. III. 121-128,15 it is necessary to point out that the portions from the Jaim. Br. mentioned by them do not have reference to Vidanvat. The name and the episode of Vidanvat comes in the appendage of the portion mentioned above;16 and there again we have no reference to the so called Tūrvayāna. The indication of the wrath of Indra against Cyavana as suggested by Vidanvat's request to the latter to support him against the former is clearly an offshoot of the famous Brāhmaṇic taleli of the award of the soma-offering to the Asvins and the cutting of the head of Dadhyan Atharvana by Indra, the cause of which was associated with Cyavana. But it is too much to see all this in the verse under consideration, which has nothing else than the word "dānāya dabhyāya" spoken in relation to Cyavāna. The learned authors of the Vedic Index are clearly aware of this fact, for, though they are favourably considering the suggestion of Pischel, they admit the obscurity of the hymn and concede that the tale of Cyavana here is entirely out of tune with his wellmarked-out personality at other places. With this in mind it is possible to perfectly understand their attention to the fact that in the Aitareya Br. Cyavāna and Indra are perfectly on peace as Cyavāna performs the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka.18 This abhiṣeka is

<sup>14.</sup> Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, under Kutsa (Hindi Tr. by Ramkumar Rai, p. 279); Keith, Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and the Up., p. 129, where he is said to be the Veda. he is said to be the King of the non-Aryans; also p. 228.

<sup>15.</sup> Vedic Index, under Cyavana. They refer to the Jaim.Br. portion (N.) as recorded by Hopkins (JAOS, 26, p. 43 ff.). Even this portion does not have Vidanuat Vidanu have Vidanvat. Vidanvat comes in the Tandya M.Br. XIII. 10.10; and Hopkins remarks— "The afternoon of the standard of the stan remarks— "The after-piece to this tale (i.e., of the Jai. Br. III. 120-128) in the Jaim. Br. is connected to this tale (i.e., of the Jai. Br. III. 120-128) the Jaim, Br. is connected with the following story (told in the Tandys M.Br."

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid., remark of Hopkins and the ref.

<sup>17.</sup> Jai.Br. III, 125 ff. Cf. Sat.Br. IV. 1.5.18; etc. 18. Ai,Br. VIII, 21.4; Pischel, Op.cit., p. 75; Vedic Index, under Cyavana

Indra,14 eason is essly, an d Türvaer on the of (the f Vidanpoint out do not f Vidanabove;16 rvayāna. as sugagainst ic tale17 cutting

all this han the a. The his fact; stion of ede that is well-nd it is act that peace as

f which

mkumar 9, where

seka is

ion (N.)
loes not
Hopkins
–128) in
Tāṇḍya

yavāņa

performed for Śāryāta; and even here Tūrvayāṇa is not in the peture. Now if Tūrvayaṇa was in anyway connected with Cyanina we have to explain how he does not figure in any of these accounts. The person that is connected with Cyavāna is Śāryāti ar śāryāta; and we have no proof to say that Tūrvayāṇa and śaryāti are identified. This would show that the word tūrvayāṇa wes not indicate in this verse the name of a real person; and Grassman seems right in taking it as an epithet of Cyavāna, preaning "the triumphant or victorious pusher." The word occurs and four times in the Rg V. and one more clear and doubtless ase of its being an epithet is I. 174.3. where it is said of Agni prakṣo agnimasuṣam tūrvayāṇam) as Roth²o and Sāyaṇa rightly remark.

Now about Turvayana being the Paktha King. We have seen bow traditionally and textually Cyavana cannot be connected with Turvayāna, the King as he is believed to be referred to in this place. There are two other references, however, which indicate a King of that name (Rg V. I. 53.10; VI. 18.13), but having no connection with Cyavana. Pischel, Macdonell and Keith feel that Turvayāṇa was the King of the Pakthas. Before commenting on the basis of their conjecture, it would be interesting to see what Macdonell and Keith have to say in this case. While commenting on Cyavana (Vedic Index), they say that he was favoured by the Aśvins as against Tūrvayāṇa who was the devotee of Indra, thus including that Turvayāṇa was not devoted to the Aśvins. Here they follow Pischel who states that Tūrvayāṇa offered to Indra and not to the Asvins who were honoured by Cyavana through deception (op.cit., p. 74). They maintain this stand while writing about Turvayāṇa (Index). But while commenting on the name Paktha, they mention three places from the Rg V. including X., (our present one) to show that the Paktha King "probably" Turvayana was favoured by the Aśvins (and not Indra!), and quote Pischel as the authority for the clash between Turva-Vana and Cyavana! This is obviously because there is the praise of the Asvins in the hymn just after the first two verses which have the words "parşat pakthe..." (V. 1) and Cyavana and also

Rig Veda, Anhang, p. 474; Wörterbuch, "siegreich vordringend".
 St. Petersberg Dictionary; Vedic Index. under Türvayāna, N. 2.

parsat

chan.

vanqu

(of th

Indra

the Ki

chel se

chan a

locativ

observ

nicht s

from 1 (mean

note)

tarye

Opfert

is. obv

of the

the tw

the of

oscillat

vincing

This p

obviou

with t]

a clash

lksodo the lan

das L

wässer

23,

Geldner have to have pa

(go-mat

case of

Tūrvayāṇa (V. 2). There is no clash at all in the hymn with Indra. On the contrary there is the invocation of Indra to allow the seer (Nābhānediṣṭha?) to praise the Aśvins, which probably was mistaken as the point of a clash between the Aśvins and Indra; and could possibly be seen in the later tradition of the Brāhmaṇa-s. Here the Aśvins (i.e., Nāsatyā-s are said to be the sons of Rudra (V. 15-uta tyā me raudrau -arcimantā Nāsatyau-Indra gūrtaye yajadhai). Raudrau here refers to the Aśvins who are referred to as Rudrau at VIII. 22.14. and rudra-vartanī is whose exclusive epithet (VIII. 22.1; 14; I. 3.3). This may be compared with the expression raudram brahma which most probably, is the epithet of the performance recorded in and that of whole hymn (X. 61.) that became famous as the Nābhānediṣṭha

Now it is difficult to believe that in one and the same context (X. 61. 1 & 2) Tūrvayāṇa — the Paktha King — is opposed to the Aśvins on account of the trick of Cyavāna, and is also favoured by the Aśvins, as Macdonell and Keith would have us believe. One Paktha was favoured by the Aśvins (Rg. V. VIII.22.10); and at another place a Paktha is said to have been favoured by Indra (Ib. 49.10). There we do not have any mention of Tūrvayāṇa. Where the word paktha and tūrvayāṇa occur together (X.61. 2 & 3) the difficulty of the point we have just noted arises. There is no other proof in the Rg. V. to connect paktha and tūrvayāṇa. As such the identity of Tūrvayāṇa and the Paktha cannot be supported by the doubtful passage from this hymn, in spite of the fact that both Tūrvayāṇa and the Pakthas are said to be the enemies of Divodasa Atithigva and his son, Sudās (VI.18.13; VII.18.7). The whole line in the present hymn in which the word paktha comes is:—

krānā yad asya pitarā mamhane-ṣṭhāḥ parṣat pakthe ahannā sapta hotṛn//

Now there has been a doubt about the exact construction and meaning of the second hemistich. The word ahan has been taken to be the locative form of ahan (=day) with the termination dropped.<sup>21</sup> It has also been taken as the verb,<sup>22</sup> contrasting with

adive;

<sup>21.</sup> Sāyaṇa; Geldner, Op.cit., Loc.cit.22. Pischel, Op.cit.; see note 12 above.

## VIRGIN AND THE DIVINE SEED-LAYER

375

pischel, taking it as the verb (p. 76) separates pakthe and The meaning, then, is "mamhane-sthāh (Indra, Cf. p. 75) ranquished the seven priests (of Cyavana) and saved the elders of the Paktha) etc." (Pischel op.cit., p. 75; cf. also p. 76—"...das Indra verhinderte ahann ā...") Geldner takes paktha to indicate he King of the Pakthas; but he retains the locative, whereas Pisthel sees the meaning of the dative in it.23 Geldner does not take than as the verb but as a form in the locative; and as the two locatives viz. pakthe and ahan (i) come close to one another, he observes, "Zwei Lok. nebeneinnander verschiedener Beziehung sind nicht selten" (Der Rig Veda III, p. 226), thus separating ahan hom paktha. But the difficulty of construing the lone word ahan (meaning, day) he tries to overcome by rendering it (op.cit. note) as the "day of decision" (Entscheidungstag) in respect of virye ahan (VI.26.1); but in the main rendering he has, "am Opfertage", connecting the day with the offering. The difficulty is obviously, due to taking the word paktha to indicate the King of the Pakthas. Sāyana is more convincing, as he aptly connects the two words pakthe and ahan (i) indicating the day on which the offering is cooked (pakthe paktavye ahan ahani). Geldner, ocillating as he does between Pischel and Sāyaṇa, is as unconvincing as those who see here a reference to any Paktha King. This place, then, does not support the King of the Pakthas; and, obviously, ill-supports the identification (if any) of Tūrvayāṇa with the Paktha King. With this also is discarded the theory of a clash between Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa, which has no other sup-Pischel is, however, quite convincing in associating the retas lksodo na retah at v. 2 d) with the flood of water that fructifies the land (op.cit., p. 74. "ein Fluss seine befruchtenden wässer über Land" and "retah bedeutet die befruchtenden kraft des wassers)". But, we may add, it is not due to the offering of

mn with

to allow

probably

Aśvins

dition of

id to be

isatyauins who

rtanī is

may be

ost pro-

that of

edistha,

context

to the

ared by

e. One

and at

7 Indra

vayāna.

2 & 3)

e is no

a. As

ipport-

ne fact

nemies

). The

comes

n and taken drop-

with

23. "Der loc. pakthe stehet in sinne des Dative" (p. 76). Both he and Geldner compare the case with pakthe at Rg V. VIII, 49.10. It seems we have to make a difference between the two cases. At VIII. 49.10, we have pakthe...asanoh; and the verb asanoh (fr.  $\sqrt{san}$ to win) has an object  $(a_0, m_{at})$  ... (ao. mat, hiranya-mat wealth) which expects the Dative in pakthe. The Page of pakthe at X. 61.1 is different. The verb parsat does not expect the Dalive; and it is intransitive.

Tūrvayāṇa (!); it is due to the prowess of Cyavāna who is himself tūrvayāna (cf. Grassman and Sāyaṇa).

In the light of what has been said above it is clear that the expression  $d\bar{a}n\bar{a}ya$   $dabhy\bar{a}ya$  vanvan does not indicate the deceit of Tūrvayāṇa by Cyavāna. As a matter of fact the whole activity is clearly centred round Cyavāna. To have a clear idea of what that activity is, it is necessary to view the whole hymn, which we shall presently do. But one thing seems to be pretty clear. The word  $\bar{a}jau$  (cf.  $\acute{s}acy\bar{a}m$  antar  $\bar{a}jau$  at v. 1 b) does not indicate that there was a battle as such; for the probability of Tūrvayāṇa being extinguished, and Cyavāna being the sole master of the situation, the word  $\bar{a}ji$  must indicate the ritual he is acting for the accomplishment of something. The point will be clear in our discussion. Now the hymn abounds in sexual images. Briefly the contents are as follows:—

- (i) Some unique gift (dabhya dāna) is accomplished by Cyavāna, accompanied by some ritual in which retaḥ is to be sprinkled as if it were a flood of water.
- (ii) Praise of the Aśvins to protect the ritual practised in dark hours of the dawn (v. 4 Kṛṣṇā yad goṣv-aruṇṣu sīdat ...vītam me yajñam...)

Now starts a different strain, believed to denote the myth of Prajāpati's incest.<sup>24</sup>

(iii) The expiation of the manly deed (originally by some one fit for the procreation of sons<sup>25</sup>) by a powerful person who again impels it in the daughter. As the "father" unites with the young "daughter", the semen gets sprinkled on the lofty plane which is the place of the virtuous deed (cf. sukrtasya yonau). As the "father" united with the Earth—the "daughter" that was his own—and sprinkled the retas, the gods, with righteous thoughts,

24. Ai.Br. III, 33.1; Mait.Sam. IV., 2.12; Sat.Br. I, 7.4.1; Pañc.Br, VIII, 2.10.

25. cf. vīra-karmam; Śāyaṇa, "yena retaso 'tpannā vīrā bhavanti tādṛg retaḥ"; the naryaḥ (powerful person) is not Rudra as supposed by Sāyana. He is clearly the Divine sacrificer. The point will be clear further on. The Sukṛṭasya yoni is the auspicious place of the ritual that represents the Divine plane on Earth, the sacrificial place with the Vedi.

(iv)

(v)

(vi)

26. I diese mei males" fo 27. Ci

The idea
like a naccipart of the
inine); it
Ct. Rg. V.
which less
accomplis

Dange "F

377

## VIRGIN AND THE DIVINE SEED-LAYER

accomplished a brahma (which was), the creation of Vāstospati, the protector of the austere vows. (v.s. 5-7). (cf. with this brahma, the raudra brahma at v.1).

- (iv) "Like the bull in the āji (?) he emitted the foam—he of an (emotionally) unsteady mind—forward, backward and sideward did he move. Avoidingly did (she) flee away like the Southern quarter (?) 'Him those my lovely (females) did not catch'". (cf. na tā nu me pṛśanyo jagṛbhre).26
- (v) "Soon, as the stud bull (vahni) tramples upon (ascends) his female progeny (he raised himself). He sat on her "udder" (?ūdhas) as does a naked one go to the fire.<sup>27</sup> The gainer of faggots, the winner of wealth was suddenly born" (v.s. 8 and 9).
- (vi) The next two verses describe the new and peculiar friendship of the sages Angirasas with the virgin girl (kanā) which is termed as the rta-yukkti due to which retas is said to be sprinkled as if it were the longed for wealth. This was nothing but the Rta...(v.s. 10 and 11).

This resulted in the gain of the cows that were lost and the destruction of the hidden place of Suṣṇa that was well guarded. Suṣṇa is said to be born again and again (puru-prajāta) (v.s. 12 and 13). Then follows the praise of the gods (v.s. 14-17). The purpose is the milking of the cow that was unfruitful:

26. I have accepted the rendering of Geldner here; Cf. "Nicht haben diese meine Lockungen verfangen." To his "Lockungen" I have added "fe-bales" for reasons which will be clear further.

himself

hat the deceit activity of what which clear, ndicate vayāna of the

y Cyaḥ is to

ing for

in our

fly the

n dark ı sīdat

yth of

one fit n who unites inkled rtuous united

ughts,

tādīg Sāyana. The

Divine

<sup>27.</sup> Cf makṣū na vahnih prajāyā upabdir agnim na nagna upa sīdadūdhah. The idea is that the "father" has coitus with the kanā duhitṛ. He is nagna like a nagna who (due to cold) approaches the fire. The ūdhas is the genital lat of the kanā, as is clear from the birth spoken of in the next line (cf. line); it relates to the birth of Vāstospati (already referred to at V. 7). If y V. VIII, 31.9 where we read, "ūdho romašam" (the hairy ūdhas), which leaves no doubt. The act was the brahma which was created and lange "Birth of Vasistha", QJMS, Vol. LV., p. 83-91.

#### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

(vii) Then comes the mention of Nābhānediṣṭha who is said to be invoking with a desire (for the milk of the cow); and the cow sabar-dughā milks the desired fruit (19, 20).

The rest of the hymn we shall come to a bit later,

The most important points in this portion of the hymn, then, appear to be (i) union with a virgin and (ii) fructification of the barren cow to make her Sabardughā. The result is the gain of cattle. The hymn does not speak as to Prajāpati being the "father", though the daughter is said to be the earth. (cf. Kṣmayā sañjagmānah at v.7).

The later versions<sup>28</sup> which allude to the myth are obviously not quite sure of the original participants in the myth; for though they say that the "father" is Prajapati, there is divergence of opinion about the virgin young daughter (kanā duhitr yuvati, cf. v.s. 5-7), who is Prajāpati's mate. She has been taken to be the Earth and also the Dawn. About the Earth there is clear evidence in the hymn. The Dawn is, most probably, suggested from the expression that obtains earlier in the hymn-"When the dark one (krsnā i.e., night) settled among the tawny cows (v. 4)." Long before the Rg Vedic account became obscure and Prajapati came to be helplessly and fancifully identified with the sky etc. he seems to have a clear and prominent nature. We may examine the expression which compares the "father" with the bull29 who unites with his prajā (v. 9). This clearly indicates that the bull is the 'nati' of his own praja (offspring). Thus he is the Prajapoti. Whatever explanation to the myth may have been given by the tradition, the underlying idea is that of the copulation between beests. The couple is said to have transformed itself into the male and the female deer;30 and the Rg V. presents the picture of the hull and its mate in speaking of the "foam of the Bull" (v. 8) and the fructification of the Sabar-dughā (v.s. 11, 17, 19). The Rg V.

378

it appee (Prajā From t that Ru he coul of the t by Sāy action a females

flict of

thus, su bably, s

close r

X. 61.8

connec

Cyavai

male.

is com

the lat

nati ca

says th

The arc The acti was show "father" (being 1 X61.8, a obscurity

31. Mo 11. 4=10.: 32. Pr. 4bhispars

<sup>28.</sup> See note 24.

<sup>29.</sup> The word is Vahni, and Geldner. "Zugtier". Sāyana, "vahnivad dāhako rākṣaṣādi" is out of tune; for in the next line he has Agni. Wo may compare Rg V. X. 101.11. "ubhe dhurau vahnir āpibdamānah". and Sāyana, there, "vahnih..anadvān"; and ibid. 10, "ubhe dhurau prati vahnin niyunkta". See Dange, "Field and the Plough-share", Nagpur Uni. J. April 1967.

<sup>30.</sup> Ai.Br. III, 33.; Mait.Sam. IV, 2.12.

is said to he cow); (19, 20). er.

on, then, on of the gain of "father", i sañjag.

bviously though gence of wati, cf. to be the ar evided from the dark." Long came to be seems the expension unites

l is the ajāpati.
by the petween male of the 81 and

Rg V.

pahnived mi. Wo h". and vahnim J. April

onnects in this way the concept of the sprinkling of the retas by (yayana with that of the Bull. It is to be noted that we have a sale (said to be the god Prajāpati in the later tradition) and he scompared with the Bull (cf. sa im vrsā na fenam asyat at v. 8) hat approaches his progeny (v. 9). It has also to be noted that te later tale of Rudra shooting an arrow at the incestuous Prajagi cannot be supported from this hymn of the Rg V. The hymn sys that Vastospati was created by the gods; and from the context tappears that it was accomplished from the semen of the "father" Prajapati?) coming in contact with the "daughter" (Earth). from the identification of Vāstospati and Rudra,31 it would mean hat Rudra was actually produced from this union; and, naturally, be could not be taken to thwart it. The next verse, which speaks of the typical action of the person (said to be the Vastospati Rudra y Sāyaṇa) compared with the foaming Bull does not indicate any ction against the erring "father". The expression "Him my lovely females did not catch" cannot be explained by the tale of the conlet of Rudra and Prajāpati on this account. The hymn does not, hus, support the later tale in full. The shooting Rudra was, probbly, suggested from another passage in the Rg V. which has a close resemblance to the passage under discussion (i.e., with 1. 61.8). It runs as follows:

"When he (the sacrificer) offered the liquid offering to the Father in the heaven, the knowing (Father) rushed to the "females". At him the archer (astā) shot the dart. The God (the same Father) planted his seed in his own daughter."—Rg. V. I. 71.5.

The archer in this passage is not Rudra according to the Rg V. The action of the planting of the seed comes even when the dart sa shot. The archer, here, is the Agni according to Sāyaṇa. The father" that rushes to the females (pṛśànyaḥ) here and He, who being like the Bull) is not touched by the females (pṛśànyaḥ) at the same; and there should not remain any about it now. The sacrificer (at Rg. V. I. 71.5 above)

<sup>31.</sup> Mait.Sam. II, 9.7., cf. "namo vāstavyāya vastūpāya ca". Tait Sam. 13. 14-10.3, rudrah khalu vai Vāstospatih. See Geldner, O.cit., p. 228, N. 7d. shisparsana-kusalah rudrah" at X. 61.8, and "sparsana-kusalo rāksasādih"

in the

as bee

rell ro

apress

where

will p iriends.

the reto

rightly

ome m

traise

of the

the rain

(Taitt.

dogdhri

Sun and

Thu

from th

by a pe

part. I

dom wi

of the 1

parts, if

on par

the old

dready.

sprinklir

case. It the Aśvi to Wadh

also spea

to the A

38. Cf

141. Fo

39. Th Piktim ag

h Bhāratī

1. 10

offering the liquid offering (rasam) and causing the "father" to rush to the females, at the same time bringing about the incest is only another type of Cyavana. The sūda by which Cyavana measures or arranges the altar and the retas with which he sprinkles it are, then, related to one another and are also complimentary to the action of the "father" and the "daughter", as being conducive to the fructification of the sabardughā which is the Earth as well as the cloud, like the Pṛśni. The females to be touched by the "father" are cows that are to be fructified. The point becomes clear by the fact that the ritual of getting the cows touched by the Bull is indicated elsewhere in the Rg V. where Indra, as a Bull, is said to be symbolically planting the seed in them by touching them (X.102:8 cf. gāḥ paspaśānas tavisīr adhatta).33 The Bull emitting the foam, thereby suggesting the "father" emitting his seed, has parallels in the Vedic tradition,34 signifying the fructifying rain. The mention of the exploits of the Angirases in the hymn just after the 'father-daughter'-episode does seem to have a purpose. The ritual is because the 'cows' did not catch the "Bull' i.e. the "Father" did not fructify (mit nu me prsanyo jagrbhre). Now the Angirases sprinkle the retus and gain the milk of the Sabardughā; and Suṣṇa is defeated. This is clearly the gain of the rain, which itself is said to be the retas. The sprinkling of the retas (soma or ghee) 35 in the fire for rain obtains as belief and a well formed ritual in the Vedic period.36 But the sexual imagery and the coitus between the "father" and the "daughter" needs consideration. Whether there was a practice in which the real father played the part of the "sprinkler" cannot be too definitely said.37 But the constant mention of the kanā (virgin) and her "friendship" (with the "father") resulting

33. See Dange, "An Obscure Pastoral Ritual from the Rg Veda." B.R. atterii Com. Vol. Chatterji Com. Vol.

35. Rg V. I, 164.34; 35. IX, 86.39; I, 71.8; VII, 33.7; etc. 36. Keith, Op.cit., Vol. p. 169, 172.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

I. 71.5.; and for jagrbhre (plural) goes with prisanyah, at X. 61.8, he understands "arhmati" (plural) goes with prisanyah, at X. 61.8, he understands stands "gṛḥṇāti" (singular) suiting his rendering of pṛśànyaḥ! We may compare another world - "pṛśani" (X. 73.2.).

<sup>34.</sup> Ibid., Cf. X. 102.5 d. "amehayan vṛṣabham madhya ājeḥ," which results in the gains of hundred thousand cows for Mudgala.

<sup>37.</sup> See Dange, "Prajāpati and his Daughter" (Purāṇa, Vol. V-1, Jan. 3), where he quotes and his Daughter" (Purāṇa, Vol. V-1, Jan. 1963), where he quotes a parallel tale from European Folk-belief.

the gain of the rain and general weal, as is clear from what been said above, cannot be set aside. It seems to have been roll rooted and obtains even in later sacrificial context as a mystic apression for general weal and success (cf. also III. 31.1; I.71.8, 9, there retas and sūdayat occur; and further, ibid, v. 9, we have priyam amrtam; cf. also I.164.33). The kanā, who forms fiendship with the Angirases, is said to impel them to sprinkle he retas (X.61.11). While commenting on the word Kana, Sayana intly says that she is the gharmadogdhrī (Pṛśni according to me manuscripts); but by kanā he also understands the charming traise (kamanīyā stutiķ) which seems unsuitable in the context the sexual description. Now gharma-dogdhrī is also said to be herain-giving cow of the Angirases and she is said to be the Prénifaitt. Br. 2.1.1.1; also Sāyaṇa on the present passage). Gharmatogahri is clearly the one who milks the gharma, which is the Sum and also the Parjanya.38

Thus the first hand and unalloyed information that we get from the hymn is the gain of rain and the fructification of the cows y a peculiar practice, in which sexual belief played an important 14rt. The rta-yukți<sup>39</sup> of the Angirases included the sexual freem with a virgin; and, at least, at the time of the arrangement of the hymn (as distinct from that of composition of the various Marts, if at all they were different), Cyavana came to be believed par with the ritual-"father". The Rg V. mentions him as be old man who regained his youth; and we have noted this point teady. Cyavana who comes on par with the very "father" in prinkling the seed (retas) only apparently presents a different ase. It is interesting to note that Cyavana is also an epithet of Aśvins (Rg. V. VI.62.7) as they are also vṛṣaṇā in giving a son Wadhrimati and fructifying the sterile cow of Sayu. The Rg. V. speaks elsewhere of Cyavana as the one who offered the havis the Asvins (VII.68.6 Cyavānāya pratītyam havir-de). This is

Cf. Rg V. VII, 33.7; and Sāyaṇa who quotes the Śātyāyana; Cf. X. For gharma cf. VII, 33.7 trayo gharmāsa uṣasam sacante.

-1, Jan,

ther" to

e incest,

Cyavāna

ne sprin-

nplimen-

as being

is the

es to be

he cows

. where

seed in

visīr ad-

ing the

dition,34

oloits of

ter'-epile 'cows'

y (natā

he retas

d. This

e retas.

for rain

period.36

er" and

a prac-

rinkler"

of the

esulting

under-

We may

la." B.R.
which

<sup>3).</sup> The text is, "makṣū kanāyāḥ sakhyam navagvaḥ, rtam vadanta rta-bhāratīya Vidyā, Vol. VI (Jan.-Feb. 1945), p. 176 ff.

Th

Cyavar

indicat

a maio

satapa

dhis

wande:

from 1

earth a

people

the fat

fed C

Jaim.B

a 'vāst

he said

no inju

hope o

Now t

and sh

he mad

did not

putram

old Cv

the Kin

very cl

pati of

Though

Brāhma

daughte

the poi

daughte

cates o

pati of

of su-k his kno

young a

41. S

Th

corroborated by the fact that in the passage under consideration Cyavāna actually offers the havis to the Aśvins (v. 2 ff.), which should indicate the same motif as that of the generative exploit of the Asvins. With his equality with the "father" and the Asvins, it is natural to expect his association with a Kanā (virgin) as also his power to be ever young and sexually fit. The Rg V. attests that he was made the lord of kani-s (Rg V. 1.116.10). The epithet "patim kanīnām" is a unique one and is shared only by Agni (Rg V. 1.66.4—where he is called Yama i.e., having a twofold nature, probably, indicating his other nature as the sun, and by the Sun (āditya according to Śayaṇa) who is said to be the lustrous abode of Mitra-and-Varuna (Rg. V. 1.152.3). The sacrificial horse is said to control the fortune of the virgins (Rg V. 1.163.8, anu twā...bhagah kanīnām). As the sacrificial horse is the emblem of the Sun (ib., 1; 2) clearly the belief is that the fortune of the maidens-virgins depends upon the Sun. This shows that Cyavana (the lord of the virgins) was not a historical person. From his nature in the Rg V. it appears that Cyavana symbolized the Sun, in one of his aspects, as the releaser of the fructifying heavenly fluid (from \/cyu to flow or to cause to flow), an idea expressed also in the "father's seed". In ritual, as clearly stated in the expression "amimīta vedim", he was represented by some one who acted the fructifying "sun-father". This would mean that he was not the sun of a particular period of the day-say, setting and again coming to rise-; but in belief he represented the solar principle as such, as in ritual he would be the fructifier. It is not improbable that, in ritual, he was actually offered a virgin maid to impel general weal or rain. His association with the Asvins in the Rg V. as also in the Brāhmanic legend of Cyavana, probably, marks the next step due to the Aswins being the centre of sexual power and personal beauty. Cyavana, as an aspect of the Sun then stands on par with other Solar aspects in ritual; and the ritual by which he is said to sprinkle the retas appears to be only another aspect of the sprinkling of the divine Sun-flow, as we meet in the case of Vṛṣākapi and the Mahānagnī.40

<sup>40.</sup> Dange, "A Virility Charm from the Rg Veda," Nagpur Univ. J. April. 1966; and "Mahānagnī and Apālā", Annual Number of the Vidarbha Samsodhana Maṇdala, 1966; also "Field and the Plough-share" for a few Sun-rituals, also. Frazer Golden Bough.

Though the Rg V. does not precisely say anything about gavana being united with any maiden, the hymn sufficiently dicates it. The Brahmanic account is eloquent on the point of maiden being actually offered to Cyavana. According to the stapatha Br. (IV. 1.5.) Cyavāna had assumed a shrivelled form this own accord. Then on one occasion the King Saryata, in his anderings along with his people, camped near Cyavana away human habitation. The sons of the King pelted clods of arth at him. He became angry and created discord among the mobile of the King, whereby enmity arose between the sons and the father, and between brothers. The King, being helpless pacied Cyavana by offering his own daughter. According to the Jaim.Br. (III. 120-128) Cyavāna asked his sons to desert him in a'wstu', for he knew the ritual of the 'vāstupa'. As he was old, he said that by deserting him in the 'vāstu' the sons would do m injury to him; but on the contrary, he would, then, have the tope of being young. This was done and the sons went away. Now the King Saryāta encamped there. Some boys, cowherds and shepherds besmeared him with dirt, ashes and dung. Then he made subjects of Saryāta devoid of sense, so that "the mother did not know her son, nor the son the mother" (cf. tan na mātā Mtram ajānāt na putro mātaram). Then Saryāta approached the old Cyavana to pacify him. Cyavana asked for the daughter of the King.41

This seems to be the most original part of the tale, and comes very close to the Rg V. In the Rg V. Cyavāna is said to be the pati of the virgins (cf. patim kanīnām) as we have already noted. Though there is slight variance between the accounts of the two Brāhmanas, according to one Cyavāna himself asking for the daughter and according to the other the King offering on his own, the point of the gift of the virgin daughter is the same. The daughter's name is Sukanyā, which is no definite name; it inditates only another way of suggesting maidenhood as such. The lati of the kani-s is here shown, by a different method, as the pati of su-kanyā. Cyavāna's residence out of the human habitat and his knowledge of the rite called 'vāstupa' whereby he hoped to get young and have a maiden is to be particularly noted. This would

J. April, a Samson-rituals;

sideration

.), which

e exploit

e Aśvins.

irgin) as

ie Rg V.

(0). The

only by

ig a two-

he sun),

aid to be

.3). The

e virgins

sacrificial

ef is that

in. This historical

Cyavāna er of the

to flow),

s clearly

ented by

ald mean

lay—say, presented

ructifier.

a virgin

with the

Cyavāna,

re centre

aspect of

ual; and

rs to be

flow, as

<sup>41.</sup> See also Hopkins in JAOS, 26, p. 43 ff.

is the

have

the P

part,

person

Cyava

122-12

rain.

one o

tale o

It is sa

point

he wa

showe

subjec

marrio

śriga,

poteno

anothe habita and h

point.

knowr

under

a past

part.

and as

state c

rice-vi

45.

46.

I, 10 ff. Vol. X, Moticha

66), p.

marked

mark it,

fire, du

suggest that the 'vāstu' refers to the virgin, barren or waste lands which Cyavāna could protect (cf. vāstu-pa) if propitiated by the gift of a maiden. 43 Though the Brāhmaṇas mentioned about do not speak of any rain as such, it is of interest to remember that the Ai.Br. speaks of the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka about Śāryāta (VIII. 21.4; also Pischel op.cit., p. 75), which indicates the advent of rain, and is closely similar to the defeat of the demon Śuṣṇa at Rg V. X. 61.13.

With what has been said above the expression dabhyāya dānāya vanvan has to be understood in the sexual setting of the hymn. The word dabhyāya cannot, possibly, be rendered as "betrügerisch" (Pischel, op.cit., p. 74), as the form is passive; and moreover, the deceit of Indra by Cyavāna is not attested by the hymn. The offering of soma to the Aśvins by trickery is alluded to by later texts (Sat. Br. IV. 1.5; Jaim.Br. III. 120-128); but the Rg V. does not support it. Geldner already seems to have noticed the unsuitability of the rendering by Pischel; and he renders the word dabhya as "unsichere." The expression would then mean "aspiring for the gift that is insecure or is yet to be secured." This is agreeable in this context and the "gift" that is insecure

42. Ibid., p. 53. Hopkins compares it with the Latin word vastus. Cf. also German wust; Indo-European root √wes to graze; Avestan vāstra meaning a pasture; cf. Avesta, Yasna 35.4, "rāmā ca vāstram cā"; 7, "gaus ci vāstram"; also Avestan Xuastram (Su + vāstram?) i.e., good pastures. Louis Renou compares the Vedic word svasara with vāstra and pasture (Eng.) J.V.I.R.I. (Hoshiarpur) Vol. I, March 1963, p. 37 ff.

The original idea in the *vāstu* appears to be the pasture-land, which gave place later to the 'dwelling in the pasture'; at a yet further stage the word meant only the 'dwelling'. The concept of the *Vāstospati*, thus, in pati) having the mouse as the paśu (Vāj. Sam. III, 57), indicates his lordship of the grain and field. The *vāstupa* could, thus, be believed to make the land barren or fertilise it, as he chose. Allied with it is the Concept of the "Field and the Plough-share." For sexual union in the field as a part of Ploughing-rituals and for rein

Ploughing-rituals and for rain see Frazer. Op.cit., Magic Art. p. 98ff.

43. The motif is fairly well known in folk-beliefs and tales. Cf. the
Demon who controlled the whole land and would lay it waste if not propitiated with a virgin every year. Grimm's Household tales, Tr. by Margaret Hunt, Vol. I (London 1864), "Two Brothers". See also Day, Folk-tales
of Bengal (and there the tale.

of Bengal (and there the tale of Champaka), (London 1912), p. 70 ff. 44. Der Rg Veda, p. 227, The idea of the held-up gift.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ste land d by the ut do not that the a (VIII. dvent of Śuṣṇa at

labhyāya g of the lered as ive; and by the alluded but the noticed ders the en mean ecured." insecure

istus. Cf. ra mean-"gaus cā s. Louis e (Eng.)

d, which stage the thus, in Vāstosnis lordto make pt of the ed. See part of

3 ff. Cf. the ot pro-Margaolk-tales

the rain which the Angirases are actually said to gain, as we have earlier noted. The point in the hymn, then, seems to be the propitiation of the Asvins at a time when rain is insecure. And for the gain of rain a ritual in which sex played the main nart, both in speech and act, was accomplished. Cyavana is the person who, by the sympathetic act, gives the fluid. The clash of Cyavana and Indra, as shown by much later texts (Mb. Vana, 122-124; Bhāgavata, P. IX, 3), only denotes the absence of regular nin. Sexual rituals for rain are known to the Vedic tradition, one of the most significant examples being the Mahāvrata.45 The tale of Rsya-Sringa46 recorded in later texts has the same motif, ltis said that Indra did not shower rain in Lomapada's kingdom. The mint to be noted in the account of Rsyasringa is that, as soon as he was placed in the chamber of the daughter of Lomapada. the showers came and developed into torrents. The King and his subjects were satisfied. It is then that the King got his daughter married to the wonder-worker (Mb. Vana, 113). The name Rsyaśńga, like Cyavana, is clearly a symbolic one; and denotes sexual potency. The Brāhmanic versions of the account of Cvavana mark another interesting point. As Rsyasringa stays out of the human habitat, so does Cyavāna. It is Saryāta who is said to go out and has to give his daughter to him. The Rg V. is silent on this wint. The Brahmanic accounts suggest that the ritual-practice known to the Rg V. persisted; and even if it is granted that it underwent change later on, we may venture a surmise that it was a pastoral practice, in which sex-freedom played an important Part. Cyavana is said to have been besmeared with earth, dung and ashes. The boys were cowherds and shepherds. Such was the state of senselessness that the mother did not know the son and tice-versa.47 Though the Sat.Br. does not speak in clear terms

45. Keith, Op.cit., Vol. II, p. 351-352.

46. Mahābhārata (Mb), Vana 110 ff; Bhāgavata, P. IX, 23.8 ff; Rāmāyana, loff, See also W. Ruben, "Some remarks on Kota Tales", Bhāratīya Vidyā, Vol. X, 1949, p. 144. For the sex-symbolism in the Synga of Rsya-Synga see Motichandra, "Nidhiśrnga", Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin No. 9 (1964-

47. Cf. the practice of besmearing one another with ashes of the bonfie, dung and mud at the Holi festival in India (North especially). It is harked by hark it and sense lessness (!); but it has its own sense; for sexual abuses Mark it, and it has a very ancient tradition. It is clearly a Sun-fire festival,

The S

bore The

seed.

tiality

toms :

aspect

menta

serve

Cyava

the A

though

out of

are of

shows

alread

his old

This 7

covers

which

69.9, h

this vo

and d

idea o

the 'S

49. he note formed

breed.

Religion

Ibid., p

Sindhu

Univers 50

of Yout

is rathe

the nigh

2). 84;

Frog-p

51.

It

about the sexual senselessness, it notes the disfigurement of Cyavana and also the confusion in the subjects of Saryata. The Rg V passage we are discussing does not speak about the disfigurement of Cyavana, but tallies with the Br. passages and the later tradition in the fact of shower of retas indicating the 'union' with a maiden. Now the Rg V. at another place speaks of a deformed person who is said to be the "hider of virgins" (II. 15.7). The point forms a part of the exploits of Indra; and in the very next verse we have the Angirases shattering Vala and releasing rain. It may be proposed that the "hider of virgins" is Vala himself and that the virgins are the 'cows' or the streams of rain-water. It is to be remembered, however, that the belief in a deformed person (andha and śrona) is well set in the Rg V. (I. 112.7; II. 13.8; IV. 30.19; X. 25.11); and this person is well favoured by the Aśvins, When the Srona comes in this exploit of Indra, and is said to be the "hider of virgins" (ap-goham kanīnām) the only legitimate consideration will be to see that the person is the same. Even here the Srona is not an enemy of Indra; on the contrary he is said to be favoured by Indra. This deformed person who is connected with the virgins closely resembles Cyavana as the latter appears in the Brahmanic version. One noteworthy epithet of the Srona is Paravrj,48 which shows that he was abandoned and was staying away from the human habitat; and was yet favoured. The sexual element in the case of Cyavana and in the case of the Srona is the same; and their original bodily form is similar. We would not be far from the truth in supposing, then, that in the reference to the Srona and Cyavana the Rg V. records an ancient custom of sexually appeasing a deformed person with the belief that he embodied the power to bring the fructifying divine fluid.

and comes at the same time as the Mahāvrata and the Horse-sacrifice, roughly, in the summer season, prior to rainy season. In the Vraja (Māthura) and Bundelkhanda the Holi is marked by a sexual dance in which a man acts as a prostitute and another as a Bābāji, with a crooked staff (a symbol of the generative organ) and indulge into obscene language. Moti Chandra, Op.cit., p. 8.

In Rajasthan the Nathuram (from Nathu = the male organ) is installed at the Holi. This practice is also current in Vidarbh where the Marawadi-Rajasthani influence reached

48. Rg V. I, 112.8; II, 13.12: 15.7. It is to be noted that the "father" is also said to be the parāvrj (X. 61.8); and we have no reason to understand this word in a different sense in this context.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

of Cya-

Rg V.

rement

tradi-

with a

person orms a

e have

ay be

nat the

to be

person

.8; IV.

Aśvins.

to be

timate

Even

he is

s con-

latter

of the

d was

. The

of the

We

in the

ncient belief

fluid.

crifice,

thura)

a man

ymbol

andra,

is in-

Mara-

ather"

inder-

The same belief is reflected in the account of Rsyasringa who also here a name that indicates deformity. The belief is two-fold. The out-of-the-locality habitat indicates the concept of the foreign seed. The unusual form (śrona means a dwarf) denotes potentiality. Both are common in folk-beliefs. Similar beliefs and customs are also known from various other sources. 49

It is, thus, clear that the Rg V. presents Cyavana in two aspects, viz., the decrepit and the powerful, which are complementary to each other. They present one whole personality and serve as basis for the later versions. In the later versions, where Cyavana is described as gaining his youth back with the help of the Asvins, there is one point which is only the reflection of the thought of the Rg V. The Asvins entering the pool50 and coming out of it along with Cyavana, with the result that all the three are of identical form, is already suggested in the Rg V: which shows Cyavana as an epithet of the Asvins as we have already noted. The Rg V. notes that Cyavana was relieved of his old age, which is said to be the vavri (Rg V. I, 116.10; V. 74.5). This vavri is also compared to an armour or something which overs the body. Now vavri is only a covering (or the skin) which could be separated as is clear from other places (cf. IX. 69.9, hitvī vavrim; and Ib. 71.2, jahāti vavrim, said of Soma). As this vavri is itself compared with the armour (atka at V. 74.5 and  $dr \bar{a}pi$  at I. 116.10) we doubt if we could stop only at the idea of old age. The motif, common in folk-lore in the case of the 'Swan-maiden' type of tales,51 indicates the power to camou-

50. For a detailed treatment of this motif see Hopkins, "The Fountain of Youth", JAOS, 26, p. 1 ff. His suggestion that Cyavana may be a leper tather unwarranted.

51. For Example the famous tale of a prince who became the cock in he night, the tale of Bheki, Mb. (Critical Ed.) III, 190; Skanda, P.V. (Part Prog-princess".

<sup>49.</sup> See Gonda, Aspects of Early Visnuism (Utrecht 1954), p. 145, where he notes a practice in ancient Greece according to which dwarfs and deformed men were used for ploughing, as an aid to good harvest and cattle breed. Ploughing by dwarfish Kurumba in the Nilgiris, Hastings, Encl. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, p. 25; dwarfs in Ancient Egyptian Temples, bid, p. 126; Cf. the Yakşas in Indian Lore. For more instances See Sow. Indian S. Dange Folk-element in the Bhāgavata Purāna, Thesis (Nagpur Indiversity) 1966, Chapter on the Kubjā.

flage. This is also attested by the account in the Sat.Br. where Cyavana is said to have assumed the ungainly form of his own This shows the probability of the belief, in a person apparently deformed but having miraculous powers, being known to the Rg V. This belief seems to be prior to the favoured state of this person with the Aśvins. It is obvious that the belief is very old and later got mixed with the exploits of the Aśvins. At a yet later stage it slided into the serpent-lore52 as Cyavana is said to have sent a serpent (kṛṣṇa-sarpaḥ) after the maiden Sukanyā who tried to disregard him by running away according to a pre-hatched plan.

We have seen the probability of the Srona (dwarf) being identified with the Cyavana (the flowing one). The Srona is said to be the hider, suggesting that he has hide-out away from the locality. In the hymn we are studying, the Angirases are said to have gone to the hiding place of the "dvi-barhas" (cf. V. 10, dvibarhaso ya up gopam53 ā aguh), prior to the release of the 'cows' and the defeat of Suṣṇa. The word dvi-barhas indicates two-fold power, and even elsewhere it is connected with power (cf. about Indra, VIII. 15.2, yasya dvi-barhaso brhat sahah; cf. also 1.176.5). This person cannot be Pani54 for the epithet dvi-barhas never qualifies the Pani in the Rg V. It comes with Indra; and at places denotes the gift (IX. 4.7; 40.6; VII. 8.6. etc.). It also comes for Agni where he is said to be "sahsra-retah" (IV. 5.3.). It should be noted that in the verse, which speaks of the hiding place of the dvi-barhas, we have also rta-yukti and the "kanāyāh sakhyam" (cf. a & b). As such it is quite clear that the resort (gopa) denotes the place of the potent person — like Cyavana who is having the double power i.e., on the Earth as also on the divine plane;55 and not the cow-pen. It is not improbable that this gopa

53. Geldner renders it as Hüter.

in in to resid capable compri socia control is belie worlds.

Th is as fo (i

the Sor

who ac

is conn

(i

(ii

The dv idea is One. cating t sacrifice central He is th

It is th 56. C For othe

J. 11

the cou

<sup>52.</sup> For motifs, Vogel, The Indian Serpent Lore; Oldham, Sun and the Serpent; Kathāsaritsāgara etc.

<sup>54.</sup> Geldner, Op.cit., p. 228, N. 10, where he refers to Ludwig and agrees th him. with him.

<sup>55.</sup> Sāyaṇa. He, however takes dvi-barhasaḥ as Nom. Pl. qualifying ye (Angirases); but we have no other example of that sort. The word occurs only thrice and trail the stands of the sort of the occurs only thrice, and we have noticed all the places. He understands gopam as Nābhānedisthe W. gopam as Nābhānediṣṭha. We expect gopām in that case.

his own
person
known
ed state
belief is
ins. At
vana is
maiden
ecording

being is said om the said to 0, dvi'cows' wo-fold about 176.5).
never and at comes 3.). It g place sakh-

(gopa)
who is
divine
s gopa

nd the

agrees

word rstands ase is is in it the seeds of the later "vāstu" in which Cyavāna is said preside. It is this two-fold power that renders Cyavāna in belief, apable of milking the rain—cow (sabardughā), whose other form amprises of the Earth-or the terrestrial cow, land and all that is sociated with the Earth and its prosperity. Thus the dvi-barhas antrols the Prśni (the Heavenly and the Earthly Cow), who is believed in another context, to have two heads denoting the two worlds. She is called ubhayataḥ śīrṣṇī and represents the Aditi in the Soma ritual (Vāj.Sam. IV. 19). With the belief in the dvi-barhas, the actually gets the "sakhya" of the maiden in ritual-practice, is connected the concept of the Nābhānediṣṭha.

The concept of Nābhānediṣṭha that we get from the Rg V. sas follows:

- (i) He is the "double-kin" (dvi-bandhu), the son of Vitaraṇa (Vaitaraṇaḥ). He is the sacrificer to cause the sterile cow to milk (cf., yaṣṭā sabardhum dhenum asvam duhadhyai) (v. 17).
- (ii) He is the kin of Him that is in the Heaven; he mentally concentrates there (on the heavenly kin of his) with a desire. He is, (indeed) Nābhānediṣṭha. Proclaims he—"That is our navel—the highest one. Being the very next of Him how much can I be! (v. 18).
- (iii) This (the Earthly ritual-place) is my navel. Here are my gods. (Here) I am all. I am a twice-born (dvijāḥ); (but) the first-born of the Rta. This cow, being here, has milked. (v. 19)"

The dvi-bandhu exactly corresponds to the dvi-barhas. The whole idea is clearly that of establishing close kinship with the Heavenly One. Nābhānedistha is the son of Vitaraṇa in the heaven, indicating the sun, 56 where is the navel of us all. As the terrestrial actificer he is the nearest to the Vedi which is the nābhi (the central part) of the sacrifice. Hence, again he is Nabhā-nedistha. He is the wonder-worker and being the controller attempts to milk the cow. He is the navel-kin (cf. sa-nābhi) of the Heavenly one. It is the Heavenly one that is really born here the second time

Tor other views see Vadic Index. See Sāyaṇa for the Sun-concept.

(dwi-jāḥ). He is the foremost for this ritual; for he represents the Heavenly. Though he is here on the earth, he is the nearmost (nediṣṭha) to the Heavenly one. How? Through the navel-kinship! Hence he is, rightly, Nābhānediṣṭha. As such he performs the ritual. And the cow milks. This description gets connected with the sex-ritual at a next step, where the virgin becomes the measure for the 'Cows' for some one (v. 21).

There are various opinions about the real nature of Nabhanedistha. According to the Ai.Br. he was the son of Manu who divided his property, in the absence of the former, among his other sons. To Nābhānediṣṭha, who remained without any share Manu told of a remedy. According to it he was to chant the hymns (X. 61 & 62) to save the Angirases from swooning on every sixth day of the sacrifice they were performing for the gain of heaven. Nābhānediṣṭha did as he was advised; and obtained from the Angirases a thousand cows as a bribe (utkoca). As he was collecting them for himself, Rudra came along and forbade him, saying that the cows belonged to him and that he should get it confirmed from Manu himself. Now Nābhānediṣṭha got it confirmed; and made the gift of the cows over to Rudra. The latter was pleased and gave back the gift to Nābhānedistha (Ai.Br. V. 14). The account is supported by the expression in the next hymn -"tebhyo bhadram Angiraso vo astu" (v. 1 c), and also by the expression — "dīrghāyutwam Angiraso vo astu" (v. 2 c). The expression "grbhnīta mānavam sumedhasah", which forms the refrain for the first four verses of the hymn (X. 62) may be supposed to indicate a reference to Nābhānediṣṭha who was the son of Manu (hence Mānava). But beyond this there is nothing in the hymn which can support this account from the Ai.Br. The account seems to be the off-shoot of the combination of the gain of the cows being associated, in the earlier hymn, with the Angirases on the one hand, and the birth of Vastospati — who is traditionally Rudra on the other. It does not take into account the Sexual nature of the earlier hymn; and as such is not quite useful. Other sources only hint at the association of Nābhānediṣṭha, and do not provide any important information as to the nature of Nābhānedistha. They only repeat the account from the Ai.Br. Thus the Taitt.Sam. (3.1.9.4.6) simply says that the Angirases sat to perform the sacrifice (satra); they did not know the divine world (su-vargam lokam); Nābhānediṣṭha told this rite (brāh-

86. 10, ar

mana

adven

of the

Kau.E

hymn gain C

in the

iaken

hymn,

the sp

the Br

the six

life.57

sexual

of new

hymn.

case of

this m

and th

hymn,

the sar

as we

distha,

the kin

that is

this syr

nabāno

Rg V. s

ents the

earmost

el-kin-

erforms nnected

nes the

Nābhā-

u who

ing his

share

ent the every

gain of

d from

ne was

e him,

get it

onfirm-

er was

7. 14).

mn -

y the

The

is the

ay be

as the

othing

The

e gain

Angitradi-

nt the

seful. , and

re of

Ai.Br.

irases

livine

brah-

to them and they reached heaven. Then follows the advent of Rudra; and the account is connected with the offering of the manthin cup to say that Rudra is pleased thereby (cf. also Kau.Br. 28.4; Pañc.Br. 20.9.4.). The concept of the Nābhānedistha humn clearly centres round the fructification of the earth and the ain of rain, an activity very well associated with the Angirases in the Vedic literature. Though the later tradition may not be taken as the authentic support for the original concept of the hmn, it has one important point. The hymn is associated with the sprinkling of retas, the motif in which the hymn excels. At the Brahmanic ritual this hymn was employed to be recited on the sixth day, which is associated with the actual generation of He.57 This means that the recitation of the hymn symbolised exual union in the later rite, which was necessary for the gain of new life; and consecration is for new life.58 But though the hymn, thus, came to be recited for the gain of new life in the case of the sacrificer, the original idea behind it cannot be only this much in view of the fact of the defeat of the demon Susna and the gain of the Cows. Looking to the general tone of the lymn, then, Nābhānediṣṭha and Cyavāna are only two aspects of the same belief, viz. the Earthly representation of the Heavenly s we have already seen. As such it is futile to see in Nābhānedisha, as in Cyavana, a real person. It is this person (who is he kin of the Heaven and Earth, being the nearest to the nābhi) hat is powerful and is alluded to as  $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$  (v. 16). In the Avesta symbolism is maintained. He is the angel as is clear from— Mbāna jdīsṭanām phravaśinām" (yāsna 3.22; 1-18; etc.). Rg V. says about him:

"This illustrious (rājā)<sup>59</sup> performer (of the ritual) (vedhāh)60 and the chanter (viprah), who crosses (being

<sup>57.</sup> Sat.Br., V, 6.6.4; cf., the practice of the sixth day after birth in India, the goddess Sasthi (lit. of the sixth day) is believed to import life

<sup>58.</sup> Mait. Sam., III, 6.7; Sat. Br., IV, 2.1.7.3; Gopatha, Br. III, 19, etc. See also Dange "Death and Re-birth in Initiation Ceremonies", Indian Antiwary, Vol. I, April 1964.

Sayana takes it to refer to Soma; Ludwig to Sūrya. See Geldner, Opeit, p. 230; note 56 above.

O Cf., vedhā rtasya said of Indrānī în the hymn of Vṛṣākapi (Rg V. X), (1), and interpretation at "A Virility Charm,"

the master of his own) 'bridge', is being praised. He (indeed) impelled Kakṣīvat and also Agni, as do the horses the wheel that is actively rolling."

Kaks woma

anoth

be co

stuti,

the F

in the

epithe

the K

be the

(Sāya

Roma

with

fitness

to be

a shee

giving

a mai

nating

for th

these

Kaksī

Kaksī

cate 1 nature

nedist

ously

him or

As the

Brāhm

not be Vedic

Who,

prospe

Divine

the ret

65.

66.

67.

The hymn, in its later portion, clearly sings the praise of this person who is said to be Nābhānediṣṭha. Nābhānediṣṭha is prior to Kaksīvat whom he impels; and, obviously, he is handed down in tradition that became hoary even at the time of the composition of the hymn. This person cannot be the composer of the hymn. The composer of the hymn remains a problem as in the case of many of the hymns! It is pertinent to note that Kakṣīvat is mostly associated with the Aśvins in his association with the gods.61 The Rg V. says that he enjoyed full human life (IX. 74.8); and he is also said to have been on par with Indra who is himself said to have become Kakṣīvat (IV.26.1), thus establishing his antiquity and also his importance in the Vedic tradition. But we know one important detail about him from the Rg V. Indra is said to have favoured him with a very young girl (cf. arbhām) named Vṛcaya, pretty old though he was (I.51.13).62 At another place he is said to have been offered a woman by the Aśvins. This woman is indicated by the name purandhi (I.116.7), which is connected by the Index with Vicaya.63 Purandhi, however, appears to indicate, at that place, a married and issue-less woman; and Sāyaṇa seems to be right in identifying her with Wadhrimatī (a woman having an impotent husband) (Rg V. 1.116.13).64 This would show that

61. He comes fourteen times in the Rg V. With the Asvins six times, Indra-three; Soma-two; Independent-two.

<sup>62.</sup> The Vedic Index says that Vrcaya was given to Kaksivat by the Asvins (see under Vṛcayā). This is not correct. She was given by Indra. It is an Indra-hymn. Vrcayā comes nowhere else. She is not mentioned to be given as a wife (index); we only have "arbham Vrcayam", which indicates only a wife. cates only a virgin, and is the same as the  $kan\bar{a}$ .

<sup>64.</sup> Cf. Sapta-wadhri, Rg. V. V. 78.5; VIII. 73.9; X. 39.9; at X. 10212 Vadhri indicates the castrated bullock. See "An Obscure Pastoral Ritual."

The word nuramids: The word puramdhi, at some places at least, indicates the Earth and a woman; cf. I.116.13: at 1.116.7 above places at least, indicates the Earth and a woman; cf. I.116.13; at I.116.7 she is said to be tilled (aradata); see also I.180.6; 1813; at 134.3, she is to be said to be tilled (aradata); see also I.180.6; 1813; at 134.3, she is to be aroused like a sleeping woman (cf. pra bodhaya puramdhim jara ina agastan puramdhim jāra iva sasatīm) by Vāyu. Vāyu is one of the three seed-layers (cf. Rg. V. VII. 33.7 and 65.1 (cf. Rg. V. VII. 33.7 and Śatyayanaka). The seed-taker is obviously, the Earth. cf. pumān nāmić az V. I. 83.1. Earth. cf. pumān vāyuś ca sarvagah quoted by Sāyana at com. Rg. V. I. 881. cf. later belief of Vāyu girina later belief of Vayu girina later belief of Vayu girina later belief of Vayu girina later b cf. later belief of Vāyu giving birth to Hanūmat. For other views on Purandhi see Macdonall Vedic Marth. dhi see Macdonall Vedic Mythology, 43.

ised. He s do the

se of this a is prior ded down mposition he hymn, e case of is mostly s.61 The he is also to have uity and one imto have Vrcaya, e is said n is indid by the licate, at seems to having

six times;

now that

t by the by Indra. tioned to ich indi-

X. 102.12.

Ritual. woman; .6; 181.9; bodhaya ed-layers isly, the r. I. 88.1. Puran-

Kaksivat is associated with the gift of a maiden as also that of a woman for some specific purpose. This motif is supported by yet another passage from the Rg. V., which occurs in a hymn said to be composed by Kaksīvat himself; and forms part of the danastati, being the speech of Romaśā. She is said to be the wife of the King Bhavayavya;65 but the word and the sexual language in the verses (I.126.6 & 7) show that it is not a name: It is an epithet.66 The verses are taken to indicate the dialogue between the King Bhavayavya and his wife Romaśa, who are also said to be the 'seers' of the verses, simply because their names occur there (Sayana quotes the tradition)! but this seems improbable. This Romaśā, who is said to be the brahma-vādinī, may be compared with Apālā,67 who craves to be "romaśā which indicates sexual finess. The very words, are "touch me closely; think not mine  $_{
m to}$  be undeveloped. I am fully  $roma\acute{s}ar{a}$ , i.e. endowed with hair, as asheep of the Gandhāris" (see Sāyaṇa for rendering; I desist from giving it). The description shows that we have here a case of a maiden, just stepping into youth, being offerred as the culminating gift to Kakṣīvat. The romaśā here is only another name for the kanī we have already noted. It is not quite clear from these references what actual purpose behind the sexual gift to Kaksīvat was. But we may compare one more reference where Kakṣīvat is associated with the favours of the Aśvins which indicate rain, (I.112.11—cf. madhu kośo aksarat). The semi-divine nature of Kakṣīvat rightly connects him in our hymn with Nābhānedistha; and the former's mention in this hymn (X. 61) obviously has the same motif. His association with sexual gifts brings him on par with Cyavana, who is the first to appear in the hymn. As the Nābhānediṣṭha hymn is rightly associated with retas in the Brahmanic tradition and is also itself full of sexual images, it will not be far from the truth if we suppose that, in the belief of the Vedic People, Nābhānedistha symbolised the semi-divine person who, by his peculiar relation to the Divine (Sun!) could bring prosperity on the earth by sexual appeasement. He represented the Divine as the  $kan\bar{a}$  represented the Earth, in the ritual of sprinkling the rot the retas. There is, thus, strong ground to believe that the Rg V.

67. Rg V. VIII. 91.6; See "Mahānagnī and Apālā".

<sup>65.</sup> Vedic Index, under Romaśa; Sāyana; Bṛhaddevaṭā, III. 156 ff. 66. Vedic Index. loc. cit.

394

reflects a stage of sexual rituals in which an actual human coitus for general prosperity once figured, howsoever remote the period may be.

The stage of sexual practices in social life, with the belief of imbibing the divine seed, appears clear in the gift of a maiden or a woman. The same practice appears further in a modified form in the concept and practice of the "act of Dadhi Krāvan" the symbolic coitus at the Horse-sacrifice. The same motif is visible in the case of Vṛṣākapi and the belief about the āhanasyāh, which refer to the Mahānagnī. The ritual-lord, the 'seed-giver', in all such practices imbibes the concept of the Nābhānedistha, who in the most original stage must have been the Human. It is improbable that such practices were carried on yearly, as is shown by the Mahavrata, when the Sun came near the Earth. Prior to the developed sacrificial stage they appear to have formed part of the pastoral life; and entered, symbolically, even the full fledged sacrificial system, where no such definite purpose was apparently linked with them. Thus in the section of the Pātnāvata, which forms a part of the soma sacrifice, the wife of the sacrificer is asked to look at the  $udg\bar{a}tr$  and the following is said (on her behalf) -"Thou art the prajāpati, the layer of the seed (reto-dhah); plant thy seed in me. May I obtain the seed of thee, who act Prajapatithe virile seed-layer" (Vāj. Sam. VIII.10). This may be compared with the praise of the Horse in the Horse-sacrifice, - "May the virile Horse plant the seed,—He who is the seed-layer"—who is said to be the "garbhadhah", and "prāṇānam prāṇa-pati" (Vāj. Sam. XXIII.19). The practice of asking the wife of the sacrificer to look at the udgatr, while the said mantra is being recited clearly shows that the udgatr stands for the "seed-layer"; and it indicates an earlier stage of an actual act (as in the case of the Horse) of which this ritual is a modified form. On the analogy of the Horse, he stands as an emblem of the Sun. He is the virtual Prajā-pati (the lord of procreation in belief) and closely corresponds to the Earthly representative of the Divine, who is the 'nearest to the nabhi'—the Nābhānedistha. The utterance that immediately precedes confirms this. It says: "I am above; I am below; that firmament, indeed, is my father. I saw the Sun both ways. I am that which is the which is the very secret of the gods." (Ib. 9). With this is mixed the (soma) in the pātnīvata with the ājya. Though these two mantra-s are said by two different priests, the latter (9th) appears

b desc.

The remely gaha to idicate istha.

(ii)

(i)

(iv)

(iii)

(v)

(vi)

an coitus e period

belief of maiden modified Krāvan", f is visi-anasyāḥ, d-giver', nediṣṭha, n. It is s shown Prior to

ed part fledged parently , which ificer is behalf) ); plant jāpati—

ay the who is (Vāj. crificer clearly dicates rse) of

mpared

Horse, jā-pati to the

y prefirman that mixed

mixed e two opears b describe the Prajā-pati (reto-dhāḥ) whose retas the wife solities. The reto-dhāḥ, who sees the sun both ways and knows the secret of the gods, is clearly an aspect of the Nābhānediṣṭha ho proclaims that, he is the "rtasya prathama-jāḥ" and affirms, tham asmi sarvaḥ" (Rg. V. X.61.19).

The last seven verses of the present hymn (20-27) are expensely complex. But, on the analogy of the ritual of the pātnīvata rula to the ritual of the Horse-sacrifice, we can be sure that they dicate the origin of the next phase of the concept of Nābhāne-tha. They speak of the gain of the cows and the go-iṣṭi. The rain points are:—

- (i) The cows of some rich (or old) (sacrificer) have gone away following the "measurer (?) of the kanā." Hear us, O you endowed with riches! You are the sacrificing priest, grown by the right presents of the āśva-ghna.
- (ii) Praise of Indra to protect the donor-sacrificers.
- (iii) O you two Kings! As the speedy singer approaches, for the weal of the Cows (gaviţṣa) being the most beloved priest (vipraḥ) of them all, may he lead them to completion and help them through.
- (iv) May we solicit, singing gaily (vrthā), for the accomplishment of this victorious one. The speedy Horse is his son; you are the priest for the gain of prosperity.
- (v) For the friendship of you two (and) for our prowess (or well being (śardhāya), when I fondly desire to offer praise being worshipful, where (i.e., in the ritual) the praise simultaneously (rise) all over, may it (i.e, the ritual) fructify (dāśat) for our offering (sunṛtāyai) as the profuse (or ancient, cf. pūrvī) path.
- (vi) Being praised by the waters (abhih), may he (excel) by the chants (with) worship he the 'good kin' (subandhuh), and the one who has the god (deva-vān)! Growing by the chants and the songs he, verily, attains the path of the Cow's Milk (nūnam vy'adhwaiti payasa usriyāyāh).

(vii) Rejoicing, O you Gods! — you O worshipful ones! — he for our great protection, O You! who, being ever active, render prosperity (to us) and are alert and wise!!

The central idea seems to be the gain of the cows that are lost (to the sacrificer). The "measurer" (up-māti) of the kanā appears to be the one who is intimate with her in ritual, and can be compared with the one who sits at the 'udder' of the pra-jā<sup>68</sup> (v. 9), and is her close friend. The two Kings (v. 23) whose friendship is solicited (v. 25) appear to be the Aśvins, and are rightly invoked after Indra, himself a King (v. 22). This is most probable in view of the fact that in this very hymn we have Indra invoked to support the solicitation of the Aśvins (v. 15). They may also be Mitra and Varuṇa in view of v. 17.

The "deva-vān (iti) subandhuḥ" can be compared with the "dvi-bandhu". He is the same as Nābhānedistha in belief and the acting priest in practice. He attains the path of the Cow's Milk, i.e., attains the rain, and prosperity therefore including cattle, an idea already suggested by the expression "sabardughāyāḥ paya usriyāyāh" (v. 11); for it is he (the ritual-Nābhānediṣṭha) who was the sacrificer to milk the barren Cow (v. 17-cf, yaṣṭā sabardhum dhenum aswam duhadhyai). This is exactly the exploit of the "dvi-barhas", to whose "gopa" (hide-out) the Angirases resort for the gain of the Milk of the Cow (v. s. 10 & 11) and who corresponds to the Cyavana of this very hymn and also of the later legend. The ritual priest, being thus well settled in belief as the 'nearest to the Divine' and as the gainer of the Cow's Milk, is naturally associated with water (v. 26). The epithet "deva-vān" also indicates the same thing; for deva also indicates rain. The deva-vān subandhu, who is praised by the rain-waters, is the same as the vipra who is much beloved (prestha) by them whom Sayana, rightly understands as the Angirases (com. on v. 23). He is the same as the kanāyāh upamāti (the copulative counterpart of the maiden in ritual). He is the Divine Sacrificer (yat, v. 21). He is the Divine seed-layer, and the kanā is the Earth (cow). he is the same as the "father," Who fructifies the Earth, that is said to be the Earth. said to be the Kanā duhitr (v.s, 5-9), and is settled as the Cow in

68. See note 27.

raditio include It

and als

iso have divided to say that earliest the divi

divine s

The divine i divinitie Tho pa a well ie., the perity is does no symboli by the : ented the kan (parent ed. The of Vast the Asy in the ]

69. Vo sion Ved (1923), p. 70. Se also the 7 71. Re in der leginitwirke

1, 12

the mer

have be

397

#### VIRGIN AND THE DIVINE SEED-LAYER

The whole ritual constitutes the gaviști (go-ișți- which cludes Earth and cattle).

It is interesting to note that the priest is said to be saranyu ad also asvah (v. 24) and is the son of Him (the Sun). We have reference to the gift of the asvaghna (v. 21). Looking to divine status of the priest in the ritual hinted at by the hymn nd to the status of the Horse in the Horse-sacrifice, we can safely w that here we have a reference to the Horse-sacrificer, the arliest one in the Vedic tradition. Both the divine priest and the divine Horse at the Horse-sacrifice, then, are the aspects of the ivine seed-layer—the Sun (cf. Sāyaṇa).

The hymn, thus, imbibes the belief and ritual of the gain of wine fluid for the fructification of the Earth-Cow, in which the dimities symbolically acted on the terrestrial plane. The humans no participate in the ritual are no longer earthly on the lines of well marked belief. 69 The whole ritual is the go-isti (gaviști) ie, the gain and the well being of the cattle and whatever pros-Frity is associated with the earthly sphere. The word  $\bar{a}ji$  (v. 1, 8) bes not indicate an actual war or competition as such. It is ymbolic for the gain we have just noted; and is well supported by the Rg Vedic style of expression. The divine "father" (repre-\*nted as Cyavāna, Nābhānediṣṭha, Kakṣīvat or the Horse) and he kanā (virgin) form the couple, and the  $Kr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  (acting)  $pitar\bar{a}^{71}$ parents) (v. 1) of the person on whose behalf the ritual is performthe whole ritual is the raudra brahma, not because of the birth Vastospati who is Rudra; but because of the prominence of he Aśvins who are themselves Rudrau. The ritual, as it appears the Rg V., seems to have become elaborate as is indicated by the mention of the seven hotes (v. 1); but in the origin it must been a simpler ritual. The time of the ritual appears to be

<sup>®</sup>. Vāj. Sam. "viṣnor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām" etc. Bergaigne, Reli-Vedique (1878-1883) p. vii; viii. Griswold, Religion of the Rig Veda (1923), p. 102.

70. See "An Obscure Pastoral Ritual"; the 'battle' of Mudgola (X. 102); the 'boat' at X. 101; "Field and the Plough-share".

Remarks Pischel, "Die Rolle, welche die Eltern (pitara!) des Pakther der legende Kemarks Pischel, "Die Rolle, welche die Eltern (pitara:) der legende gespielt haben, is nicht meher auzuklären" op. cit. P. 75, Geldner, bitwirkende gespielt haben, is nicht meher auzuklären des Sängers". Geldner's Caldinary of the service of the serv regestion of the dvyāmuṣyāyana and Adoption is not agreeable (op. cit.).

s! — be

active, ell

are lost

appears

oe com-

(v. 9),

endship

atly in-

robable

nvoked ay also

ith the

and the

s Milk,

ttle, an

h paya

) who

sabar-

ploit of

resort

ho cor-

e later

as the

Tilk, is

a-vān"

. The

e same

āyaņa, is the of the

). He

Thus that is

low in

the early dawn.72. The ritual is also the mamhana.73 It is obvious the hymn was later used in the Bramanic rituals to indicate the birth of the sacrificer, the belief being the same. Though it is difficult to say positively whether in the period of the samhitā an actual sexual act of humans took place, it is clear that the chant of the hymn symbolished the 'union' of the "pitara" and the sprinkling of the retas, which is also borne out by the later tradition (cf. reto vai nābhānediṣṭhaḥ). In this the hymn falls in line with other hymns i.e., of Mudgala and the ahanasyah (khila). By the Brāhmana texts it was linked with the Vālakhilya, Vṛṣākapa and the Marutvatīya chants (Ai.Br. VI. 27.6 etc.). The recitation of all these was enjoined on the sixth day, probably, because it was suggested from the 'ripening day' (cf. pakthe ahan, and Sāyaṇa) indicated in our hymn, on which day in the dark and dim past the virgin (Kanā) 'united' with the divine Seed-Layer (Nābhānedistha).

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Rg. V. = Rg Veda.

Ai. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Jai. (Jaim.) Br. = Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.

Pañc = Pañcavīmśa.

Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Mait. Sam = Maitrāyaṇī Samhita,

Vāj. Sam = Vājasaneyī Samhita.

72. cf.  $Krsn\bar{a}$  yad gosh'aranişu sīdat (v. 4); cf. the time of the Niyoga. 73. The word occurs only here.  $Mamhan\bar{a}$  occurs at various places; but the meaning appears to be symbolic rather than clear. Can we compare it with  $mehan\bar{a}$  (Rg. V. V. 38.3;—39.1; VIII. 4.21, etc.)? The latter word indicates "spraying" ( $from \sqrt{mih}$ ), the concept being that of fluid or semen or rain.

In Coremon d this go ix years to mount to wait

and the This beory fo

hree gr

wentiet]

The in the if Kings. Islened to the theorem

manr you they or de send at hi the 1

l. Jan James enduri

## The Divine Right of Persian Kings

BY

## E. Burke Inlow University of Calgary

In October, 1967, the Shah of Iran will be crowned at a brilliant memony which will be one of the glittering international affairs this generation. The Shah would have waited exactly twenty-inverse from the time he succeeded his father, the late Reza Shah, amount the Peacock Throne. Twenty-six years is a long time wait for a coronation. But the Shah of Iran is no ordinary ruler. He is the Shah-in-Shah, the King of Kings, and of the tree great imperial rulers of the ancient world to enter the mentieth century—the Emperors of China, the Pharoahs of Egypt, and the Kings of Persia—only the Persian still reigns.

This article is intended to provide an explanation in political to this unusual political phenomenon.

The explanation—to state it briefly—seems to the writer to in the ancient, and now almost forgotten concept of the divinity Kings. The concept is not new to the West. The English once is the description of the divinity is the seed to a speech given by their King before Parliament in which the theory was quite clearly stated:

"Kings are justly called Gods; for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth. For if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to raise low things and to make high things low the like power have kings ...."

yogd. ces; but npare it rd indiemen or

obvious to indi-

Though the samlear that

"pitarā" by the

ie hymn

anasyāļ lakhilya,

.). The

robably,

he ahan.

he dark

e Seed-

<sup>1.</sup> James I in 1609. Quoted in McIlwain, C. H., The Political Works of Kings, Cambridge: 1914.

Quoted in McIlwain, C. H., The Political Works and the State of Kings, of the divinity of kings in the West, see Figgis, N., The Divine of Kings, Cambridge: 1914.

are 1

be se

depri

funct

not 1

sense

of th

patrio

threa

crat '

a con

of th

for th of £

Persi

funds

the 1

enorr

purpo

peopl

the p

was :

as be

of a

is to where

const distir

West

repre Cons

than

of the

5.

6.

I

In Iran, or Persia as it was once known, the theory of kingly divinity has been enormously important. In many ways it has been obscured. The long years under Arab rule were years of silence and evasion and yet the theory did not die. The modern age of rising democratic expectations has caused a change in language much as the older western concept of natural law became the "reasonable man" and even "due process of law".2 Consequently, the consideration of the Persian Constitution with which this paper begins, does not use the language of the Sasanian Kings, but neither is the language that of the western democratic state. Yet one has only to travel in Iran, and to find in obscure places pictures of the Shah framed with all the splendour of a deity to realize that this is not a 'Twentieth Century "Big Brother" nor is it merely a personality cult. It is something deep and timeless and gaunt with age.

This paper, then, is concerned with tracing the thread of an idea. It is not a short history of Persian political thought. Many great political thinkers-Nizam-al-Mulk is an example-are not mentioned or are mentioned in only a cursory way. They have not been concerned with the nature or theory of kingly authority in its divine aspects.

Article 35 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law of Persia states:3 "The sovereignty is a trust, as a Divine gift, confided by the people to the person of the Shah". Article 39 provides that the Shah undertake on oath to "preserve the independence of Persia, safeguard and protect the frontiers of my kingdom and the rights of the people, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Persian Constitution, rule in accordance with the established laws of sovereignty, endeavour to promote the Ja'fari doctrine of the set of the twelve Imams, and shall in all deeds and actions consider God (may his state be glorified) from whom is aid derived, and seek help from the holy spirits of the Saints of Islam to serve the progress of Persia". It should be noted that the twin aspects of power—the military (protection of the frontiers) and the religious (to promote the Ja'fari doctrine of the sect of the twelve Imams)

3. Assented to by the Shah, October 7, 1907.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>2.</sup> Inlow, Burke, "Natural Law, A Functional Interpretation", Americal Science Review Vol. 1882. Political Science Review, Vol. XLI, No. 5, (October, 1947), pp. 921-930.

3. Assented to be the control of the

of kingly has been of silence rn age of language came the equently, his paper

ings, but

tate. Yet

laces pic-

deity to

r" nor is

timeless ad of an nt. Many -are not hey have authority

of Persia nfided by that the of Persia, he rights e Persian laws of the sect consider ived, and serve the spects of religious Imams)

American .930.

are particularly cited. The importance of this is historic as will be seen throughout this paper. While one of the aims of the framers of these laws was to

deprive the monarch of his arbitrary powers and to ensure the functioning of the government along more modern lines, it must not be assumed that the Persian Constitutionalists were in any gense seeking to remove their autocratic ruler. The establishment of the Persian Constitution must be regarded as a nationalist (i.e., natriotic) rather than a democratic movement.4 It was rather the threat of political force from without than the tyranny of an autograt within that drove the Constitutionalists to devise, in such a comparatively short time, the Persian Constitution of 1906.5 One of the first acts passed by the Majlis when the Assembly met for the first time on October 7, 1906, was to veto a proposed loan of £400,000 which Great Britain and Russia were to make to Persia in equal proportions, in order to provide the Shah with funds for fresh extravagances. The action served to underscore the known fact that for years, the western nations had poured enormous amounts of money into the ancient kingdom for the purpose of corrupting its rulers and driving a wedge between the people and the national interest. In a very real sense, therefore, the purpose of promulgating a new constitutional regime in Persia was a patriotic one; one intended to restore the ancient integrity as between ruler and subject; one intended to preserve the heritage of a once-great Empire.

In this sense, the move for constitutional government in Persia is to be distinguished from similar moves in the Middle East, where very often, foreign advisers were instrumental in devising constitutional instruments.6 The Persian action should also be distinguished from many of the constitutional developments in Western Europe where so often monarchs were deposed as not representing the best interests of the people. To the Persian Constitutionalists, the Shah was still the key to government; more than the key, he was the cornerstone. It was inconceivable to

<sup>4.</sup> Browne, E. G., "The Persian Constitutional Movement", Proceedings of the British Academy, London, 1917-1918, VIII, pp. 323-324.

<sup>5.</sup> See Art. CVI of the Supplementary Fundamental Law of Persia.

the Persians that there could be government without the Shah, For unlike the more democratic Arabs, the Persians had been firm believers in the divine right of kings. The man who sat on the Peacock Throne was the descendant of Cyrus, who thought he was more than human by birth, but was not surprised or annoyed when Croesur suggested that he was only human.7

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the theory of divinity as it applies to political authority in Persia. For this purpose, the paper will be divided into five parts: (1) Indo-Iranian origins down to and including the Achaemenid dynasty; (2) The Sasanian Period; (3) The Imamate; (4) Medieval Persian Thought with particular emphasis on the Mirrors for Princes and as an epilogue; (5) The Coming of the English.

I

# Indo-Iranian Origins

The Aryan invasions which pressed South in successive waves on a broad front extending from the Mesopotamian cultural area to that of the Indus basis form a basic and integral part of theories of Persian kingship. It is described at least thrice—by the Jews, by the Greeks, and by the Aryans themselves.

### The. Jews

As early as the eighth century B.C., in the reign of Sargon II, hordes of wandering Iranians began to appear within the outer limits of the Assyrian Empire. The movement seems to have been connected with events taking place on the northern coast of the Black Seas and comprehended the activities of various Indo-European tribes—the Scythians, the Medes, and the Mannai, the Iranians, as well as those who for some time had been pressing steadily into India. They were a vigorous people, these Aryans, and soon began infiltrating through the defences of Assyria into various parts of Asia Minor. Much of their activity was warlike. But they were wildly welcomed by the subjugated peoples of

Sargo hope

J

b

b

n li S T

as bei

of As the O all joi ing Y

people On th Aryan Cyaxa been r fell ab Nineve not wi

of him

"0, Jt

wicked

In brough revolte indeper point t a powe the Per

The Iranian

10. N

<sup>7.</sup> Citations in Hopkins, E. W., "The Divinity of Kings", Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 51, No. 4, (December, 1931), p. 315.

<sup>8.</sup> Rostovtzeff, M., A History of the Ancient World, Oxford: 1945, p. 121.

403

# THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN KINGS

Sargon and his son, Sennacherib as representing the best, great hope of liberation;9

"Behold, a people shall come from the north", the prophet Jeremiah warned, "and a great nation, and many kings shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth. They shall hold the bow and the lance; they are cruel and they will not shew mercy. And they will ride upon horses, everyone put in array, like a man to the battle . . . and the land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed".

This theme of the Aryans, and more particularly the Persians, as being the hammer of God smashing before it the wicked power of Assyria and Babylon occurs and re-occurs in the recounting of the Old Testament prophets. Ezra, Nehemiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel, all join Jeremiah in hailing these masterful invaders as representing Yahweh's pledge of the Jewish deliverance.

So it must certainly have seemed to the poor and oppressed people of the exile. For the Aryan power was gathering rapidly. On the death of the Assyrian King, Ashur-bani-pal, the various Aryan tribal groups united their command under the Median King, Cyaxares. They formed an alliance with Babylon which itself had been periodically under the heel of Assyria since the Kassite rule fell about 1180 B.C. Together, the combined armies moved against Nineveh and destroyed it in 612 B.C. Nahum, the Elkoshite, could not withhold his jubilation. "Behold upon the mountain the feet of him that bringeth good tidings", he sang to the exiled peoples. "0, Judah, keep thy solemn feasts; perform thy vows; for the wicked shall no more pass through thee, he is utterly cut off".10

In quick succession, once the Assyrian monarchy had been brought down, the subject nations moved to break free. Egypt tevolted. Babylon forfeited its alliance and sought to establish an independent position. All of Asia Minor was in ferment. At this bint the Aryan drive toward hegemony of the East now received a powerful impulse by a transfer of power from the Median to the Persian Kings.

The Persian Kings belonged to the southern branch of the hanian stock which had settled in the province of Fars and spread

Shah, en firm on the he was nnoyed

livinity se, the origins sanian t with ilogue;

waves l area eories Jews,

on II, outer been f the Indo-, the ssing

yans, into like. s of

f the

121.

<sup>9.</sup> Jeremiah 50:41-42; 51:29. 10. Nahum 1:15. Also, see Zephaniah 3.

out over the plains of Elam, a very ancient country North of the Persian Gulf and East of the Tigris. The heads of the Achaemenid clan became the overlords of this area which was known both as Anshan and as Persis (hence the name Persia). Between 553-550 B.C., Cyrus, commonly known as the "Great",11 the fifth King of the Persian tribe and sub-King of Persia, moved against the Median kingdom, overthrew its ruler and established himself as sovereign, In point of fact, there was little conflict here as there was a kinshin between the two people, and they spoke nearly the same language.12 When the transfer of authority was complete, Cyrus drove on into Asia Minor. Almost immediately he found himself opposed by a coalition consisting of Croesus of Lydia, the most powerful prince of Asia Minor, and the rulers of Babylon and Egypt. He moved on to the West, attacked Croesus and eventually captured Sardis and the King himself in 546 B.C. This was a quick and unexpected victory and as a result, the whole of Asia Minor fell to his rule, including the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast. Cyrus then reversed himself, returned to Ecbatana, the commercial centre of the new Achaemenid Empire, and from thence led an army East to conquer Parthia, Chorasmia, and Bactria, thus extending his rule over the vast area now known as Afghanistan. In 539 B.C. he took Babylon by the strategem of diverting the Euphrates River. The next year Cyrus issued a decree granting "a return of all lands to the Jews".13

The Jewish decree was a significant one. It marks a new era in political authority in the Middle and Near East. Upto this time subject peoples had been subjected to the most systematic terrorization of their adversaries. The accounts of Assyrian campaigns is a monotony of men flayed alive, impaled, extremities cut off, mutilated generals shut up in cages, whole towns massacred. This kind of treatment prepared men only for the worst when a new political star flashed across the horizon. Small wonder then, that the Jews, most vocal of the people of this period, saw Cyrus as God's appointed agent and the Persian Kings that followed him as models of political power.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly enough, the characteri-

dion human wins th Deuter actually eligiou Yahwe. and sh

was no first to Iranian iootster the firs world s

Су

Classica divinity marvell which s the Acl Persia's of Dari art thou is involof the s

Th

eyes a The Consequ

15. Ic 16. Is 17. Is 18. W 19. N in Ancier No. 13, 1

20. A J. 13

<sup>11.</sup> This area is now known as Khuzestan. 12. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>13.</sup> Ezra 1.

<sup>14.</sup> Twelve of them are specifically mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah.

of the emenid both as 553-550

King of Median vereign, kinship guage.12 on into ed by a prince moved Sardis xpected is rule. revers-

of the East to is rule 3.C. he River. of all ew era

to this tematic ssyrian emities sacred. vhen a

r then, Cyrus ed him acteri-

of Cyrus moves to a very personal plane. His wonderful qualities are much remarked upon. Like Saul of old, he ins the ultimate accolade of the Jews, "the Lord's anointed". 15 Butero-Isaiah, so concerned with the transcendence of God, tually includes Cyrus in its central theme of the "Servant"—a eligious signification that moves him close to Messiah, 16 and Yahweh himself reportedly says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd and shall perform my pleasure".17

Cyrus died in 529 B.C., a legendary and historic figure. He not only a world conqueror and effective organizer, but the ist to display that spirit of tolerance which is typical of the lanian character. 18 His son, Cambysis, following in his father's intsleps, carried through the conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C., and hefirst Indo-European Empire to be created in the Middle Eastern wild stood like a colossus from the Indus to the Mediterranean.

#### The Greeks

The Greeks believed the Persian Kings to be gods in Persia. 10 Classical antiquity seems to have been unanimous in attributing divinity to the "great king". "Basileus" they called him with marvellous simplicity. There is a passage in Aeschylus' Persae which summarized what Aeschylus and his audience thought about he Achaemenid Kings: "O, Queen (Atossa), most exalted in Persia's deep-girdled dames, venerable mother of Xerxes, spouse Darius, hail! Consort wast thou of the Persian's God and mother at thou likewise of a god." The divine spirit (daimon) of Darius sinvoked and told that "so long as thou didst gaze on the beams the sun, thou didst pass a life of felicity, envied of all, in Persian tyes a god".20

The Greeks, of course, were fascinated by the Persians. Consequently much was written in ancient Greece about Persia

<sup>15.</sup> Isaiah 45:1.

<sup>16.</sup> Isaiah 42:1-4; 45:1-8; 49:1-6.

<sup>17.</sup> Isaiah 44:28.

<sup>18.</sup> Wilbur, D. N., Iran, Past and Present, Princeton: 1958, p. 21.

<sup>19.</sup> McEwan, C. W., "The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship", Studies Ancient Oriental Civilization, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: No. 13, 1934, p. 19.

<sup>20.</sup> Aeschylus, Persae, pp. 155, 710. Quoted in McEwan, op.cit., p. 19. J. 13

and the Persians. Herodotus and Xenophon, particularly, devote much of their talent to exploring and recounting matters relating to Persian might and authority. They understood very well the twin sources of kingly power that made the Persian monarchs true Priest-Kings—the military and the religious. In the Seventh Book of his famous history, Herodotus gives a wonderful accounting of the most famous war of the ancient world. It begins with Darius receiving the message concerning the fight at Marathon and ends with the death and defilement of Leonidas.

"Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life, than with any other mortal. Otherwise he would not have used his body so shamefully. For the Persians are went to honour those who show themselves valiant in fight more highly than any national that I know".<sup>21</sup>

Throughout, the vast array of the Persian forces—and the personal power of Xerxes—clearly illustrate the military might of the great King.

Likewise the priestly functions of the King are noted. Herodotus remarks that the Persians have no images of the gods but rather sacrifice "to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds" (brothers of the king). 22 The King himself wore splendid dress on the occasions of ceremonial functions—purple trousers, saffron shoes, and a robe girt in by a golden girdle from which hung his sword, adorned with precious stones. The offerings of the sacrifice consisted of holy meat placed on consecrated cakes. There was also holy water and haoma, a fermented fruit juice deemed acceptable to the gods.

Xenophon reports that the priestly sacrifice was conducted in this wise. On the eve of the battle,<sup>23</sup> the servants brought to the staff officers the holy offerings. The Shah stood separate, dressed in his vestments. As priest, he took the meat and cakes and first

21. Herodotus, History of the Greek and Persian War, VII 15 (ed. Forrest, W. G.), pp. 250 ff. See How and Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, II, Oxford: 1957, p. 132.

22. The concept of the priestly king is too well-known to require repetition here. See Frazer, Sir J., The Golden Bough, New York: 1945 (1 vol.),

23. Xεnophon, Cyropaedia, VII, i, Loeb Classical Library (trans. W. Miller), II, p. 203.

present giving t poured his exam gossip, meaning when so

place in is famous is famous is he is in when the that the reminisce child was a still-bo

Cyr

Thus

ity. Into

tamed Sp.

This is of
in which

24. Stra lones), VII 25. Xen 26. Ibid

27. Ibid

devote relating rell the hs true h Book ting of Darius d ends

ne was would ns are n fight

ersonal e great Hero-

ds but water, f wore purple from erings cakes.

ted in to the ressed 1 first

juice

; (ed. Hero-

epetivol.),

(trans.

resented them to the gods. He, himself, ate, then breaking and ging to his officers. Next he took wine, mixed it with the water, mured a libation, prayed and drank. His officers then followed is example. It is not surprising that Strabo, who was quite a assip, and something of a Puritan, interprets this ceremony as meaning that the Persian staff never undertook serious discussion then sober.24

The Cyropaedia is a detailed accounting of the excellence of training, discipline and diligence of kingship. The young Cyrus staught how to be a soldier and how to command so that his men might become what they ought to be, worthy of all admiration.25 He is told by his father that "there is no shorter road than really be wise in those things in which you wish to seem to be wise".26 He is seen as no ordinary man, but one who counsels his officers sa father. Xenophon also remarks upon the priestly role of the Persian Kings. He believes it began with Cyrus and that "the institutions established by him at that time have continued with ech successive King even to this day".27

Cyrus shares with Alexander in Greek literature a significant lace in the theory of kingly divinity. The Cyrus legend, of course, samous. Briefly it runs as follows. King Ishtumegu, or Astyages she is better known, gave his daughter in marriage to a Persian. then the child Cyrus was born of the union, Astyages had a dream hat the infant would replace him on the throne, whereuponminiscent of Herod—he ordered the baby killed. Instead, the was given to a shepherd whose wife had suffered the loss of still-born infant. The switch of infants was made and the King satisfied that what he saw was the dead baby of his daughter.

Thus Cyrus escaped death and was saved for future immorta-Interestingly enough in this story, the shepherd's wife was Spako, which Herodotus says was the Median word for dog. his is obviously an early prototype of the Romulus-Remus story which a child is suckled by a wolf.

<sup>4.</sup> Strabo, Geography, XV, iii, 20 (Loeb Classical Library (trans. H. L. (mes), VII, p. 183.

<sup>\$.</sup> Xenophon, Cyropaedia, I, vi, 7, (I, p. 91). %. Ibid., I, vi, 22 (I. p. 109).

य. Ibid., VIII, i, 24 (I. p. 317).

408

At about age ten, the legend notes, Cyrus was returned to his true parents, apparently after new dreams had rendered him dead or harmless or both. When he reached manhood, of course, he did rise in revolt against his grand-father, Astyages, defeated him in battle and became the founder of a dynasty.

The Cyrus legend has many parallels, some of them Christian. But as Professor Frye points out,<sup>28</sup> the important parallel is with the story of the birth and youth of Ardashir, first of the Sasanian rulers. This motif of the founder of a dynasty being raised by shepherds or poor people who do not know or who conceal the true descent of the child becomes a part of the Persian Epic and can be seen as suggesting divine birth much in the same way as Greek gods were known to come down and mate with moral women.

Alexander's story has been embellished almost as much as that of Cyrus. In all probability the stories of his divinity came back to Greece from Persian sources.<sup>29</sup> Arrian relates with great charm the visit of Alexander to the oracle at Ammon (in Egypt) to find out more about his own divinity.<sup>30</sup> "Divine influence", "divine power", "divine guidance", and "divine help" are much in evidence along the way. Once when the army got off course, two snakes appeared to act as guides along the route. This, of course, has reference to the old legend that Alxander was the son of Zeus, who had come into his mother in the form of a snake.

When Alexander reached the oracle, he made inquiry of the God and "received the answer his soul desired". He then turned back. The entire recounting is one conveying the very presence of supernatural power.

Alexander, again, is identified with Cyrus in the thinking of some Greeks and perhaps of himself. Arrian relates the visit of

Alexar Cyrus'

Th

Greeks
notably
Isocrat
sees th
"Great
that P

The Kings. the great When

and ad

ke pre as

Th

reconst

me

me

to cont in the i conclus literatur of king

31. II 32. II 33. T 1 p. 325. 34. P 35. T B. Perrir

36. S pp. 26 ff.

<sup>28.</sup> Frye, R. N., The Heritage of Persia, New York: 1963, p. 76. Ctesias gives a different story, but in Dr. Frye's opinion, he was deliberately demphasizing the royal blood of Cyrus. Ibid., pp. 76-77. The legend is recounted in Herodotus, I, pp. 107-117. Op.cit., pp. 38-44.

<sup>29.</sup> Conversation with Professor A. D. Winspear, 16 November, 1966.
30. Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, III, IV, Loeb Classical Library (trans. E. I. Robson), I, pp. 229-235.

d to his im dead , he did him in

hristian. is with Sasanian ised by ceal the pic and way as

mortal

nuch as ty came th great Egypt) luence", e much course, This, of the son ake.

of the turned resence king of

Ctesias tely ded is re-

visit of

1966. (trans.

Alexander to Cyrus' tomb and strongly hints at the invocation of Cyrus' daimon.31

This worship of the Persian King's daimon is noted by several Greeks. Socrates speaks of posthumous cults of Persian Kings, notably Cyrus, and the Persian worship of the King's daimon.32 Locrates, certainly no apologist for Persian power and authority, ges that power as derived from Cyrus, so that in a sense, the "Great Kings" are worshipped as the King's daimon.33 He notes that Persian subjects approaching their King fall to their knees and address him as divinity.34

There are other Greek references to the divinity of Persian Kings. They can perhaps best be summarized in the words of the great King himself, Xerxes, known as the Zeus of the Persians. When he granted Themistocles an audience, he said this:35

"Laws, O Stranger, are naturally different among different men; there may be legitimate differences of opinion, but all men are agreed that it is a noble endeavour to respect and keep the laws .... Among us, who have noble laws this is pre-eminently binding: to honour the king and worship him as the image of God who saves all".

## The Aryans -

The scanty corpus of early Iranian texts makes a positive reconstruction of Persian kingship difficult. However, it is possible to contemplate an hypothetical, undivided Indo-Iranian kingship in the initial instance and from that position draw certain tentative conclusions. It must be recognized, however, that ancient Indian literature holds contradictory opinions about the origin and nature of kingly divinity.36

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid., VI, 29 (II, p. 197).

<sup>33.</sup> To Philip, 132 in Isocrates, Loeb Classical Library (trans. G. Norlin, p. 325

<sup>34.</sup> Panegyricus, 151-152, in Isocrates, Ibid., I., p. 217.

<sup>35.</sup> Themistocles, 27 in Plutarch's Lives, Loeb Classical Library (trans. 8. Perrin), II, p. 73. 36. Spellman, J. W., Political Theory in Ancient India, Oxford: 1964,

Pp. 26 ff.

The dvision of society into social classes with distinctive functions may be traced back to the ancient hymns of the Rigveda and continues forward to the Sasanian era. Here the doctrine of creation of these classes is found and explained in terms of divine ordination. In the Artharvaveda society is described as having been formed of the respective limbs of primitive man when he was sacrificed by the Gods. The signification of this is that society is a divine institution owing its origin, not to any human, but to a divine agency.37 The King himself is referred to in the Rigueda as a demi-god "like Indra"38 and the election hymns contain many analogies with the gods.39 In an Atharvaveda text,40 a whole Rigvedic verse addressed to the god Indra is boldly transferred to the human King, while in another text the King is twice greeted as "Indra's companion".41 King Parikshit is acclaimed in Atharvaveda as "one who succeeds mortals like a God".42

The King, we are told in Satapatha Brahmana43 "is Indra for two reasons, namely because he is noble, and because he is a sacrificer". For, on the one hand the sacrifice passes from the men to the gods. The King in other words, is especially connected with Indra even though subsequently his consecration outs other gods with him.

Hocart argues that the Vedas are not a treatise on manners and customs and could not be expected to furnish accurate information on the nature of early Indian kingship.44 But he does quote Manu, from a later date, in support of his contention that divine kingship was clearly a feature of early Indian thought. The two quotations are from the Law Treatises: 45

- 37. Ghoshal, U. N., A History of Indian Political Ideas, Oxford: 1959, p. 20.
- 38. Rigveda IV, 42.8-9. All quotations from the Rigveda are as cited in Ghoshal, ibid., pp. 20 ff.
  - 39. Ibid., X, 173.
  - 40. Ibid., IV, 8.3.
  - 41. Ibid., IV, 22.6-7.
  - 42. Ibid., XX, 127-7.
- 43. Satapatha Brahmana, V. 4.3.7. Quoted in Spellman, op.cit., p. 30. 44. See various references in Hocart, A. M., Kingship, Oxford: 1924, 10-11. pp. 10-11.
  - 45. Book VII, Verse 3, and Book V, Verse 96, quoted in Ibid.

Wideng pature o is not u the pres hand, h

(1)

(2)

(1)port of in battle Was rega (2)

His pers sun and nature v nimbus

(3) and in i VIII 9 st Mn, 50 baving h (4)

Examples thustra. 46. Wi

P. 442 ff. 47. He men, give he basis f e funcda and ine of divine having he was society

but to igveda many whole red to

reeted

harva-

lra for e is a m the nected other

nners inforauote divine e two

p. 20. ted in

0. 1924,

- (1) The Lord created the King for the protection of this world, having taken immortal particle from Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, and Fire, and Varuna, the Moon, and the Lord of Wealth. Insomuch as the King is formed of these particles of these chiefs of the gods, he surpasses all beings in brightness. Like the sun, he burns the eyes and minds, nor can any so-ever on earth behold him. He is Fire, and Wind, he is the Sun, the King of Law.
- (2) The sovereign has a body composed of Soma (the Moon). Fire, the Sun, the Wind and Indra, of the two Lords of Wealth (Kubera) and Water (Varuna) and Yama, the eight guardians of the world.

Widengren strongly supports Hocart.46 He grants the secular nature of much of the King's authority and admits that his power and unrestricted. He accepts the fact of the King's election and he presence of an assembly which elects the King. 47 On the other hand, he makes the following points.

- (1) The King's own person was holy and inviolable. In supprt of this, he cites cases where the King, even though defeated battle was not killed. True, Kings were killed, but the action ras regarded as sacrilege.
- (2) The King was holy because of his descent from the Gods. lis person was of a divine character. He was the brother of the m and moon and his real home was among the stars. His real lature was fire and this fire-nature was always symbolized by the imbus of fire surrounding his head.
- (3) The King's divine nature was reflected in court ceremonial ad in insignia of royalty. It is significant that as Manu's Law I 9 states that the radiance of the King turns the eye like the the custom developed early in Iran of the King always bying his face veiled when ascending the throne.
- (4) The King's divine origin was reflected in the birth legend. Mamples are Faridun, Cyrus, Mithradates Eupator, and Zarahustra. As we know, there were many prophecies circulating

Widengren, G., "The Sacred Kingship of Iran", Numen, Supp. 4, 1959,

17. He points out, however, that the King is elected by means of an given to the horse. This is the points out, however, that the King is elected by means the points out, however, that the King is elected by means the basis for transfer by the sun-god through his special animal, the horse. This is basis for Herodotus' story of the election of Darius.

during the centuries preceding the Christian era which speak of the birth of the "Great King". This great King is Mithra whose human reincarnation the Iranians believed would bring salvation Thus a Savior-King was as much a part of the early Iranian mystique as it was of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

(5) Royal ideology: The King was the cosmic ruler, the Lord of the Seven Climes. Cyrus, who was not certain whether he was human or not,48 left the following inscription in a cylinder which lies in the British Museum. "I am Cyrus, King of the World. the great King, the powerful King, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of the four quarters of the world".

Frye supports Hocart and George Widengren.49 He states that in ancient Iran, as among other Indo-European people, a King was elected from a certain family, which has the charisma of kingship. The King was first among warriors. The term Shah itself means warrior and is derived from the ancient Kshatriya or warrior caste. It was a capital offence to sit on the Shah's throne. His person was sacred. On the day of his coronation, he was "re-born" and assumed a new throne name and put on a garment symbolizing his position as a cosmic ruler. At his death his "personal fire" was extinguished and mourning on the part of his family sometimes took extreme forms of suicide or mutilation.

Frye recognizes an apparent contradiction between the position of the King of Kings as one among many and the sacred divine nature of early Persian Kingship. But he argues that in Iran the King became more important than in India and the idea of legitimacy becomes paramount and was bound up with the "kingly glory".50 Only seven chiefs of the Medes and Persians could view the face of the King.<sup>51</sup> By the time of Darius these seven great familian (1) lies of Iran became a tradition which were carried through Parthian and Sasanian times. They were the top aristocratic families and acted as helpers of the King and supported his divinity and legitimacy.

Under Darius I—and this is relevant in further support of the concept of royal splendour—Zoroastrianism became the

piritua his asc Ahura-When 1 which are still earth.53 Hamite or bake At Beh Echatar Darius had sei is depic spear, r Ahura-I feet. A lowards who cr

> To lingship accepted hundame a Priest and as t

Welfare

is emp

The begun w

52. Gr History, I CAH. 53. Gr IP. 120-13 54. C.A 55. C.A

J. 14

<sup>48.</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>49.</sup> Frye, op.cit., p. 91.

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>51.</sup> Esther 1:14.

eak of

whose

vation.

ranian

e Lord

ne was

which

World.

ing of

es that

King

ma of

Shah

ratriya

Shah's

on, he

on a

death

e part lation.

posi-

divine

an the

legiti-

kingly view fami-

rthian s and

and

ort of

the

pritual expression of a nation at the height of its powers. Upon is ascent to the throne, Darius tells his people: "By the grace of Ahura-Mazda, I am King. Ahura-Mazda gave me the kingdom".52 When the last Cyrus died, Achaemenid art, a large proportion of thich was destined for religious purposes, had constructed what are still some of the most impressive monuments on the face of the erth.53 In three languages, Old Persian (the dialect of Fars). Mamite, and Babylonian, the Achaemenid rulers carved into rock baked into clay, the wonderful recountings of this divine grace. At Behistun, on the great road which leads from Babylon to Whatana, there is a bas-relief placed high upon a rock in which Darius tells how he defeated Gaumata, the Magian Pretender who bid seized the kingdom after mad Cambyses' death. 34 The King s depicted, followed by two assistants who carry his bow and mear, making a gesture of adoration towards the holy symbol of Abura-Mazda. The trampled figure of Gaumata lies under his let. A row of rebellious satraps, all strung on one rope are led wards the King as a sacrifice to Ahura-Mazda—Ahura-Mazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created relfare for man, who gave this kingdom to his house and defends is empire from evil".55

To summarize, then, the best sources indicate that Persian ingship was a divine institution and the divinity of the King was accepted in early Iranian texts. Kingly authority rested on two and religious. He was Priest-King as that concept was understood in the Middle East and as the sacrificer partook of the Divine Nature.

(2)

# The Sasanian Period

The pre-Islamic era of Persian history may be said to have with the Achaemenid dynasty, founded by Cyrus the Great

Q. Gray, G. B. and Mr. Cary, "The Reign of Darius", Cambridge Ancient History, G. B. and Mr. Cary, "The Reign of Darius, Cambridge University Press, 1953, p. 176. Hereafter cited as 33. Grousset, Rene, The Civilizations of the East, New York: 1941, I, P. 120-138. 54 C.A.H., IV, p. 178. 55. C.A.H., IV, p. 178. J. 14

in 546 B.C. The Arabs invaded Persia in 636 A.D. This period, which extended over eleven centuries, can, for convenience, be subdivided into the Achaemenid period, the Parthian period, and the Sasanian period. The first ended with the invasion of Alexander the Great who routed the Achaemenids and brought an end to the dynasty. The last Achaemenid King was killed in 336 B.C.

The second period, the Parthian, was a dark and somewhat confusing period. It was marked by the rule of Greek Seleucids as well as local chieftains. It ended with the defeat of Ardawan by the great Ardashir in 226 A.D.

The third period, sometimes known as the Pahlavi period, was marked by the founding of the Sasanian dynasty by the aforementioned Ardashir and continued until the Arab invasion and the break-up of the Persian Empire at the death of Yazdigird III in 651 A.D.

The foundation of a postive theory of Persian kingship had its origins, as indicated above, in ancient Indo-Iranian traditions. Much of this, however, is necessarily provisional, and even the Cyrus legend<sup>56</sup> develops a saga of its own. When the assignment of the divine source of the kingship of Cyrus to Yahweh takes place, as recounted in Isaiah,<sup>57</sup> the heroic aspects of Cyrus tend to become confused with the Jesus saga and at least one Orientalist has argued that the recounting of the Persian epic is really a commentary on the Gospels.<sup>58</sup>

Very early, as already suggested, the court of the Persian Kings became inaccessible. The testimonies of Herodotus<sup>59</sup> and Xenophon<sup>60</sup> both remark on the invisibility of the King. Even at dinner, while most guests dine outside the royal apartments, those who dine within, do not sit at the same table with him. He is so situated that he can see the guests through a curtain while they

57. Isaiah 41.

cannot a table

dynasty Ammia

this self the The used by

Empero

partner

me

bel

The he div endurin (Pahlav of the Splendo Crown. He is the primaril battle. Kings h

sacrificin

At the

slaving

fertility name an

61. W 62. Qr 63. Ib 64. Br( 1 p. 128.

65. X

<sup>56.</sup> See above, p. 11.

<sup>58.</sup> Buckler, F. W., "Firdausi's Shanamah and the Genealogia Regis Dei", Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society, No. 1, (Sept. 1936), p. 11.

<sup>59.</sup> Herodotus, op.cit., I, 99.

<sup>60.</sup> Xenophon, Cyropaedia, VII, v. 41, Ibid., II, p. 279.

415

# THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN KINGS

cannot see him. Only on rare and great occasions do guests share a table with the King.61

There is a tradition that Arsak, founder of the Parthian imasty, was the first King to be counted as a divine person. Ammianus Marcellinus relates: 62

"And nobles and commons rivalling each other in agreement he was placed among the stars.....and—as they helieve—he was the first of all to be so honoured. Hence to this very day the over-boastful kings of that race suffer themselves to be called brothers of the Sun and Moon..... Hence they venerate and worship Arsak as a god".

The reference to the Sun and Moon also appears in the title used by the Sasanian Kings. In a letter sent by Shapur II to the Imperor Constantius, the address is: "I, Shapur, King of Kings, partner with the stars, brother of the Sun and Moon....".63

The Sasanian Kings—for it is in the Sasanian dynasty that the divine theory of Persian kingship emerges as a stable and enduring concept—called themselves Gods or "divine beings" (Pahlawi bagh).64 They regarded themselves as the descendents the ancient Keyani dynasty and inheritors of the "Royal Splendour" by virtue of which they alone could wear the Persian Crown. Thus in Pahlawi literature, the King is lord of the world. He is the Cosmic ruler. He is lord of he Seven Climes. He is mimarily a ritual person. No longer does he lead, like Indra, in hattle. Rather he functions as a priest. Like the Achaemenid Kings he makes the sacrifice,65 carrying out the great horse-sacriof Aryan origin, tending the many fire temples, and later scrificing the white bulls and bucks brought to the God of Fire. At the New Year's festival, he functioned as the dragon killer, laying the mythical monster Azi Dahaka and thereby creating fertility for the world. At his coronation he assumes his throne and ever after, this is his birthday. He wears a garment

to the newhat leucids

dawan

d, was aforeon and ird III

ip had litions. en the nment takes end to

entalist

com-

ersian 59 and ven at those e is so e they

s Dei". (Sept.

<sup>81.</sup> Widengren, op.cit., p. 147.

<sup>62.</sup> Quoted in Ibid., p. 146.

Browne, E. G., A Literary History of Persia, Cambridge: 1928, (4 vols), p. 128. All citations from Browne following are from this source. & Xenophon, Cyropaedia, VIII, v. 26. Ibid, II, p. 407.

as

'n

H

go

to

It artistic

reign.

centur

Ghazn

purpor

beginn

and do

is the

Anwar

men w

value t

of the

The Sh

quity a

the thr

demons

Splende

the thr

modern

to the

Sayyids Mahdi.

tenacity

idea of

there w

Arabs a

orthodo.
hand, tl
of the I
the dau

ing ima

symbolizing his position as a Cosmic ruler. At his death and burial, his personal fire is extinguished. Sometimes human victims are sacrificed and Widengren declares that no Zoroastrián regulations of mourning and death are observed at the royal burial.

Professor Browne, around whose charming presence a distinguished group of scholars gathered at Pembroke College shortly after the turn of the century instances as evidence of this "Royal Splendour" two incidents related from early recountings: 67

"Now Kisra (Chosroes) used to sit in his audience hall where was his crown, like unto a mighty cask.....set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, with gold and silver, suspended by a chain of gold from the top of an arch in this, his audience-hall; and his neck could not support the Crown, but he was veiled by draperies till he had taken his seat in this, his audience-hall, and had introduced his head within the Crown, and had settled himself in his place, whereupon the draperies were withdrawn. And no one who had not previously seen him looked upon him without kneeling in reverence before him".

The second instance relates to an anecdote told of the flight of Bahram Chubin after his defeat by Khursaw Parwiz:

"And Bahram fled headlong, and on his way he passed by a hamlet, where he halted, and he and Mardan-Sina and Yazdan-Gushnasp alighted at the dwelling of an old woman. Then they produced some food which they had with them, and supped, and gave what was left over to the old woman. Then they produced wine; and Bahram said to the old woman, 'Hast thou nothing wherewith we can drink?' 'I have a little gourd, replied she; and she brought it to them, and they cut off the top and began to drink from it. Then they produced dessert, and they said to the old woman, 'Hast thou nothing wherein we can put the dessert?' So she brought them a winnowing-shovel, into which they poured the dessert. So Bahram ordered that wine should be given to the old woman, and then he said to her, 'What news hast thou, old lady?' "The news with us', answered she, 'is that Kisra hath advanced with a army of Greeks. and fought Bahram, and overcome him, and recovered from him his kingdom'. 'And what say'st thou,'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>66.</sup> Widengren, op.cit., p. 254. 67. Browne, op.cit., pp. 128-219.

417

## THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN KINGS

asked Bahram, 'concerning Bahram?' 'A silly fool', replied she, 'who claims the kingdom, not being a member of the Royal House'. Said Bahram, 'Therefore, it is that he drinks out of gourds and eats his dessert out of winnowing-fans'. And this became a saying amongst the Persians, which they are wont to cite as a proverb".

It is the Shah-Nama of Firdausi, however, that develops most artistically the divine theory of kingship held during the Sasanian Firdausi, who lived in Tus toward the end of the tenth century wrote this masterpiece in dedication to Sultan Mahmud of Chazni in 1010. It is a long poem of some 60,000 couplets and curports to tell the history of Persia from legendary times to the beginning of the Arab conquest. It is cast in the heroic mould and does, in fact, recreate an heroic period. In a sense, Firdausi is the precursor of all the heroic Persian poets that follow him-Anwari, Omar Khayyam, Sa'di of Shiraz, Hafiz and Jami. These men were not historians. Hence, as history, none of them, beginaing with the Shah-Nama, is to be taken with accuracy. Yet their value to Persian tradition, is, if anything, more important, because of the heroic conception of the Kings of Persia that emerges. The Shah-Nama is important in Persian history because it declares that Persian kingship derives its authority from immemorial antiquity and not from recent conquest. It attempts to deliver from the thraldom of Islam, the theory of Persian kingship, in order to iemonstrate to the world that the kingly authority, the "Royal Splendour" cannot be seized, that the line of legitimist right to the throne of Persia is by lineal descent. So this continues to modern times. It resides in the hidden succession from the Kayans the Sasanids, the succession inherent in the imams and the Sayyids, and finally in the "hidden imam" and the doctrine of the Mahdi. This is the reason why Persians have clung with such lenacity to the doctrine of the Shi'a or Sect of Ali. To them the dea of electing a Caliph was distasteful in the extreme. No doubt here was a certain amount of personal hatred present toward the Arabs as the result of the strenuous efforts of Umar, the second orthodox Caliph, to destroy the Persian Empire. On the other hand, the Persians firmly believed that Hussein, the younger son of the Prophet's claughter Fatima and his cousin Ali had married the daughter of the last Sasanian King. Consequently the remaining improvement of the last Sasanian King. ing imams of the Shi'a sect represent "not only the Prophetic, but

th and victims regula-

distinshortly "Royal

ce hall et with pended diencene was is, his Crown, aperies y seen before

flight

passed na and roman. m, and Then 'Hast courd', off the essert; herein owing-

ahram
I then
news
ith an
n, and
thou',

418

the kingly right and virtue, being at the same time descended from the Prophet Muhammed and from the House of Sasan".68

The Sasanians, at the height of their power, were a formidable force indeed. Shapur I (A.D. 241-271), the son of Ardashir, had captured the Roman Emperor Velerian in battle and held him prisoner until his death. Although the Tigris River came to represent the boundary between the Empires of the East and the West, three separate wars were waged by Shapur III (A.D. 310-379) against Rome. It was under Kursraw I (A.D. 531-579), however, the greatest of the Sasanian Emperors, that the full power of the monarchy was brought into being. An heroic literature, later drawn upon by Firdausi for the Sha-Nama developed.[5] Christianity was not only tolerated, but indeed, became a serious threat to the old Zoroastrian faith. The administration of Empire was stabilized upon the basis of a comprehensive survey of its land and people. There were nevertheless, two internal aspects of the imperial power that were preparing the way for its undoing. The first was the increasing rigidity of the interior imperial structure.

The majesty of the Sasanian rulers has already been noted. Flowing directly from Ahura-Mazda, it was seen as divine, as encompassing the four corners of the earth. Nevertheless the separation of the Shah from contact with his people prompted the rise of rigid social arrangements that began to rival its Aryan counterpart in India. The people were divided into four groups with sub-divisions. At the top was the shahrdar or the provincial governors, members of the Sasanian family. The nobility were divided between the clergy, the warrior class, and the secretaries or lesser administrators. Below were the commoners—the farmers, the merchants, the artisans. At the bottom were, of course, the labouring population.

The second aspect of imperial power that was threatening was the continuing struggle against Byzantium. Kursraw II (A.D.

68. Browne, op.cit., p. 130.

sive de Empire into al

Th

Persia was the Kings-Heracled from the Jon with libeginn the na on the of the What was the second with the what what was the second was the wa

As authori assume had del he a la his dea succession

Byzant

The survived Sasan a Sasan a sim, ho sion. I was alm Consequent tenders

71. T. bonfires. 72. H

<sup>69.</sup> The language of the period continued to be Middle Persian. But it was becoming less complex and moving toward the New Persian (Parsi). Some of the writings were the Book of Great Deeds; the Book of Rank; the Book of Kings; and fables such as Kalila and Dimna. The Avesta was also written down.

<sup>70.</sup> See above, p. 19.

d from

idable r, had d him me to nd the

nd the D. 310-1-579), power rature,

oped.<sup>69</sup> serious Impire s land

of the The

oted.<sup>70</sup>
ne, as
ss the
ed the
Aryan

groups vincial were etaries

etaries rmers, e, the

g was (A.D.

But it Parsi).

k; the as also

189-628) continued to carry the war to Byzantium. At first rictorious, in the end the Emperor Heraclius inflicted such a decisive defeat upon the Battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627) that the Sasanian Empire, already weakened by its internal problems, was thrown into anarchy. The story of Vazdigird III, the last of the Shahs, is a tragic accounting of a hunted man.

The determinant force in the decline of the royal power of Persia was an outside fore, however, not an internal one, and it was this that was ultimately to determine the future of the Persian Kings—the rise of Islam. About the time that the Emperor Heraclius was in Jerusalem re-installing the true Cross<sup>71</sup> recovered from the Persians after the Battle of Nineveh, his troops beyond the Jordan reported an attack by an Arab band which was repelled with little difficulty.<sup>72</sup> While only thus briefly noted, it marked the beginning of a great struggle that was not to cease until 1453 when the name of Muhammed would be substituted for that of Christ on the walls of the magnificent basilica of St. Sophia in the capital of the Byzantine Empire. But this was yet some 800 years away. What was more immediate was the conquest of Persia, not by Byzantium, but by the Arabs.

As long as Muhammed lived, he exercised all the functions of authority. With his death came the question of succession. It was assumed that there could be no spiritual successor. For one who had delivered the final dispensation to mankind, how could there be a later? The matter of succession, therefore, at the point of his death, centred around that of the Khalifah (Caliph), or his successor.

The Prophet left no male children. Only one daughter, Fatima, survived him. She was the wife of Ali and they had two sons, Sasan and Hussein. Even had the Prophet's sons not predeceased him, however, this would not necessarily have eased the succession. The Arabian sheikhdom was not traditionally hereditary. It was almost electoral, roughly following the lines of tribal seniority. Consequently, with the Prophet's death, several conflicting contenders for power arose. Eventually those basing their claim on

<sup>71.</sup> The Lebanese still celebrate the occasion on September 14, 629, with

<sup>12.</sup> Hitti, Philip, History of the Arabs, London: 1961, p. 147.

having belonged to the tribe of the Prophet won and the first four Caliphs thus named were Abu-Bakr (632-34); Umar (634-44); Uthman (644-56); Ali (656-61). Despite contentions among the followers of these Caliphs, Islam pressed forward on a reasonably united front to carry the wars of conquest to Syria, Iraq, Persia, and the lands beyond. Eight years after the Persian defeat at Nineveh, with Yazdigird III, the last of the Persian Kings, still on the run, the Arab forces came to the Tigris River on a dark and wind-blown day. The leader of the Arabs was Sa'd, one of those Companions promised Paradise by Muhammed himself and now serving under the Caliph Umar. Facing him across the river was the mighty Rustam, administrator of the Persian Empire, holding together the last effective fighting forces of the Sasanid Army,

The legendary exploits of Rustam are one with Persian history.73 He was the Hercules of Persia, to which even Kings played but secondary party. He was the son of Zal, a chief of Seistan, himself a mighty warrior, who when hunting in the wilds of what is now Afghanistan, came to a castle where he saw the beauteous Rudabah, daughter of the King of Kabul. It was love at first sight for them both and the ardent lover scaled his mistress's tower by using her long tresses as a rope. From this union came Rustam. Rustam, himself, as man, followed his father's pattern and fell in love with a woman with sense enough to steal his horse. She bore him a son, Sohrab. The account of the famous and tragic single combat between Rustam and his Sohrab is as much a part of English literature as of Persian.74 It was, as Firdausi declares, an episode "full of the water of the eye". This and so much else, had passed; in Rustam's life.

So now, on this day in June, 637, the aging Rustam faced again his destiny. It was hot, and the dust was like the shadow of locusts. And Rustam was killed and he lay on the battle-field with his army fleeing in panic. And Sa'd rode forward to claim the fertile lowland West of the Tigris.75 Fourteen years later, Yazdigird III, carrying his crown and a few treasures, with only

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

With ! for tw more. Persia lovalty ferred

a han

the mo traditi severa divided share. A Mos

T

"B ed, "w one, ar shirt b

"V

Th Faithfu sufficien Up

Ur

Th sourcef

obey."7

76. F 77. A ties com rapid tal don: 1947 such as: women, To consu and an i

and do the J 15

<sup>73.</sup> Renniger, E. C., The Story of Rustam from Firdausi, New York: 1917.
74. Arnold Matthew Market and Other 74. Arnold, Matthew, Matthew Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum and Other ems, London: Macmiller & Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum and Other Poems, London: Macmillan & Sons, 1945. 75. Hitti, op.cit., p. 155.

st four 34-44); ng the onably Persia, eat at still on

ck and f those d now er was olding rmy.

ersian Kings nief of wilds w the 3 love tress's came

attern horse. tragic a part clares, a else,

faced nadow e-field claim later,

. 1917. Other

.

only

handful of followers, was killed by his own people near Merv. with his death, there came to an end an Empire that had flourished for twelve centuries, an Empire that would not rise again for 800 Subsequently, the Arabs made separate treaties across Persia with the many feudal overlords and princes, and whatever walty had once clung to the Shah began to be gradually transferred to the new Caliphate.76

The concept of the divine kingship was of course foreign to the more democratic Arabs. An example of their fierce egalitarian tradition is to be found in a story told of Umar. He once received everal lengths of cloth as a gift from a neighbouring ruler. He divided it equally among the Moslems, retaining one length as his thare. He tailored it, donned it, and ascended the pulpit to preach. A Moslem came up to him and said, "We neither listen nor obey".

"Why so?" he replied.

"Because you have preferred yourself to us", the man answered, "when you divided the lengths of cloth, each Moslem received one, and so you too. But one length would not make you a whole shirt because you are a tall man".

Umar turned to his son and said, "Reply".

The son stood up and said, "When the Commander of the Paithful (Umar) wished to tailor his length of cloth, it was insufficient and I gave him enough of my length to complete it".

Upon hearing this, the Moslem said, "Now we listen and obey."77

The Persians, on the other hand, were an intelligent and resourceful people and though the Arab rule was imposed upon

76. Frye, op.cit., p. 231.

<sup>77.</sup> Al-Fakhari, on the Systems of Government and the Moslem Dynastis composed by Muhammed, son of Ali, son of Tabataba, known as the talker, may God have mercy on him (trans. C. E. J. Whiting), Longing 1947 ton: 1947, p. 25. This is an interesting compilation of sayings and anecdotes are as: "C as: "One of the things disliked in a ruler is excessive inclination to To consult it. One of the things disliked in a ruler is excessive with them. to consult them in affairs is to induce inefficiency, an invitation to disorder an indian ind and indication of weakness of judgment. As God says, "Consult them do the opposite", p. 36.

them, Persian belief and thought moved over the next several centuries to seek some kind of accommodation between their own traditional concepts of authority and those of their Arab masters. Generally speaking, this was to take the shape of an heroic literature, of which the Shah-Nama of Firdausi is the best example; of the concept of the imam as the ideal ruler of an ideal state; and of certain writings known as the Mirrors for Princes which were built upon Sasanian tradition. The first example has been remarked. It is now necessary to turn to the other two.

(3)

#### The Imamate

With the death of Uthman and the naming of Ali as fourth Caliph on June 24, 656, it was hoped by many that a true succession to the Prophet was now possible. None of the first three Caliphs had founded a dynasty. Ali, first cousin of Muhammed, husband to his only daughter, and father of two sons still living, was clearly in a position to do so. But the blood-letting was not to stop.

Uthman, third Caliph and representative of the Umayyad cause had been murdered by a Persian slave. Consequently, even though Ali put down his closest rivals, Talhah and al-Zubayr, in honourable combat and gave them decent burial, the Umayyads, under Musiyah, governor of Syria, rallied for a new test of strength. What happened at the confrontation along the Euphrates is not clear. But in January 661, Ali was killed by a poisoned sabre and he was succeeded by Mu'awiyah the Umayyad who did found a dynasty, thus introducing the hereditary principle into the Caliphate.

Ali's death was mourned deeply by his followers, most of whom were Persian Moslems known as Shi'ite. To them, Ali was a canonized martyr. He became the paragon of Moslem nobility and chivalry. The lonely spot near al-Kufah where he is buried (near the Persian city of Mashad) is one of the great centres of pilgrimage in Islam. His martyred son, Hussein, buried

at n pilgr is en natur

l hostil

3

imam post,

gious imam or it continuature most stands on it nized delega

govern

Caliph

the tw

Islam.

by the

The to one of God duties offende ing rig carried better to

79. C West, Ed 80. Q Cambridg Versation

<sup>78.</sup> See the account in Hitti, op.cit., pp. 180-182.

everal

r own

asters.

c liteimple;

state:

which

been

ourth

acces-

three

amed,

iving,

is not

avyad

even

yr, in

yads,

st of

Cuph-

by a

vyad

rinci-

st of

, Ali

nobi-

he is great

uried

at nearby Karbala is similarly honoured in death by hosts of . pilgrims. Every year throughout the Shi'a world, a passion play is enacted on the tenth of Muharram testifying to the messianic nature of the Shi'a belief.

Inevitably the veneration afforded Ali split Islam into two hostile camps. During the Umayyad period it took final form.

The issue ostensibly was the Caliphate, but in fact it was the mamship. After the first four Caliphs, the office became a secular post, the highest in Islam to be sure, but with none of the religous authority enjoyed by Muhammed. On the other hand, the imam or religious leader of the community could be the Caliph or it could be any other devout man. As religious speculation continued after the death of Muhammed on the nature of the Caliphate, several interpretative books were written similar in nature to the western canon law dealing with this problem. The most authoritative to these was by Persian, al-Bukhari, which stands next to the Koran itself in importance. An oath taken on it is valid. Six of these books, known as the Shari'a, recognized but one supreme authority, the imam. He, in turn could delegate all or part of his authority to his appointed ministers, governors and generals. It was generally assumed that the Caliphate and the imam therefore must be one, as no doctrine of the two swords — so well known in the West<sup>79</sup> — ever existed in Islam. But the assumption was subjected to a different emphasis by the Shi'a, the followers of Ali.

The meaning of the word imam in the Arabic tongue, refers to one whom one follows. The institution of the imama is an act of God's grace. The imam is "the shadow of God on earth." His duties include the defence of the din (religion), the warding-off offenders, granting compensation to those wronged and establishing right. Authority, irrespective of how well their duties are carried out, is preferable to anarchy. Forty years of tyranny are better than one hour of abandonment by the ruler.80 Even though

<sup>79.</sup> Carlyle, A. J. & R. W., A History of Medieval Political Thought in the Vest, Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1909, I, pp. 184 ff. & Quoted in Rosenthal, E. I. J., Political Thought in Medieval Islam, Cambridge: 1958, p. 44. The writer wishes to acknowledge the helpful conrersations with Dr. Rosenthal at Cambridge, Spring Term, 1965.

the influence of the Greek philosophers was very strong during the Abbasid Caliphate, it is clear that the *imama* "is not required by reason, but by the divine law (Shar)." Politics, is the foremost of the sciences aimed at "man's welfare in this world and bliss in the next, attainable only if government is rooted in the legal and completed by the political sciences."81

The Shi'a believed that Ali and Ali's sons were true imams just as Roman Catholic dogma accepts the peculiar position of Peter and his successors. The imam stood as an intermediary between God and man. The doctrine represented, of course, theological opposition to the conception of might contained in the office of the conquering Caliphate. The Persians were ever the most subtle of eastern philosophers, and beginning with their position as supporters of Ali whose losing cause they had espoused, they proceeded to develop by the tenth century a conception of the imamate completely at variance with the Sunni Arabs. The imam became the sole legitimate head of the Moslem community. It was a divinely designated office. The imam is a lineal descendent of Muhammed through Fatima and Ali. He is a spiritual and religious leader and rightly a secular one. He enjoys a transcendent force which places him far above any other human being. Among the Ahulah, a Shi'ite group, this was interpreted as representing the incarnation of God himself.82 Unlike the Sunni Caliph, the Shi'ite imam had inherited not only his temporal authority, but the prerogative of interpreting the law. He was an infallible teacher to which was added the divine gift of impeccability83 The Shi'ites saw Ali as the first imam, followed in The last nine succession by his son Hasan and then Hussein. of the twelve imams to whom the Shi'a swore allegiance were all descendants of Hussein. Of the nine, four met death by poison, the others at the hands of Caliphs or executioners. The twelfth imam disappeared in 878 A.D. in the cave of the great mosque of Samarra without leaving offspring. He is considered immune from death and sleeps like Barbarossa, ready to rise again. In due time, he will appear as the Mahdi or divinely guided one who will

the lisher seen

resto

It we the last state is larger to the state i

spler ed a authorithe : the cutic

of the The great amoradop

as it

and

85.

by or which son to upon

<sup>81.</sup> Quoted in Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>82.</sup> Hitti, op.cit,. p. 248.

<sup>83.</sup> Ibid., p. 440.

during
equired
ne forerld and
in the

imams
ition of
ary bettheolooffice of
ost subition as
d, they

e imam ity. It descenpiritual a transn being as re-Sunni emporal

of the

of imwed in
st nine
vere all
poison,
twelfth

twelful sque of ne from ne time, ho will restore true Islam, conquer the world, and usher in the millennium. Though hidden, this *imam* is "the master of time." In 1502, the Safawids, who claimed descent from the seventh *imam*, established this belief as doctrine and ever since, the Shah has been seen as the *locum tenens* of this hidden *imam*.<sup>84</sup>

### (4)

## Medieval Persian Thought

The Abbasid dynasty held power in Islam from 750 to 1258. It was a period in which Persian influence so completely captured the Empire that in only two fields was Arabian influence preserved. Islam remained the religion of the state and Arabic continued to be the official language of the state registers. But in all else "Persian title, Persian wines and wives, Persian mistresses, Persian songs, as well as Persian thoughts, won the day."85

The Caliphate, in particular, became a reflection of the earlier splendour of the Persian kingship and the government itself emerged as a model of the Sasanids. The autocratic nature of kingly authority was reasserted over the easier Arabian democracy. For the first time in the history of Islam, the leathern spread beside the Caliph's seat, which served as a carpet for the use of the executioner, became a necessary adjunct of the imperial throne. 86

The office of Caliph also ceased to be a purely secular one as it had been under the preceding Umayyads and assumed many of the characteristics of the religious office of the Shah. The Caliph now donned the mantle once worn by the Prophet on great ceremonial occasions and displayed himself no more as a man among his equals. The ancient Persian head-dress became officially adopted by the Caliphs.

Next to the Caliph stood the vizier, an office created for Persia and held traditionally by a Persian. The Vizier acted as the

<sup>84.</sup> *Ibid*, p. 441. 85. *Ibid*, p. 294.

<sup>86.</sup> An early Persian story tells of a corrupt judge who was flayed alive by order of the Shah and whose skin was used to re-cover the seat upon which the judge traditionally sat. Thereupon the Shah appointed the judge's upon which he grim reminder that he was not to forget the seat

Caliph's "alter ego" and grew enormously in power as the Caliph became more and more of a figurehead. Professor Hitti sees this office as giving "a perfect expression to the theory of the divine right of kingship by proxy": 87

Muhammed ibn-Barz al Quumi is our representative throughout the land and among our subjects. Therefore he who obeys him obeys us and he who obeys us obeys God and God shall cause him who obeys him to enter Paradise. As one who, on the other hand, disobeys our vizier, he disobeys, us; and he who disobeys us disobeys God and God shall cause him who disobeys Him to enter hell fire.

It was in this setting that the Mirrors of Princes which enjoyed so much popularity in medieval Islam, appeared in the form of political literature. They were introduced with Arabic literature by Ibn Al-Muguffa, a Persian convert to Islam in the eighth century C.E., who was first in the service of Umayyad governors and generals and later switched his allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphs.

The Mirrors were written over a period of centuries by men of affairs and were much less concerned with principles than with the art of government. In this respect, they remind the western reader of Machiavelli's Princē. Nevertheless, the best Mirrors—the Nasihat Ul-Muluk of al Ghazali is an example—did throw a good deal of light on the development of the Persian theory of kingship. If this seems strange to the reader, it should be pointed out that the Sasanian Kings of Persia, and not the Caliphate, were set up in the Mirrors as model rulers; that the courts and administration of the Persian Kings served as the norm in various political topics considered; and finally, most of the Mirrors were by Persian converts. It is true that the King's absolutism is mitigated by being built into the structure of Islam and that the various commandments of Islam are always present. Nevertheless, they are, in essence, Persian works.

The three Mirrors best known to the West are the Book of Crown written in the ninth century, possibly by al Jahiz, a man of brilliant parts who exercised great influence over Arabian

zoolog him to of the al Gh end o

T

aboun the average a refl authorist the right to the to The K While

concer

of spie

T Kai K prince. (Maza ruled placed betwee adored for the be dev copy I Book ( God, th ship. the Ar Conduc

89. I Writer W at Camb

<sup>87.</sup> Hitti, op.cit., p. 318.

<sup>88.</sup> A full account of his works is contained in Rosenthal, op.cit., pp. 68-74.

Caliph es this divine

ore he od and e. As obeys, cause

rm of rature n cenrs and iphs.<sup>88</sup>

njoyed

with estern ors row a ory of ointed

men

ohate, s and arious were miti-

eless,
ok of
man
abian

68-74.

pology but who was so ugly that the Calipb refused to appoint him tutor to his sons; the Quabus-Nama of Kai Ka'us, a prince of the southern Caspian, and the Nasihat ul-Muluk by the famous al Ghazali. Both of the latter Mirrors were written towards the end of the eleventh century.

The Book of Crown is the most difficult to assess. While it abounds in stories and anecdotes of Sesanian rule and court life, the author superimposes so many Muslim concepts and takes so many other examples from Arab history that the Book is equally a reflection of the Abbasid court and Sasanian. However, the author makes it clear that the King is absolute sovereign. Even if the Shari'a were to demand it, the King's son would have no right to shed blood without his father's permission. To do so would be to weaken the kingly authority — it must remain indivisible. The King himself combines the roles of pastor, master, and imam. While at the same time serving as the shepherd to his flock — a concept going back to Cyrus — he must maintain a vast network of spies to cover the court and the realm.

The Quabus-Nama — a Mirror for Princes — was written by Kai Ka'us Ibn Iskander, Prince of Gurgan.89 He belonged to a princely family who held sway in the southern Caspian area (Mazandaran). He was the grandson of the great Quabus who ruled over this area as governor and who, when he died, was placed in a crystal coffin which was suspended by chains midway between roof and floor of the tomb. Apparently the grandson adored his grandsire and studied his life carefully. This book is for the most part a practical handbook of politics. It may not be devoid of significance that the India Office Library's manuscript topy bears the autograph signature of Warren Hastings. The Book contains forty-four chapters running from a knowledge of God, then — youth, wine-drinking, love to war, wealth to kinghe Archapter Forty, Rules for the Vizierate, Chapter Forty-One, the Art of Controlling an Armed Force; Chapter Forty-Two, the Conduct of Kingship, are perhaps the most important.

<sup>89.</sup> Translated from the Persian by Reuben Levy, London: 1941. The di Cambridge, Spring Term, 1965.

ness first

mys

b. IV

a pe

bein

At t

the ( redu

stron

the S

potar

intro

and t

Shi'a

with li's f

syster

expos

Selju

more

stress

religio tion c

the m

the Ca allegia

of Ca

no ful

gave t only g of the

95.

96. J. 16

The Vizier is told that the King will either be a wise man or a fool. "If he is wise, he will not reconcile himself to dishonesty on your part and will remove you from office in the most agreeable manner possible. If he is foolish and ignorant, he will dismiss you in the most ignominious way he knows. You may escape with your life from the wise man, but by no contriving is there any escape from the boor."90 The officer, or chief administrative officer as pointed out above, was set up first by the Abbasids and was intended to be a Persian post as a reflection of Persian influence at court.

The admonition to the future ruler in the case of controlling the armed forces reminds one of a great deal of the Cyropaedia. The example is cited of a great King who never went in pursuit of a defeated enemy. It is mindful of Aristotle's admonition to his pupil Alexander upon hearing of Alexander's vicious massacre on a particular occasion of a defeated enemy. Aristotle could understand a King killing his enemies, but not his future subjects. In any case, it is made clear in this chapter that as of old, kingly authority rests on military might.

There is no general theory of kingship expressed in the chapter on kingship as it is a handbook beginning: "If you become King, someday, my son....." On the other hand, many of the old Sasanian characteristics are present. He is to expose himself to the gaze of the people very rarely. He is to speak seldom. He is not to be dependent upon counsel - "let us consider the matter, after which will issue appropriate commands."91 Commands are never to be treated with indifference. "The King's solace and pleasure lie in giving commands."92 Even so the image of Cyrus is still invoked. "The Chieftain is like the shepherd, with the lesser men as his flock."93 The term "lesser" men or "ordinary run of men" is used more than once. "The King is greater than other men."94 It is mindful of Cyrus who thought he might be less than God, but was more than man. And finally, "awesome-

<sup>90.</sup> Ibid, p. 214.

<sup>91.</sup> Ibid, p. 223.

<sup>92.</sup> Ibid, p. 226.

<sup>93.</sup> Ibid, p. 225, p. 236.

<sup>94.</sup> Ibid, p. 231.

## THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN KINGS

429

ness" is named one of the six qualities of kingship and is listed of first.95

The Nasihat ul-Muluk was written by the eminent theologian mystic al-Ghazali for the Great Sultan Seljuk Sultan Muhammed b. Malikshah who ruled from 498 to 511 (1105 to 1118). It was a period which saw the political situation in the Islamic world being completely transformed by the rise of the Seljuks to power. At the time of their first appearance as a political force in Persia the Caliphate was at its lowest ebb. His temporal power had been reduced in Persia and elsewhere. Shi'a tendencies were growing stronger. Even in Baghdad, political power was a mixed bag.

With the establishment of a Sunni Sultanate at Baghdad by the Seljuks as a result of the Seljuk subjugation of Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor, a new forceful political force was introduced. The Seljuks were like most converts, zealous Sunnis, and their rise to power meant a victory of the Sunni creed over Shi'a tendencies. All power was now held solidly by the Sultan with the Caliph being pretty much a figurehead. It was al-Ghaza-I's fate that his brilliance led him into many contradictory systems of thought. While he at one time was quite orthodox in expostulating the nature and purpose of the imama, after the Seljuk take-over the term imam began to be replaced more and more in his writings by the term Sultan.96 In other words, a stress on power moves the Caliphate upto where he is confined to religious duties in the strictest sense of the word. But the function of government is in the hands of those who are backed by the military force. Hence the Sultan is the power in fact. the Caliph becomes merely he to whom the wielder of power gives allegiance. The use of "merely" points up the figurehead role of Caliph. As pointed out above, before the Seljuks, there was 10 fully functioning Caliph in the role of imam. When al-Ghazali gave to the Caliph, the figurehead role of religious leader, he not only gave the power to the Sultan, but he imbued him with much of the imam's power as well. The Sultan in Ghazali's words is 'the

n or lesty

able

miss

cape

here

ative

and

in-

lling

edia. rsuit

n to

acre

ould

ects.

ngly

pter

ing,

asa-

the

not

tter,

are and

yrus the

ary

than

t be

me-

<sup>95.</sup> *Ibid*, p. 231.

<sup>%.</sup> Rosenthal, op.cit., p. 39.

shadow of God upon earth.'97 This brings him very close to the position beginning to be propounded regarding the divine origin of the office of Caliph. 98 The weaker the Caliph became, the more shadowy and God-like he became in the same sense that the Japanese Emperor was similarly isolated about the same time. 90 So the Sultan, as the shadow of God, was in effect coming to the office of imam as well. This of course could be used by the Persians who had always supported the imamate as against the Caliph. Thus in Persian literature, the Sultan becomes the focus of all power and might. Professor Lambton quite clearly points out that Al-Ghazali draws his main inspiration from the Sasanian tradition rather than from Islam. "He attaches to the conception of divine right", Lambton says, "an emphasis hardly warranted by Islamic tradition". 100

Throughout, al-Ghazali utilizes imagery close to those traditionally Persian. He invokes the well-known theme of the shepherd and his flock. His conception of the ruler is clearly not that of a patriarch, however, but that of a despotic monarch. He considers the ruler to be responsible only to God. Obedience, therefore, to the Sultan (His Shadow), as the Chosen of God, is incumbent upon the people. Opposition to Kings is not seemly. "It must be understood", he writes, "that God gave him the kingship and the divine right".101

Attendant to the Mirrors for Princes is the important work of Nasirral-Din Tusi, a Persian medievalist who was also a man of action. As Professor Wickens says, 302 "Tusi, at the side of the Mongol Prince Hulagu, was to cross the greatest psychological watershed in Islamic civilization, playing a leading part in the

97. Lambton, A. K. S., "The Theory of Kingship in the Nasihat ul-Muluk of Ghazali," in the Islamic Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1954), p. 50.

98. See footnotes in Rosenthal regarding Tyan and others, op.cit, 238-239 pp. 238-239.

99. An imperial rescript addressed to the Court in 749 A.D. begins, earken we all the world of the court in 749 is mani-"Hearken ye all the world, of the Sovereign Prince of Yamato that is manifest God, saving "in G fest God, saying...", in Samson, Sir G. B., Japan, A Short Cultural History, New York: Appleton Cont. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1943, p. 177.

100. Lambton, op.cit., p. 51.

101. Quoted in Lambton, op.cit., p. 51.

102. Nasir ad-Din Tusi, The Nasierean Ethics, (trans. G. M. Wickens), ondon, George Allen & The Nasierean Ethics, (trans. G. M. Wickens), London, George Allen & Unwin, 1964, p. 9.

captur ledged Ti

true tl

politic

Caliph manife that cl is also Christi "Religi regulat

laws a:

Tu

and ki Philoso kingshi other". Ot

> four th intellec nation fection the cor bluoda

> justice

and glo Jus comman

Fir In an i

103. I 104. I 105. 17 106. I 107. I

108. 17 109. 11 110. II capture of Baghdad and the extinction of the generally acknowledged Caliphate there".

Tusi had much to say regarding the divinity of Kings. It is that divinity, as such, is not listed in the Third Discourse (on politics) as the Persians hesitated to claim this quality for the Caliphate. But the fourth quality "The Royal Resolve" which manifests itself in the Caliph is a compounding of certain virtues that clearly indicate his superiority to ordinary men. 103 The King salso described as the world's physician 104 in a sense ascribed by Christians to Christ. The King is further described as the "Religious Legislator", by which is meant that the ruler is the regulator of the world; he has "control of the enactments of the laws and the most expedient measures in daily life". 105

Tusi sees this as "the reason for the interdependence of faith and kingship, as expressed by the Emperor of the Iranians, the Philosopher of the Persians, Ardashir Babak". "Religion and kingship are twins", he says, "neither being complete without the other" 106

Other elements are present, to wit, the parennial problem of justice and defence. Tusi says the "Absolute King" strives to unite four things. "Wisdom, which is the end of all ends; complete intellection, which leads to ends; powers of persuasion and imagination which are among the conditions for bringing others to perlection and the power to conduct the good fight, which is one of the conditions of defence and protection".107 The King, however, should not conduct wars in person as defeat would mar "the awe and glory of kingship".108

Justice is seen as the supreme virtue and depends upon divine tommandment, and is, therefore the "first concern of the King". 109

Finally, Tusi ties the divine right of Kings into the imamate. h an important statement, he observes: 110 "Now in determining

o the

origin

more

t the

99 So

o the

the the

t the

focus

points anian

ption

ed by

radi-

herd

of a

iders

e, to

upon

ider-

ivine

rk of

n of

the

gical the

uluk

o.cit.,

gins,

ani-

tory,

ens),

<sup>103.</sup> Ibid. p. 227.

<sup>104.</sup> Ibid, p. 227.

<sup>105.</sup> Ibid, p. 215.
106. Ibid, p. 215.
107. Ibid, p. 215. 107. Ibid, p. 215.
108. Ibid, p. 235.
109. Ibid, p. 230.
110. Ibid, p. 192 107. Ibid, p. 216.

judgments, there is need (also) for a person who is distinguished from others by divine support, so that he may be able to accomplish their perfection. Such a person, in the terminology of the ancients, was called an Absolute King and his judgments, the Craft of Kingship; the Moderns refer to him as the Imam".111

To summarize, Professor Browne supports the theory of divinity as developed above. He says of the followers of Ali: 112

"From a very early time, there was a tendency to magnify Ali's nature until it assumed a divine character and even at the present day113 the Ali-Ilahis who, as their name implies, regard Ali as neither more nor less than an Incarnation or "Manifestation" of God, are a numerous sect in Persia. From the earliest times, the idea of Divine Right, has strongly possessed the Persians, while the idea of popular and democratic election, natural to the Arabs, has always been extremely distasteful to them. It was natural, therefore, that from the first, the Persians should have formed the backbone of the Shi'its party; and their allegiance to the fourth imam, Ali Zaynu'l-l-'Abidin, and his descendants was undoubtedly strengthened by the belief that his mother was a princess of the Old Royal House of Sasan". In 1500, Sha Isma'il was crowned at Tabriz and thereby established the first truly Persian dynasty in eight centuries—the Safavid. By 1510 he had taken over Pars, Kerman, Hamadan, and Khorasan and had proclaimed the Shi'a sect as the state religion. Thereafter, for several years, there was constant warfare between the Ottoman rulers and the Persian Shahs and it was not until the rise of the Great Shah Abbas, who moved the capital to Isfahan in 1598, that the Persian dynasty became secure.

(5)

# The Coming of the English

The rise of the Safavids coincided with the entrance of the English into Persia. In fact it was the Sherley brothers who provided the cannon foundry which was of such great help in holding off the Ottoman Army.

111 Ibid, p. 192.

112. Browne, op.cit., p. 194.

113. Written at the turn of this century.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

stood which ment

in Pe But a had to now, divini

A write Antho John tarily

b

tl

ri

A

as

61

tion o people God, when thing,

Jo descrip

114. 115. Series, Don Jul. 116. Ross. I 116a. don; 171

Consequently, for almost three hundred years, the English stood in a special position with regard to Persia, a relationship which only began to alter with the rise of the constitutional movement at the opening of the twentieth Century 114

It is too much to recount in any detail the English presence in Persia, nor would such a recounting be pertinent to this paper. But as an epilogue it is not without interest that the English, who had themselves once accepted the theory of divine kingship, should now, as observers, be in a position to comment on the thread of divinity in Persia which has been the subject of this paper.

Although by no means the first of the merchant adventurers to write back from Persia—the great names of the Sherley brothers. Anthony Jenkinson and Sir Thomas Roe had all preceded him-John Fryer was one of the first to leave Company affairs momenarily behind him to speculate on the nature of Persian kingship: 115

"They esteem their Emperor not only as Lords Paramount, but reverence them as sons of the Prophets . . . . For as of old, the Persians adored the Sun as a Deity and celebrated his rising with Morning Hymns and were daily employed in sacred Anthems to its Fraise. They still espouse the Divine Right as well as Lineage of their sovereigns. They obey him in everything, no less than an immortal God".

Captain John Stevens in 1715 similarily notes the special posiion of the Shah. 116 "It is an established principle among these people". he writes, "they ought to obey the King as they would God, whom he represents". Again, in Book II, he observes that when a person swears by the King's head that he will do anything, he infallibly performs it and that out of hand".

Jonas Hanway, of all the merchants, gives the most detailed description of the court hierarchy. 116a He recounts the duties of

ished plish

ients.

King-

divi-

gnify

t the

gard esta-

rliest

sians, the the

was

have

ce to

was

as a

ma'il

truly

had pro-

seve-

ulers

Freat

the

the pro-

ding

<sup>114.</sup> See above, pp. 400-401.

<sup>115.</sup> John Fryer's East India and Persia, III, in Hakluyt Society, Second eries, No. 20 Series, No. 39, London: 1915, p. 41. For an interesting earlier account, see Don Juan in Persia (ed. G. Le Strange), London: 1926.

<sup>116.</sup> This is a part of the Broadway Travellers edited by Sir E. Denison Catholic, 1560-1604. Ross. Don Juan was a Shi'a Persian who later became a Catholic, 1560-1604. liga, Antony Teixeira, History of Persia, (ed. Captain John Stevens), London; 1715, p. 353.

. the various civil, military and ecclesiastical offices. He is impressed by the despotic nature of authority in Persia. The Begler-Begs (Lord of Lords—the highest rank of office), for example, he cites as having the power of life and death, all of them as cruel as they were powerful. 117 Not being a political theorist he does not speculate on the nature of this power. But he does, in his account of Nadir Shah, point out that the great King ranked himself apart from both the Shi'a and Sunni sects; 118 and that like the Persian Kings of old, he prostrated himself and prayed before each battle 119 But once in answer to a note shot into his quarters, ried to an arrow, asking if he was devil or God, a tyrant, King or Prophet, he distributed the following reply throughout the camp:

"I am neither God nor devil, tyrant nor Prophet; but I am one sent from God, to punish an iniquitous generation of men"120 It will be noted that he lacked John Baptist's humility. He was not a "man sent from God". Like Cyrus he was "one"-more than man.

In the nineteenth century, the accounts of travellers continued much in the same vein. Edward Scott noted that the Shah's rule "is as arbitrary as it is possible for it to be" and comments on the fact that the Shah might confiscate the property of his nobles or depopulate whole districts "in safety and applause". 121

John Pinkerton pursues the explanation a little more fully. Writing shortly after the death of Nadir Shah, he had this to say: 122

"The Shah of Persia is an absolute monarch and has the lives and estates of his subjects entirely at his disposal. There is no prince in the world more implicitly obeyed: let his orders be ever so unjust, or given at a time when he is so little

very I made Shah He is the so

1

C

C

a

(

as do

simpl

ship. kingly

"the

Princ

"(the

or ear (New and a "those

Sasan

L divini

" mon n disavo

123. 124 125. 1892, I,

<sup>117.</sup> Johnas Hanway (merchant), An Historical Account of the British Trade Over the Caspian Sea with a Journal of Travels (4 vols.), London: 1753, I, p. 336.

<sup>118.</sup> Ibid, IV, p. 276. 119. Ibid, IV, p. 280.

<sup>120.</sup> Ibid, IV, p. 275.

<sup>121.</sup> Edward Scott, A Tour of Sheeraz, London: 1807, pp. 90-91.

<sup>122.</sup> John Pinkerton, A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World, London: 1811. Also see Colonel Sir John Molecular III. 1815, Colonel Sir John Malcolm, The History of Persia (2 vols.), London: 1815, p. 213.

master of his reason that he knows not what he says or does, nothing can save the greatest subject if he determines to deprive him of his life or estate....If he be in a humour to ruin them it is done by a word of his mouth or by a sign, and executed in an instant, without any form of law or evidence of facts. The common people, who are at a distance from the court, have much the better of the quality in this respect; there are very seldom any instances of any oppression or severe judgments executed upon these, but they seem to enjoy as much security as in any country of the world....".

Of the nature of this great power, Pinkerton perhaps suffers, as do the other English observers from an inability, or perhaps a simple failure to understand the historic origins of Persian kingsin. For example, he does not make reference to any theory of kingly power while recounting its extent and yet he notes that "the Persians, out of conscience, 123 obey all commands of their Prince without reserve." So great is this will to submission that "(they) believe that his orders ought to be obeyed against the very laws of nature", 124

Lord Curzon, despite the lateness of his coming to Persia, made important observations on Persian kingship. 125 He sees the Shah as "perhaps the best existing specimen of a modern despot." He is 'omnipotent", and "irresponsible". As the sovereign he is the sole executive and all officials are his deputies.

Lord Curzon goes back to his Shakespeare to describe "the divinity that doth hedge a Throne in Persia." The Shah, as in Sasanian times, never, according to Curzon, attends at state dinners or eats with his subject at table except once a year at No Ruz (New Year) when he dines with his male relatives. The language and attitude employed at court is, according to Lord Curzon, "those of servile obeisance and adulation."

"May I be your sacrifice, Asylum of the Universe" is the common mode of address even by the highest officials. 'The ministers disavow all initiative in the presence of the Shah and tremble at

essed

Begs

cites

they

- not

ount

apart

rsian le.119

o an

phet,

am

1" 120

was

nore

nued

rule

s on

bles

ully.

V: 122

the

ere

ders

ittle

tish don:

est-

see

815,

<sup>123.</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>124.</sup> Pinkerton, op.cit., p. 213.

<sup>125.</sup> Curzon, Hon. George N., Persia and the Persian Question, London;

executive responsibility. Hence all policy emanates from the Shah and "the Shah is in one person the sole arbiter of Persia's fortunes".

Lord Curzon also speaks of his audience with the Shah. The latter received him in the Palace standing alone before the Peacock Throne. 126 There was no other article of furniture in the room, He wore black trousers and a black coat, edged with astrakhan, thick with gold cording in front, and equipped with voluminous skirts. Upon the face of his kolah (hat) was a small Lion and Sun in diamonds. The conversation was mostly of Lord Curzon's route of travel to the capital.

Perhaps the first account of the coronation of a Persian King to receive publicity in the western world through a published account and the last recounting to be considered here, is by Eustache de Lorey and Douglas Fladen. 127 This was the coronation of Muhamed Ali Shah. The presence of the diplomatic corps accounted for the eye-witness account. The coronation, as is the custom, took place before the Peacock Throne, 128 in the Gulistan Palace. The etiquette of the coronation and its details are recounted at great length.

Once the Shah was reclining on the throne, the Clergy spoke. The Senior Clergy recited a passage from the Koran: "Oh, David, we have chosen thee to be the Sovereign of the Earth.....

The Grand Vizier then crowned the Shall. Immediately a court poet then began reciting in both Arabic and Persian. References are made throughout the recitation to the "divine throne", the "imperial crown of Cyrus", "the Sovereign whose refuge is in Muhammed and in Ali". "He is the Sultan, son of the Sultan, son of the Sultan...", etc.

When the recitation is finished, the Viziers of Ceremony with their golden wands, go through an intricate display of adoration

126. The writer has been in this room in the Gulistan Palace. It is, however, now a much seen in this room in the Gulistan Palace. It is, however, now a much seen in this room in the Gulistan Palace. ever, now a museum and the Shah lives in his own palace.

127. de Lorey, Eustache and Fladen, Doughlas, The Moon of the Fourteenth Night, London: 1910.

128. The name does not come from the two birds (which are not peacks) perched on the head of the head cocks) perched on the back of the Throne, but from a concubine known as the lady peacock. It is, in fact, not a throne, but a bed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

(bow) mariz

M

h

go th T

ing W achiev sence,

7

129. J: 17

ame :

437

## THE DIVINE RIGHT OF PERSIAN KINGS

(bowing to the ground, returning, bowing). A.Persian verse summarizes this divine worship thus: 129

"In the name of Allah, may his glorious state be exulted. What gladness there is in the joyful solemnity of Imruz. Allah has given his support to the World Imruz. The good news goes down from heaven and then Muhammed Ali is King from the East to the West....".

The coronation in 1967 will find the same verses recited; the same intricate pattern of authority displayed. In a rapidly changing world—and Iran itself is rapidly changing—it is no small achievement for a nation and a culture to invoke, in actual presence, authority of such great duration.

129. Ibid, p. 59. J: 17

Shah unes"

The

acock

room.

khan, inous

and

zon's

King

ished s by ronacorps s the listan

poke. avid,

ely a sian. ivine hose on of

with ation

how-

out-

pean as

o: 17

The

E grant of De before and e teen the p 1856-5 depen opium stamp ly mo to the Gener presid Gover situati Compa system of gold centur monon coin an one po

and ed

that po

# The Modernization of British Indian Finance, 1859-62

BY

BHUPEN QANUNGO, Ph.D., (Indiana),
Banaras Hindu University

Between 1765 (the year the East India Company received the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Emperor of Delhi) and 1856-57 (the year before the Mutiny and two years before the extinction of the Company's rule in India) the income and expenditure of the Company's Government multiplied seventen times. Nevertheless neither the sources of the income nor the pattern of the expenditure changed significantly. Thus in 1856-57 the Government's income, which was about £ 32 millions, depended in fact on land revenue and a monopoly of the salt and opium trade (gains from such other sources as excise, customs and stamps, being insignificant); and its expenditure, which was slightly more than the income in 1856-57, was almost entirely devoted to the security services of defence, law and order. The Governor General in Council had acquired full control of finance in all the presidencies by the Act of 1833; but not before 1856-57 did the Government decide to publish annual statements of the financial situation of the several presidencies in India. Till the end of the Company's rule the Government did not have a proper budget As regards currency, nearly one thousand different kinds of gold and silver coins were current in India in the eighteenth century.1 By an act of 1835 the Government established silver monometallism, with a rupee of 180 grains troy as the standard coin and legal tender, which had an exchange rate of about ten to that regal tender, which had an exchange rate pound sterling in the middle of the nineteenth century. But hat powerful innovation in modern currency, Government paper honey, was not introduced into India till 1862.

<sup>1.</sup> See B. E. Dadachanji, History of Indian Currency and Exchange, ed. (Bombay, 1931), p. 3.

the la

two o

lished

in fin

facing

In Inc

and N

financ

marke

tion (

1859-€

necess

the fi

reven

small

nistra

Wars

rose to

to the

revent

than a

of tra

countrand in

crisis

pendit

instan

for all

plies b

charge

India 7

had to

mentary

0

H

With the financial reorganization in the last three years of Lord Canning's administration, we at once enter the modern age of British Indian finance. The Government modernized its financial administration with a budget system and improved audit and accouts on the English model; it introduced a paper currency on the principle of absolute security; it sought new income through direct, assessed taxation, like an income tax, the most potent weapon of finance in the modern world; it recognized the importance of spending money on development services like cotton-roads, inland communication, and irrigation canals, services proper for a modern government; and finally it initiated a policy of free trade which was to last for thirty years and which brought Indian tariffs in line with contemporary English economic liberalism.

In describing the financial reorganization under Canning, we must first note the problem of huge deficits on account of the Mutiny of 1857. We shall then relate the fiscal proposals and reforms connected with the names of James Wilson and Samuel Laing, two economic experts sent to India in 1859 and 1861 as Financial Members of the Governor General's Council. In this connection we shall also note the public reaction to Wilson's taxation proposals, and the Madras Government's opposition, which finally led to the recall of Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras. And we shall see how by 1861-62 bold reduction of military expenditure and other improvements finally balanced the budget and removed the fears in England about Indian finances.

I

The normal condition of Indian finance under the Company was one of deficit and borrowing, as the normal condition of Indian political history in the Company period was one of war. Most of these years were spent either in actual wars or in recovering from them, wars which expanded British dominion all over the Indian peninsula and even sent Company troops to Afghanistan, Nepal and Burma and Company ships to various parts of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. The Mutiny of 1857 proved

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>2.</sup> For about forty of the sixty-six years from 1792 to 1858, the revenue of the Company's Government showed a deficit. See K. T. Shah, Sixty Years of Federal Finance in India (London, 1939), p. 1.

ers of

n age

ancial

and

cy on

rough

otent

port-

roads.

for a

trade tariffs

g, we

of the

amuel

61 as

1 this

taxa-

which

ernor

on of

d the

ces.

npany on of

war.2

n re-

n all

fgha-

rts of

roved

Sixty

the last of the Company's wars, and the most costly. Thanks to two or three rather conflicting statements of Indian finances published in London and in Calcutta during 1858-59, there rose a cry in financial circles in England that the Government of India was facing a second, and more humiliating, crisis: it was going bankrupt. In India, the European mercantile community at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras pressed the Government to publish a statement of its financial policies; and there were serious fluctuations in the stock market. The Government found it necessary to issue a Notification on 21 February 1859, announcing its financial policy for 1859-60, in which, besides raising a few crores of rupees in loans necessary to meet acute shortage, the Government decided to meet the financial crisis by all practicable reduction of military expenditure, and by measures "for the permanent increase of Indian revenues as largely as may be consistent with sound policy." 3

How big was this crisis, and how did it develop? There was a small deficit of about £ 300,000 in the first year of Canning's administration, 1856-57. Next year, 1857-58, on account of the Mutiny wars the deficit amounted to about £ 8 millions; in 1858-59, it rose to over £ 14 millions. Revenue collections from western Bihar to the eastern borders of the Punjab failed during 1857-58: land revenue was lost to the extent of about £ 3 millions. It took more than a year to reconquer and pacify Oudh. The general dislocation of trade throughout north India dulled trade in the rest of the country, brought down prices and affected the volume of exports and imports considerably. But what really created the financial crisis for the Government was the greatly increased military expenditure since 1857.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny, military transport charges instantly went up, and the Governor General ordered fair payment for all requisition of carts, bullocks, elephants, services and supplies by the army during operations. Purchase of stores and depot charges in England, and transport charges of European troops to India were doubled, and at the close of operations, the Government had to pay mutiny compensations, pensions, bounties and rewards

<sup>3.</sup> See Financial Despatch from India, 22 Feb. 1859, No. 28, in Parliamentary Papers, 1859 (187, Sess. 1); XIX, 11.

to numerous persons. The Government had a huge standing army on its hands, an army which was clearly beyond the revenues of India to maintain permanently without oppressing the people. Yet this army could not be reduced to pre-1857 strength at once and without regard to the new military policy of maintaining an overwhelming force of European troops to overawe the native army in India. One European soldier cost the Government as much as four, or nearly five, sepoys; and in 1858 there were as many as 110,320 European soldiers in India, while in 1857 there were no more than 45, 522 of them. The old Bengal army had been scattered and destroyed in the whirlwind of the Mutiny, but a new Bengal army had been raised in the Panjab and elsewhere; also the Government had recruited many thousands of irregular troops and military police during 1857 and 1858. As a result, military expenditure rose from £ 12 millions in 1856-57 to £ 25 millions in 1858-59. As the total income of the Government in that year, 1858-59, was only £ 36 millions, the proportion of military expenditure was indeed alarming.

The rise in the Company's public debt followed the Company's wars. By experience the East India Company had found borrowing a politically wise, and financially not very inconvenient, way of meeting deficits, and of meeting the acute financial pressure from its periodic wars. Therefore the first, and wholly normal measure, which Canning and his Council adopted to bridge the yawning gulfs of deficits created by the Mutiny wars was to borrow. Between 1857-58 and 1861-62 the Government borrowed every year, somewhat more than it actually needed during 1859-60 to 1861-62. As a result, the public debt of India stood at £ 107 millions in 1861-62, compared to £ 98 millions in 1859-60, and £ 59 millions in 1856-57.

While borrowing eased its cash shortage, Canning's administration began its difficult search for additional income with a new tariff revision in 1858. It doubled the duty on Malwa opium, the opium from the Native States in western Malwa passing mostly through Bombay, and increased the duty on the other morally controversial source of Indian revenue, salt, which was then mostly imported from England or produced under Government monopoly, and which accounted for as much as ten per cent of the total re-

Governal un and reas tea Europe gradu was a rose t In spi

1859-6 million being £ 6 n

A

Gover:

income the proon tob Govern the Go the Mu
"in justure."4 fully to ment r military

Desideficits, in the 1 tions, v

central

ments

method

4. S

army

ues of

e. Yot

over-

army

uch as

any as

ere no

scat-

a new

; also

troops

ilitary illions

year,

expen-

pany's

owing

ray of

from

asure,

gulfs

tween

some-

. As

61-62,

ns in

ninis-

new

i, the

concostly

poly,

l re-

venue of India. Next year, in 1859, evidently in desperation, the Government imposed a five per cent ad valorem import duty on all unenumerated articles including Manchester cotton-piece goods; and raised to about twenty per cent import duties on such articles as tea, coffee, provisions, wines and spirits, usually consumed by Europeans in India. As a result of these customs duties, and the gradual revival of trade from 1859, income from customs, which was about one and a-half million pounds in 1856-57 and 1857-58, mse to nearly £ 2 millions in 1858-59 and £ 3 million in 1859-60. In spite of the extra duty imposed in 1858, income from salt in 1859-60 was the same as in 1856-57, that is about three and a half million pounds. And opium revenue remained as erratic as ever, being £ 5 millions in 1856-57, £ 7 millions in 1857-58, and about £ 6 millions in 1858-59 and 1859-60.

As announced in its financial Notification of February 1859, the Government found it necessary to seek a permanent increase in mome through new taxation. In the spring of 1859 it sounded the provincial governments on two tax proposals: a cultivation tax on tobacco, and a further increase in the salt duty. The Madras Government opposed fresh taxation as unjust and suggested that the Government of India, in its efforts to meet deficits arising from the Mutiny (which did not occur in the Madras Presidency), should in justice to the rest of India" look into the "northern expendi-When asked by the Government of India to explain more fully their suggestions for meeting deficits, the Madras Government replied that their remedy was simple: drastic reduction of military expenditure, which was the root of trouble, and bold decentralization of financial power to allow the provincial governments to develop their resources by civil public works and other methods suitable to local needs and local ideas.

Despairing of specific tax proposals from the provinces to meet deficits, the Government of India introduced in August 1859 a bill the Legislative Council for a licence tax on trades and professions, which became popularly known as Harrington's bill, after

<sup>4.</sup> See quotation from Trevelyan's minute of 10 June 1859 in P. J. Tho-Growth of Federal Finance in India (Bombay, 1939), p. 75.

J

mist,

Finar

fifty-1

ber C

moda

in En

an ex

ment

in En

ment proble

admir

on ac

mutin

factur

Europ

appoi

Gener

dity c

Wilso

Gover

north

seeme

Gover

budge lative

preced

milita

of the

India

XLIX, J. 18

M

H. B. Harrington, the member for the North Western Provinces in the Legislative Council, who introduced the bill. Such a tax would be a direct tax, though since the 1830's the Government of India had found it a convenient and healthy administrative policy to abandon direct taxation in most parts of India. But a tax on trades and professions was no novelty in the country and was, in attenuated form, still levied in parts of the Madras Presidency, though the Madras Government had been trying to remove such taxes altogether on the ground that they were primitive ways of vexing the people with a swarm of ill-paid underlings without adequate profit to the Government. Naturally, the Madras Government opposed Harrington's bill, and in this opposition Madras was supported by the Bombay Government. The European commercial community, already incensed by the tariff revision of 1859, severely attacked Harrington's bill, as it proposed to put a direct tax on them for the first time in British India, and also as the bill in its original form was in fact an income tax on them which did not touch other Europeans and natives who were Government servants. In its amended form the bill included all Government servants but spared fund-holders and zemindars. Europeans in India thought it unfair that they should be taxed to meet a financial crisis caused by a Mutiny of the natives, in which Europeans had suffered in lives and property and had, moreover, volunteered to fight for the preservation of British rule.5

By the end of 1859 public opinion against fresh taxation was clear from the reaction to Harrington's bill: Madras and Bombay thought it unfair that they should be made to pay for the sins of the Bengal sepoys and of the people in Hindustan; and Europeans in India that they should pay for the sins of the natives during 1857. But the Government of India regarded it impolitic to impose fresh taxation on the rebellious provinces only. Harrington's bill was still before the Legislative Council, when Wilson arrived from England in November 1859, as Financial Member of the Governor General's Council, the first such member ever appointed. He advised the Government that the licence tax in the form of Harrington's bill be set aside, for Wilson had his own ideas for a licence tax.

<sup>5.</sup> See the Calcutta Review, LIV (1872), 94.

II

James Wilson, the founder of the London journal, the Economist, had been a member of Parliament from 1847 to 1859 and Financial Secretary to the Treasury from 1853 to 1858. He was fity-four years old in 1859 when he was appointed Financial Member of the Governor General's Council, a post created to accommodate him suitably in India, for he was an eminent economist in England. Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, hoped that an expert like Wilson would be especially useful to the Government of India in reorganizing its finances and in reducing criticism in England. The Home Government had been blamed for allowing the financial crisis in India to grow and it was said that the Government of India did not possess the necessary talent to solve its problems. There was a wide impression in England that Canning's administration would be no more vigorous in meeting deficits on account of the Mutiny than it had been in dealing with the mutineers, and business circles in England, especially cloth manufacturers, were never happy with the Indian tariff. In India, European commercial houses and planters welcomed Wilson's appointment.6 Canning, who received Wilson in the Governor General's camp in north India in December 1859, admired the lucidity of Wilson's minutes and readily extended his full support to Wilson's proposals for fresh taxation and other schemes. Governor General was then in the midst of a royal progress through north India; the country looked completely pacified; and Wilson seemed to have arrived as a financial plenipotentiary of the Home Government to India.

Wilson delivered his financial statement, which was really a budget speech, the first budget speech in India, before the Legislative Council at Calcutta on 18 February 18607 The occasion was preceded by some excitement in the Calcutta bazar, and an unprecedented crowd of visitors from the European, missionary, military and native community filled the Council hall on the day

7. For Wilson's Financial Statement of 18 Feb. 1860, see PP, 1860 (339); XLIX, 815-840.

J. 18

aces in

would

India

licy to

ax on

d was, dency.

e such

ays of

it ade-

overn-

as was

nercial

verely

tax on

in its

id not

vants.

its but

nought

caused

red in

or the

n was

ombay

sins of

peans

**luring** 

to im-

gton's

rrived

of the inted.

rm of for a

<sup>6.</sup> The Calcutta Hindoo Patriot of 10 March 1860 quoted a notification of the Bengal Indigo Planters' Association describing Wilson's arrival in hdia "as an epoch in its history."

446

of Wilson's statement to hear the Government's taxation proposals

and Wilson's true House of Commons oratory:

Sir, shall it ever be said, that the prowess and heroism of English soldiers, and of English civilians, I may even add of English ladies, were sufficient, even in their disproportionate numbers, to quell the fiercest mutiny that is recorded in history, and that English administrative capacity failed in governing a country so kept, I had almost said, so reclaimed?

Wilson explained that his task was no less than curing Indian finance of its chronic deficits, of the evils of past mismanagement, and also to balance the budget of a Government which had suffered an estimated deficit of £ 10 millions in 1859-60, and a cumulative deficit of about £ 30 millions since 1857-58. He showed that the financial crisis with which India was faced in 1860 was "infinitely worse" than any similar crisis recorded in India, and indeed worse than the crisis Sir Robert Peel had to face in 1842, which he thought the most severe crisis in recent English history. But English economic statesmanship could be depended upon to meet the challenge of financial crisis in India, and India, as Wilson himself had been fascinated to see during his recent quick journey from Calcutta to Lahore and back, had vast potential resources for economic development.

Wilson denied that reduction in military expenditure consistent with safety (already taken in hand by a Military Finance Commission since 1859), and economy in civil administration, for which there was not much scope, could meet the problem of deficits adequately and permanently. Fresh taxation was unavoidable, concluded Wilson; and as regards the capacity of the country to pay, he observed that the burden of taxation per head in India was only five shillings, while in England it was two pounds three shillings; that hitherto the rich and trading classes in India had borne little of the burden of the state. He announced three principles that ciples that would guide the Government of India in adopting new taxation measures: equality and justice to all classes and communities "confermite to all classes and communities to all classes are all classes and communities to all classes are all classes and communities are all classes and classes are all classes are al nities, "conformity with sound financial and commercial policy," and avoidance of anything offensive to the religious views and rites of the natives. In accordance with these the Government now proposed a tax on homegrown tobacco; a licence tax on artisans, retail shopkeepers, manufacturers, traders, bankers and pro-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

rich, publ and under them

fessi cent

inco

on the sake taxat our increased

India

of B

great

impo sals India dutie duty of ot not comn ducer such

price:
if the
the e
a wo:
which
incre:

Vation

447

posals

roism add of onate n hisovern-

indian ment, suffercumunowed ) was , and

story.
on to
Vilson
urney
ources

1842,

onsisnance n, for of deavoiduntry India

India
three
had
prinnew
nmulicy,"

and ment artiprofessions; and an income tax for five years at the rate of two per cent on incomes from 200 to 500 rupees and three per cent on incomes above 500 rupees.

Wilson's income tax was a comprehensive kind of tax on the rich, dividing incomes into four schedules: incomes derived from public salaries, from trade and professions, from public funds, and from real property. The last two schedules had been spared under Harrington's licence tax bill of 1859, but Wilson thought them as taxable as others. Referring to the claim of the Bengal zemindars that they could not be legally made to pay income tax on their income from land, Wilson observed that Lord Cornwallis in making permanent settlement in Bengal did not intend to exempt the zemindars from all future taxes "for State purposes." Wilson asked: "Are we to base a future policy upon the exemption from taxation of the richest and only privileged classes in India?" "Sir, our fellow-subjects in Madras and Bombay claim exemption from increased taxation," because the Mutiny did not take place in Madras or Bombay. Wilson affirmed that the Government of India was as much the Government of Madras as the Government of Bengal, and that: "We want greater combination and unity, not greater severance."

The part of the budget to which Wilson attached the greatest importance, and which in fact preceded the direct taxation proposals in his speech, announced the abandonment of the Anglo-Indian tariff policy of the Company days. He removed all export duties on wool, hides and hemp, jute, flax and tea, arguing that duty on such Indian raw materials competing with the products of other countries in European market, in the last analysis, fell not on the Indian export traders, which were mainly European commercial houses, or purchasers in Europe, but "upon the producer who cultivates the article" in India. The cultivators of such raw products and others were gaining by the recent rise in prices in India, and Wilson argued that they would gain more if the export trade was freed. Wilson raised at least seven-fold the export duty on saltpetre, arguing that India had practically World monopoly in this article. On indigo, another produce in which India had near world monopoly, Wilson did not agree to increase the existing small export duty; he said that indigo cultivation. Vation in Mexico had greatly increased recently, and that, like

tea, indigo was "one of the few cultivations in India which attract British capital and skill to direct native labour, and also that, in view of the recent Mutiny, the "value of the influence of European gentlemen (Indigo planters) settled in our country districts" could not be overestimated. Wilson also reduced to ten per cent customs duties on a variety of consumer goods for Europeans, which were taxed twenty per cent in 1859.

#### III

The Calcutta Englishman thus welcomed Wilson's budget speech:

in three hours (Wilson's speech) reversed the whole policy rather demolished the whole impolicy of a stupid aristocracy and an arrogant oligarchy . In. three hours Mr. Wilson, by mere force of commonsense, and determined assertion of scientific and economic principles, has revolutionized British India. It is no less.8

Neither the law nor the custom of the Government of India in 1860 provided for a statement of such fullness and explanation in defence of policy and measures as Wilson's budget speech. Wilson had also struck a note foreign to Anglo-Indian Civilian administration when he said: "it is true we have no representative assembly to satisfy ... but, sir, we have a public opinion, an enlightened public opinion, both native and European, and above all we have a free press and free discussion." Wilson's tariff, his attack on the past tariff policy of the Company days, his appeal for support to public opinion, satisfied and flattered the European mercantile community. In a manner rarely done by the Company's Government in the past, Wilson had proclaimed recognition of the value and importance of European planters and merchants in India, and this at a time when Governor Grant's administration in Bengal appeared determined to take the side of the indigo ryots or peasants in the "Blue Mutiny" against indigo planters, which disturbed Bengal from this period to the end of the year 1860. Though the income tax on Europeans in India was bad, yet the European merchants could draw some consolation from

probal Wilson quoted

fading

emin

T

his su them to to rest

power: tax wa tyrann cannot jealous

adopte to have congra the ge his but

distres with E past w

Ea publish speech

9. S Feb. 186 10. S 11. H 354-363. served a he could Wilson,

decades, capacity C. E. Bu

<sup>8.</sup> See the Englishman, 22 Feb. 1860.

folding in the same net of taxation with them the Civilians and emindars, who had been favoured in Harrington's bill in 1859.

attract

nat, in Euro-

tricts"

r cent

peans.

oudget

whole l aris-

s Mr.

mined

evolu-

dia in

nation

oeech.

vilian

tative

n enabove tariff,

ppeal

opean

Comcogniand

rant's de of

ndigo

nd of

was

from

The leading Bengali daily newspaper, the Sambad Prabhakar mobably reflected the true opinion of the babus when it said that Wilson's income tax was worse than Harrington's bill. The paper moted for Wilson's benefit a couplet from the Raghuvamsam, the amed Sanskrit kavya of Kalidasa: King Dilipa took taxes from his subjects, not in order to fill his treasury, but only to return them thousandfold as even the sun draws vapours from the earth to restore them in rains.9 The Calcutta Hindoo Patriot, the most owerful weekly newspaper in English, observed that the income tax was being "viewed as a desperate expedient of impoverished wanny," and that: "A direct and universal tax upon incomes cannot but be viewed by a community so perversely ignorant and ealous as veritably the most 'vulgar expedient,' that could be adopted to raise a revenue."10 But everybody in Calcutta seemed b have accepted Wilson's taxes as inevitable, and Wilson was wgratulating himself as a most lucky tax-gatherer in view of the generally favourable comments of the Anglo-Indian press on his budget, when suddenly in April 1860 Wilson discovered to his distress that his income tax did not make him any more popular with Europeans in India than Harrington had been in the recent past with his licensing bill.

### IV

Early in April 1860 the Madras Daily Times and Spectator Published in full a minute dated 20 March 1860 on Wilson's budget Speech by Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras. 11 In

<sup>9.</sup> See the Sambad Prabhakar (Calcutta), 11 Falgun, 1266 B.S. (22

<sup>10.</sup> See the Hindoo Patriot, 25 Feb. 1860.

<sup>11.</sup> For Trevelyan's minute of Mar. 1860, see PP, 1860 (339); XLIX, Trevelyan's minute of Mar. 1860, see FF, 1600 Charles Trevelyan was an authority on Indian finance, having 1836-38. Further, Charles Trevelyan was an authority on Indian Indians, be could also be c he could claim almost as much practical experience in English finance as Wilson, for Trevelyan was Assistant Secretary to the Treasury during two decades, from 1840 to 1859. Wilson was a colleague of Trevelyan in his epacity as Financial Secretary to the Treasury from 1853 to 1858. See E. Buckland, Dictionary of Indian Biography (London, 1906), pp. 428, 456.

it the Madras Governor opposed in strongest terms the new taxes, especially the income tax, as direct taxes contrary to the past taxation policy of the Government, and under the circumstances of 1860 justified by nothing but an exaggerated picture of the financial crisis and dangerous to the real interests of British rule in India:

All people are, of course, averse to taxes; but the native feeling in reference to the imposition of new taxes is different in kind from this, and is not so destitute of reason as may at first sight appear. The natives of this country have always lived under despotic governments, and in the absence of any better means of placing a limit upon the exactions of their rulers, they have been accustomed to take their stand upon long-esablished practice, which they regard as we do our ancient hereditary privileges. Hence it has always been observed that while they are extremely patient under established grievances, they are always disposed to meet new impositions by active or passive resistance. They would take the restoration of the transit and town duties as a matter of course; but the introduction into India of direct taxation is calculated to arouse all their latent feelings of opposition.

Trevelyan again warned the Government of India, as he had been doing since 1859, that millions of hitherto contented people in the south of India would hate the Government for imposing new taxation, especially vexatious, inquisitorial direct taxes of the type Wilson had proposed, as unfair, punitive Mutiny taxes for a Mutiny in which they had not joined. Arguing that the current financial crisis would be amenable, as previous ones had been, to "reduction of expenditure only, combined with some obvious administrative improvements," Trevelyan wrote:

The object is, not to reproduce in this country, at one stroke, a financial reformation more complete in all the most approved principles of political economy than that which was introduced into England by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, but to make the most of the circumstances in which we are placed, and above all, not to risk all our hopes of progress by prematurely taking up the most advanced position.

Within two weeks after Trevelyan's minute was published in the Madras Daily Times, it was reproduced in the Calcutta and Bombay press. The European community at Calcutta, using the

Mutiny
her of
(the N
mean )
ment of
new ta

Trevely
Govern
dinatio
ning en
introdu
from to
already

at Pesl

ning w

It

enting lev dis cor of cal in pre

Ne of the

laxes in

12. S 1859 to 1 13. S XLIX 40 14. S

(339); X 15. S

Genl to

w taxes. he past nstances of the ish rule

e native is diffeason as ry have absence tions of r stand we do ys been

er estanew imld take atter of ation is tion.

ad been in the w taxaie type for a current een, to

at one e most ch was but to placed, y pre-

obvious

hed in ta and ng the

Winy vocabulary, began to say: "Madras had gone." A memer of the Governor General's Council wrote in a minute: "They the Madras Government) have in fact asserted, and apparently practically to exercise, entire independence of the Governent of India."13 Soon everybody who was to be subject to the taxes knew of the opposition of the Lord Sahib of Madras to them.

It was about the middle of April when the Governor General at Simla in the Himalayas that he learnt of the publication of Nevelyan's minute. He sent a letter to Madras condemning the Governor's action in publishing his minute as "dangerous insuborination."14 In a letter to Charles Wood written a day later, Caning expressed his belief that with care it would be possible to introduce the new taxes without serious repercussions, for reports from the Punjab and Oudh, where income tax assessments had tready started, were favourable. Referring to a demonstration Peshawar, earlier in the month, against the income tax, Canning wrote:

It will be seen that, whilst the demonstration was based entirely upon a misapprehension, or misrepresentation, according to which it was assumed that a tax was about to be levied upon priests, women, children, and even corpses, the disturbance was speedily quieted, and the error of the malcontents corrected, mainly by the co-operation and good will of the more respectable classes in the city, upon whom practically the tax will fall. This is a strong example of the temper in which the really influential portions of the community are prepared to accept the tax.15

Next month, in view of the situation created by the attitude the Madras Government towards the imposition of the new their presidency, Canning hurried to Calcutta. On the he heard much from Civilians and important natives in the

<sup>12.</sup> See Iltudus Thomas Prichard, The Administration of India, from to 1868 (London), I, 56-57. 13. See Minute by H. B. Frere, 12 April. 1860, in PP, 1860 (339);

<sup>14.</sup> See Letter from the Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl to the Secretary to the Govt. of India (12) to the Secretary to the Govt, Fort St. George, 18 Apr. 1860, in PP, 1860

<sup>15.</sup> See Letter, 19 Apr. 1860, in PP, 1860 (339); XLIX, 413.

up-country about the political risks of introducing direct taxation of At the capital Canning found public opinion, European and native, had turned for the worse; as the Secretary of State was informed in a letter in the middle of May: "A portion of the English press at Bombay and Madras, and especially that which is believed, rightly or wrongly to represent the respective Governments, has become as violently opposed as it was before cordial in its support of the Government measures." 17

Moreover, Lord Elphinstone, the retiring Bombay Governor, supported the Madras Governor in the view that the new taxes were neither wise nor really necessary:

Upon various subjects of public interest I have, of course, found considerable diversity of opinion; but if there was any one point upon which, up to the present time, I believed that almost complete unanimity prevailed, it was that we ought sedulously to avoid fiscal innovations, and to rely for the improvement of our finances upon a judicious economy, upon the gradual development of the resources of the country, and upon the consequent greater productiveness of the existing sources of revenue. I still hold to this opinion, seeing that in the last quarter of a century the revenue has nearly doubled itself, and that its increase within the last three or four years is considerably greater than at any former period. 18

Before the Government of India could send a reply to Elphinstone's minute and inform the Bombay Government how financial situations should be analysed by scientific economic principles, Sir George Clerk, the successor to Elphinstone, in a private letter to Sir Bartle Frere, member of the Governor General's Council, asked: "Why on earth could not Mr. Wilson have left India bide still awhile?" 19

In June 1860 the Secretary of State's order removing Sir Charles Trevelyan from the governorship of Madras arrived, and he left Madras amidst the regret of everybody there. The pres-

J. 19

tige of

nally,

had u

a situ

not be the M

India.

go int

lax We

sands

consist

moote

susper

the tol

be cor

propos

Eur op

the ta

tion p

income

the G

tary, e

bill.

procee

tive C.

in Ju

the en

a frien

out in

hatural

O decide

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>16.</sup> See Richard Temple, Men and Events of My Time in India (London, 1882), pp. 194-195.

<sup>17.</sup> See Letter from India, Home Dept. Revenue (No. 19 of 1860), 19
May 1860, in PP. 1860 (481); XLIX. 476.

<sup>18.</sup> See Minute by Elphinstone, 19 Apr. 1860, in PP. 1860 (481); XLIX, 439.

19. See Letter from Clerk, 17 May 1860, in John Martineau, Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere (London, 1859), I, 310.

native, native, formed h press elieved, ats, has

vernor,
v taxes

course.

as any

ed that

ought for the y, upon y, and xisting ing that oubled r four d. 18

stone's situaes, Sir tter to council, ia bide

ng Sir d, and e pres-

London, 360), 19

IX, 439. ife and ige of the Government of India, and it was felt of Wilson personally, was upheld. But Trevelyan and the Madras Council, which had unanimously supported Trevelyan in his stand, had created a situation where the views they had publicly asserted could not be ignored altogether without humiliating the Government of the Madras Presidency in the eyes of the people throughout south India.

Obliged to review the whole tax situation afresh, Canning besided that under the circumstances Wilson's proposals could not n into operation unabridged. The tobacco tax and the license ax were of minor importance financially, but touched many thouands of people of low income, and the Madras Government had consistently protested against these taxes ever since they were mooted in the spring of 1859. The Governor General decided to suspend proceedings on these bills, with the understanding that the tobacco tax would be finally dropped and the licence tax would be considered later.20 As the income tax was the chief taxation proposal in the budget, and as it would fall on rich natives and Europeans alike, including the Governor General himself, and as the tax had already been put into operation in the Non-Regulation provinces, the Governor General rightly decided that the income tax bill should be passed by the Legislative Council, that the Government must adopt all care to make assessments voluntary, easy, and as little vexatious as possible, as intended in the Wilson cheerfully accepted this arrangement: suspension of proceedings on the tobacco and licence tax bills in the Legislative Council did not require any explanatory statement on Wilson's

## V

About the same time as his antagonist, Trevelyan, left Madras, in June 1860, Wilson's robust health began to decline. At the end of July, we find Lady Canning writing from Calcutta to friend in England that Wilson was:

<sup>20.</sup> On account of extensive failure of the rains in 1859, a famine broke hatural calamity was also taken into consideration by the Governor General J. 19

a good deal plagued by all the abuse he gets. It is the oddest theory, why he is supposed to be alone the culprit and inventor of the whole question of the taxes! Every one assumes this, and does not understand that every item of the Bill was considered and sanctioned before he could bring it forward . . . . Every one must put on a rhinoceros hide to feel comfortable in India. I think C (Canning), has that faculty, and it is at last quite understood, and people poke at him much less, and always describe him as utterly hardened and incorrigible.<sup>21</sup>

At the end of July, Wilson was attacked with dysentery; and in the second week of August 1860, only nine months after his coming to India, he died.

Among the several financial experts who were sent from England to improve Indian finances in the second half of the nineteenth century James Wilson was the first and best known, His brief career in India was shadowed with tragedy; he aroused controversy and bitterness, and died of a tropical disease and frustration. Of the three chief taxes he proposed in 1860, two were not applied because of public controversy, which in a sense Wilson himself invited by his appeal to public opinion, and by the rather impolitic reference to the views of the Madras and Bombay presidencies on the issue of introducing new taxes, in his budget speech. Wilson assumed a tone of lofty indictment against Anglo-Indian Civilian finance in his eloquent speeches before the Legislative Council, which partly explains the fury of old Civilians like Trevelyan against Wilson's budget. The chief novel and modern tax of Wilson's budget, the income tax, expired in 1865, and was not renewed by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who returned to India as Financial Member in 1863. And even during the period of its existence, the income tax of 1860 was necessarily so softly applied that Wilson's successor in office, Samuel Laing, admitted in his budget speech of 1861 that financially speaking the tax was a failure. All the three taxes Wilson proposed in his budget were before the Government since early 1859, and two, in the shape of Harrington's licence bill, were before the Legislative Council when Wilson arrived.

Wil ion's bi elves t ment h and had Wilson more co ax, the Wilson, to Harr cut and circums Harring camoufl. sone in necuml an Angl modern

necessar Harring Yet: idea of though come ta and the career 1 On the because in India for the principle Wilson an "Inte Associat merce in eyes of period,

22. Se

<sup>21.</sup> See Letter to Viscount Sidney, 27 July 1860, in Augustus J. C. Hare, The Story of Two Noble Lives (London, 1893), II, 117.

Wilson never recovered from the blunder of getting Harringon's bill withdrawn, at a stage when people had resigned themelves to it after five months of discussion, and when the Government had allowed amendments to the bill to suit public opinion, and had actually started imposition in a Non-Regulation province. Wilson reintroduced Harrington's bill in theoretically modernized, more comprehensive form as two separate items, one the licence ix, the other with a new and ominous name: income tax. Neither, Wilson, nor historians of Indian finance in general, had been fair Harrington: the bill associated with his name was not a neat. and dried, modern-looking financial measure. But, in the incumstances of the post-Mutiny period, the very virtue of Harrington's bill was that it did not have a modern look. amouflaged income tax combined with a licence tax could have one into operation with little outcry in 1860, if Wilson had not accumbed to the temptation of Anglicizing measures more than a Anglo-Indian world would bear, in order to introduce the first modern income tax in India. By his insistence he produced, unmeessarily, public and official controversy twice as loud as Harrington's bill.

s the

t and

iumes Bill

t for-

de to

that ke at

dened

nd in

r his

from

nine-

nown,

oused

frus-

were

Vilson

cather

presi-

udget

Inglo-

Legis-

s like

odern

1 was

lia as

of its

oplied

n his

vas a

were

pe of

when

Hare,

Yet Wilson's Financial Membership was not a failure. dea of an English type income tax in India did not die in 1865, hough it needed two decades to overcome the opposition to intome tax of the rich and vocal European mercantile community and the Bengal zemindars. Wilson's successors learnt from his areer the risks of being too English in Indian administration. On the positive side, Wilson's budget speech of 1860 is a landmark, because it envisaged a new kind of statesmanship, statesmanship Indian economics. To develop the economic resources of India, the benefit of India and England, according to free trade Principles was the faith of Finance Members for a generation after Wilson introduced the principle in 1860. The Hindoo Patriot saw in "Interloper" in Wilson, while the Bengal Indigo Planters' Association found in him a champion of British capital and com-Terce in India.22 But, however free trade might appear, in the Yes of the Patriot and many older Anglo-Indians of the Company eriod, as an unnecessary subsidy and uncalled for sacrifice on

See the Hindoo Patriot, 21 Apr. 1860.

the part of the Government, free trade was the modern thing in political economy in Wilson's time, and Wilson believed in it as a faith. He was an idealist free trader, one of those who believed that free trade would produce in the human situation a logic of economics which would in turn ensure prosperity and peace among all nations of the world. The epoch of free trade in Indian tariff which Wilson inaugurated reached its climax after two decades, in the tariff revision of 1882-83 when British India became an absolutely free trade country, more so even than England.<sup>23</sup>

#### VI

Wilson did not live to see all the important changes he envisaged and suggested the renovation of the machinery of the Indian finance department on an up-to-date English model. Here Wilson's contribution was considerable. Most important of all such improvements, the budget system, introduced by a resolution of the Government on 7th April, 1860, took several years to develop completely, but its advantages in implementing financial policies and economy, and in making available to all a picture of the current financial situation, were evident from the first.<sup>24</sup> Wilson

23. Only opium salt, arms and ammunition, liquors and spirits were subject to import duty in 1882. Export duties on paddy and rice were retained purely for revenue purposes. From 1882 to 1894 India was a free trade country. See I. Durga Prasad, Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Trade 1757-1893 (London 1932), p. 186.

24. In July 1859, several months before Wilson's arrival in India, Trevelyan had urged the Government of India to adopt the budget system: "The beautiful system of finance which has grown out of the control exercised by parliament over the Executive Government of England, is well adapted, with proper modifications, to remedy the defects both in the internal machinery and in the nery, and in the external relations of the Anglo-Indian Governments." This suggestion, like the other financial measures recommended by Trevelyan, had been supported by Trevelyan, had been supported by Lord Elphinstone, who condemned, in a minute of January 1860 the centralizing process in Anglo-Indian finance since 1834: "on one occasion this Government was censured for simply forwarding to the Resident at Baroda, without comment, a petition relating to some Baroda business which appeared to the analysis and the same and th business which appeared to have been addressed to us by mistake and upon another upon another . . . a long correspondence took place upon the subject of a Letter Roy which had of a Letter Box which had been affixed to the door of the Government Office for the reception of petitions. Minute interference of this kind must impair the authority of G impair the authority of Governments charged with the administration of ecured a classifing esting esting from the Comen, arrecognized apartmentries and oth brought of accounts.

dear a

budget

Wilso

reduction lost on Wilson reducing of the cappoint expend ments.

instilled

tions ju

territorical any but of India for In

Home I

Sept. 18

cured the appointment of a committee in May 1860 to draw up classified set of budget estimate forms, and other details regarding estimates, accounts and audit. The system of Indian accounts the Company days was always the despair of British Treasurynen, and Indian estimates were proverbially unreliable. Wilson recognized it as a first necessity to remove all confusions of intercepartmental, inter-presidential payments and credits, obsolete atries and transfer of entries from one fiscal year to another, and other inefficiencies. Two officers of the British Treasury were brought to India in 1861 to help in devising an improved method of accounts, but it took five years to bring into operation a fairly dear and accurate system of accounts in accord with Wilson's budget system.

Wilson's honest labour to improve the finances by all possible reductions and economy in expenditure was also unfortunately last on the public on account of the controversy over his taxes. Wilson put a stop to public speculations as to the possibility of reducing the salary of the Governor-General and the emoluments of the Civil Service, and entrusted to a Civil Finance Commission appointed in July 1860 the task of enforcing economy in the civil expenditure of the Government of India and of the local Governments. As Wilson had expected, the Commission did not find any scope for large reductions, but the urgency for economy was instilled into the departments, and small savings in many directions justified the enquiry. Wilson put vigour into the Military

territories which in point of extent and population at least are equal to but the greatest monarchies in Europe." In reply to this Government of India wrote in September 1860: "the system inaugurated in the Resoluton passed in the Financial Department under date the 7th April, prestibing a plan of Budget, estimates, and audit, will not only tend to render effective a control which had previously been very imperfect, but will also relieve the several Governments concerned from much of the constant and minute interference which has hitherto been so much complained of, but which has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as the second limit to expenditure has been unavoidable as long as diture by any one Government, or in any one Department." And: "The two special instances which are cited in Lord Elphinstone's Minute will be found on lound, on examination, both of very considerable importance." See the following in the latest 13 July 1859, Home following in the Nat. Arch.: Trevelyan's minute dated 13 July 1859, Home Dept. Public 1859, Public 1859, Home Dept. Public. 12 Aug. 1859. No. 12; Elphinstone's minute dated 5 Jan. 1860, Home Dept. 12 Aug. 1859. No. 12; Elphinstone's minute dated 5 Jan. 1860, Rome Dept. Public. 12 Aug. 1859. No. 12; Elphinstone's minute dated by the Dept. Public. 8 Sept. 1860. No. 13; Letter to Bombay, No. 1832, 1 Sept. 1860, Home Dept. Public. 8 Sept. 1860. No. 17.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

nute of 1834: ling to Baroda — and subject rnment

1 must

ion of

ing in

t as a

lieved

gic of

among tariff

cades,

ne an

visag-Indian

ilson's

h im-

of the

evelop

olicies

of the

Wilson

s were

etained

coun-57-1893

Trevel-

: "The

ercised

dapted,

machi-

This

velyan,

23

Finance Commission, which had been set up in 1859 shortly before his arrival; he secured an enlargement of the powers of the Commission, giving it the authority of a supervisory audit board, outside and above the departments of the army. Working in close communication with Wilson and Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander in Chief, the Military Finance Commission within two years supervised reductions amounting to £ 8 millions, which went a long way to balance the budget in 1861-62.

Wilson's name is also associated with the introduction of paper money in India. Canning and his Council, in April 1859, disapproved of a paper currency scheme submitted by C. H. Lushing. ton, Financial Secretary, because: "it would be unwise to introduce this measure at a time when there is reason to suspect that the security of the Indian Government is regarded with mistrust by the sensitive community with which we have to deal."25 But by December 1859, public credit had improved and trade had revived throughout Hindustan, and the Governor-General accepted Wilson's scheme for a paper currency, which was bolder than Lushington's scheme and more fully elaborated on scientific principles of paper currency.26 Wilson intended to use the paper currency as a source of income on large scale. An Oordoo or Hindostanee Exposition of the New Indian Paper Currency for the information of the Natives of India, published by the Government of India in 1860, said: "The effect of such a currency will indeed be the same as if a silver mine or a gold mine had been discovered in the plains of Hindoostan, or in the valley of the Ganges." Wilson did not advise the creation of a Government currency issuing bank in India like the Bank of England, but adopted the banking principle in issuing paper money, whereby, following the

then pr circulat toped i hetweer. er cen reserve then ha

illion

bridge

circ by Gov wit] pro cou issu of t

and

cur

as i

Wilson's paper c down b Lons, th demi-off gal, Bor

absolute a neglig way of

lute cor 28. Sc 29. Se (183); X

30. T Chartere b issue toi legal poly of r

<sup>25.</sup> See Financial Despatch from India, 27 Apr. 1859, No. 61, in PP. 1860 (183); XLIV, 105.

<sup>26.</sup> It may be of interest to note here the following statement of Sir Charles Wood made in the House of Commons on 11 May 1860: "Before Mr. Wilson left this Mr. Wilson left this country, a plan was discussed and substantially arranged for introducing a result of Bank, for introducing a paper currency; Mr. Wilson, the Governor of the Bank, and myself were the particular was discussed and substantially and myself were the particular to the Bank, and myself were the Bank and myself were the principal parties to that discussion, and it was agreed not only that a plan for a thing out. not only that a plan for establishing such a currency should be carried out, but the details were a restablishing such a currency should be carried out. but the details were pretty well arranged before Mr. Wilson's departure. See Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series. Vol. CLVIII, 1130-1161.

<sup>27.</sup> See Home Dept. Public. 20 Apr. 1860. No. 8 in Nat. Arch.

ly be-

of the

board,

ing in

Com-

n two

went

paper

disshing-

intro-

t that

istrust

But

e had

ccept-

than

entific paper

00 01

or the nment

ndeed

vered

ges."27

ency-

d the

g the

1860

of Sir Before anged

Bank,

greed

d out.

ture."

then practice in the Bank of England, two-thirds of the notes in were to be against Government securities. loped in a few years that notes in circulation would amount to letween £15 and £30 millions. With the rate of interest at five per cent and (under his scheme) two-thirds of the paper currency serve being in Government securities, the Government would ten have an annual income of between half a million and one illion pounds.28 This time Charles Wood, the Secretary of State. bridged Wilson's plans:

The sound principle for regulating the issue of a paper circulation is that which was enforced on the Bank of England by the Act of 1844, i.e., that the amount of notes issued on Government securities should be maintained at a fixed sum, within the limit of the smallest amount which experience has proved to be necessary for the monetary transactions of the country; and that any further amount of notes should be issued on coin or bullion, and should vary with the amount of the reserve of specie in the Bank, according to the wants and demands of the public.

The important condition is thus realised, that the mixed currency of notes and coin should vary in quantity exactly as if it were wholly of coin.29

Wilson's successor, Laing, who made the final arrangement for Aper currency by the Act of 1861, accepted the above rule laid down by Charles Wood, and fixed the fiduciary issue at £4 milons, that being the extent of note circulation under the existing demi-official system through the three Presidency Banks of Ben-Bombay and Madras.30 On account of this altered policy of absolute security, the introduction of paper money in 1862 brought negligible increase in the annual income of the Government by by of savings in interest on public loans. The principle of absorbed the convertibility at the expense of elasticity, the chief feature

<sup>28.</sup> See Temple, Men and Events, pp. 197-198.

<sup>2).</sup> See Financial Despatch to India, No. 47, 26 Mar. 1860, in PP. 1860 (183); XLIX, 129.

<sup>30.</sup> The Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, known as Chartered Banks" and controlled by the Government, were given authority issue note. b issue notes by the Acts of 1839, 1840 and 1843. These bank notes were legal to leg to legal tender. They were withdrawn in 1862, and a Government mono-My of note issue was established.

460

of the Paper Currency Act of 1861, remained unaltered till the World War of 1914-18. Note circulation in India increased rather slowly till in 1891 a five-rupee note was introduced to help in payment of small sums. Indian villagers rarely used paper money in the nineteenth century. Paper money was easy to carry, yet for the common man it had its inconveniences: unlike metallic coins paper money got soaked in the monsoon rains, burnt in fire, was eaten by white ants, and could not be buried under floors, a common method of hiding treasure in the past.

#### VII

Samuel Laing, Wilson's successor as Financial Member, arrived from England in January 1861. At the time of his appointment to India he was Financial Secretary to the Treasury and forty-eight years old; he had experience in Parliament and also in managing big business enterprises, like railways, in England Laing was determined to avoid quarrel with Anglo-Indians, and unlike Wilson, took a modest view of his opportunities in India. He believed that economy in expenditure would cure the current financial difficulties of the Government; and, as to future financial security, he believed that India was financially strong, because the revenues were really buoyant and elastic.

Laing's most significant achievements in India were carrying on the project of technical improvements in the finance department initiated by his predecessor; making the final arrangements for the introduction of a Government paper currency in 1862 as we have noticed earlier; and reducing, with a view to eventual abolition, Wilson's income tax. In his first budget speech of April 1861, Laing conceded that assessment by percentage system on trading and professional incomes caused hardship, and in his second, and last, budget of April 1862, he abolished the two per cent tax on incomes in the lower schedule of 200 to 500 rupees, and said: "we must keep faith with the people of India" by not prolonging the income tax of 1860 when it expired in a few years. Laing's successor, Trevelyan, lowered the rate on the upper income schedule of over 500 rupees from four to three per cent in 1863, and did not renew the tax when it expired in 1865.

In his budget of 1861 Laing formally announced the with drawal of Wilson's licence tax bill, saying: "To raise even £600,000

doors,
That is
in 1861
Sindh
annour
decision
governo
local le
in Cou

tobacco

by the

tion, irremove vinces, and kee bureau with the decentral finance first bis responseducation.

lop loc

Mutiny Militar; Militar; Pose no from the lions in 1861-62 lower to the nate men in were a tinued

> Financia J. 20

rather nelp in money ry, yet netallic in fire, floors,

till the

arrivpopointry and
ad also
ngland,
ss, and
India.
current
nancial
necause

lepartements 862 as rentual April em on in his

vo per rupees, by not years, per in-

with-

ent in

the Licence Tax, we must send the tax gatherer to 4,000,000 100 1,000,000 of our population. That is a serious matter."31 Laing announced one new imposition, 1861: an increased salt duty, and introduction of the duty in Sindh and Nagpore, two areas formerly free. Another important amouncement by Laing in 1861 budget was the Government's decision to introduce a system of local budgets under which local overnments would be allowed, with the sanction of the proposed local legislative councils and presently of the Governor General Council only, to raise money by local taxes, for example on bbacco, for local civil public works, like cotton-roads and irrigation, in conformity with local needs and opinion; and thus to remove: "a standing complaint with other presidencies and provinces, that they were deprived of their share of self-government, and kept in a state of galling and humiliating dependence on the bureaux of Calcutta." This announcement in 1861, evidently made with the recent Trevelyan affair in mind, pointed to future decentralization of financial power and development of federal mance in India. A decade later, in 1870, the Government took the first big step in this direction, by transferring to the provinces responsibility for the finances of certain services like jails, police, education and roads; by giving the provinces opportunity to develop local resources through local budgets.

Swollen military expenditure was the crux of the post-Mutiny financial crisis. By 1861-62 thanks to the work of the Military Finance Commission and Canning's determination to retrench the standing army as much as he could rather than impose new taxation on the country, military expenditure dropped from the peak point of over £25 millions in 1858-59 to £21 millions in 1859-60, to £16 millions in 1860-61, to £13 millions in 1861-62 and £12 millions in 1862-63, an amount about £3 millions lower than the military expenditure in 1856-57. The strength of the native army was reduced from 284,000 men in 1859 to 140,000 men in 1860; and 50,000 men of hybrid corps like military police were also disbanded by that year, 1860. The Government conlinued such reductions in 1861-62, in which year Laing also an-

<sup>11.</sup> See Corrected and Revised, April 27th, Legislative Council, Calcutta, J. 20 Honourable Samuel Laing (Calcutta, 1861), p. 14.

nounced the Government's decision to abolish the antiquated Indian navy of the Company days, costing a million pounds a year. In 1861-62 the Government had a deficit of about £50,000. In 1862-63, income from opium brought in £8 millions compared to £6 millions in 1861-62, and the post-Mutiny financial crisis ended; the Government found that it had nearly £2 millions surplus in income over expenditure in 1862-63.

#### VIII

Before he finally left India in 1862 because of ill-health, Laing advised a future Financial Member of India, Richard Temple, to seek distinction in active administration, for as Laing told him. the heroics of Indian finance were over.32 The Government's search for permanent increase in income by new taxation as announced in the Financial Notification of February 1859, in the event, practically reduced itself to increased salt duty, which Canning did not really like. The chief new tax in the period of post-Mutiny financial reorganization a truly modern income tax, which people in north India viewed as a Mutiny tax, was allowed to expire in 1865; it produced less than £2 millions a year, and much criticism and bitterness.33 But with returning peace and revival of trade, income from land revenue including forest and excise increased by a million pounds every year from 1858-59 to 1862-63; income from salt improved by about £2 millions, and income from customs duties by one million, during the same period, 1858-59 to 1862-63. Thus it may be said returning peace and prosperity, a timely small windfall in income from opium, and what was most important, bold reductions in military expenditure, more than any innovation in taxation, finally restored equilibrium after the financial crisis created by the Mutiny of 1857.34 Peace and economy restored the finances of the Govern-

32. Sir Richard Temple, The Story of My Life (London, 1896), I, 135.
33. Bholanauth Chunder in his The Travels of a Hindoo (London, 1869),
I, 437, tells us that in 1860 throughout Hindustan the income tax "is regarded as a national mulct for the Rebellion."

ment (
16) ar
Burme
Trevel
during
Mutin;
crisis

In Gover

W

re

m si re by

A

be

at

bi

je

re

ar

ha by There develo ed bef statesr

Gover

that his Balfour Laing's 35. Harry ceed Ti

<sup>34.</sup> Laing acknowledged the importance of reduction in military expenditure in ending the post-Mutiny financial crisis. In his budget speech of 1861 he paid a tribute to the Military Finance Commission which must be noted here: "If the future historian of India should have occasion to mention, that in the year 1861, India was saved from a great Financial danger,

ment of India after the crises produced by the Nepal Wars (1814-16) and the Third Maratha War (1817-19), and by the First Burmese War of 1824-26; the same factors proved their worth, as Trevelyan and Elphinstone and Anglo-Indians in general held during the controversy over new taxes in 1860, again after the Mutiny wars, which produced the biggest and noisiest financial crisis of the nineteenth century.

uated

year.

. In

ed to

nded: lus in

Laing

le, to

him.

nent's

n as

n the

which

od of

owed

, and

and

and

59 to

and

same

peace

oium,

enditored

v of

vern-

, 135. 1869), s re-

men-

ch of st be

men-

nger,

In a letter of June 1861, Bartle Frere, a member of the Governor General's Council, thus wrote to Lord Canning:

You know I do not undervalue the labours of either poor Wilson or Laing, but the net result is not worth the cost. In reductions you are where your own Military Finance Commission (appointed two years before any English Financier was appointed) would have brought you, at least as soon, by simply working on as it began. In Civil reductions and Police reform the work has been done by Indian impulse as well as by Indian machinery, . . . .

In taxation, what Wilson did Laing has condemned.

In all, that relates to management of Loans, Budget and Audit and general organization and management, we have been great gainers through Wilson's and Laing's labours. But at what cost? Will the loss of Wilson and Ward, Laing's breakdown, the damage to Trevelyan's official repute and the interruption to his usefulness, the increased acerbity of local jealousies, the consequent delay and loss of time in effecting real reforms—will these be balanced by what we have gained? and is what we have gained equal to what we might have had, if what you began early in 1859 had gone on undisturbed by external interference?<sup>35</sup>

There is much truth in this estimate by Bartle Frere of the developments since 1859. Canning does not seem to have believed before Wilson's arrival, that there was much opportunity for statesmanship in Indian finance; after the Trevelyan affair the Governor General intervened to suspend two tax proposals and on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

that history will be very imperfectly written if it omits the names of Colonel Balfour, and his colleagues, Mr. R. Temple, and Colonel Simpson." See Laing's Financial Statement, p. 5.

<sup>35.</sup> Letter to Canning, 11 June 1861, in Martineau, Frere, I, 326. Sir Ward, the Governor of Ceylon, was transferred to Madras to succeed Trevelyan, but died a few weeks after he reached Madras.

Laing's arrival impressed upon him the importance of avoiding unpopular taxation. In the circumstances of 1860, more than ever, a direct tax was as much a political proposition as a financial measure, and one of the axioms of Anglo-Indian administration was that in every instance, even in dealing with rebellious provinces, British rule in India must appear more benevolent than Mughal or Maratha rule. The dispute over the wisdom and convenience of imposing direct taxes continued for two, even three, decades after the Mutiny. After one successful experiment in 1867-68, licence taxes were permanently introduced in the presidencies in 1878. The chief direct tax of modern finance, the income tax, failed, because of the opposition of the Anglo-Indians and rich Indians, in a second experiment during 1869-72, but succeeded with the Income tax of 1886, which became permanent, and thereby opened a new epoch in Indian fiscal history.<sup>36</sup>

Politic

Fro by Indi and inc Indu P the Boo Econom explain bublic' policies affection Nationa tion to loward issue, t cal view Imperia Burke, adaptat concerr cratic Paterna

1. 7 suthor 1 for whice 2. 1

Vative

Swan Sign, (In 1873, Fu Newspar 217; Ber

<sup>36.</sup> The Government in urging the income tax from 1859 onwards had good reasons for doing so. Without an income tax, Europeans in India, official and mercantile, paid no direct tax to the Government and bore little share of the burden of the state. As to taxing native zemindars and other high income groups, an income tax was not unfair, nor oppressive on incomes above fifty pounds or 500 rupees a year (a lot of money in India in those days), the lowest income schedule carrying a rate of one per cent in the unsuccessful income tax of 1869-72 levied by Sir Richard Temple.

# Politics and Public Opinion in Lytton's Tariff Policy1

BY

#### IRA KLEIN

From the 1870's British economic rule in India was attacked w Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Nowraji Furdonii. and indicted for 'enslavement', 'ruination', and 'tyranny', by the Idu Prakash, the Maharastra Mitra, the Indian Spectator, and be Bodhya Sudhakar, and other newspapers.2 Generalizations of Conomic Imperialism and Indian Nationalism but imprecisely eplain the making of political antipathies. How was Indian public' opinion consolidated in national opposition to British policies? The Lytton tariff was significant in creating Indian disaffection. Imposed on the 'eve' of formation of the Indian National Congress, it revealed how formulation of a national oppositon to British policies in published opinion preceded and moved loward Nationalist agitation. Although directly an economic isue, the tariff policy illumined the inadequacy of British politial views of India. Lytton's tariff was a product of Conservative Imperialism. Conservatism in British political life, influenced by Burke, Peel, and Disraeli, continually revealed a voter-oriented adaptation to changing social demands, balancing Tory ideological concerns. Conservative Imperialism differed in being more autotratic and less pragmatically adoptive of the popular will, Paternalistically rigid, and less modernizing. Under the Conser-Valive view of Empire, exemplified by Salisbury and Lytton, as

s had India, little other n in-

lia- in cent

le.

oiding ever,

ancial ration pro-

than con-

three. nt in

presi-

come

l rich

eeded

and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>1.</sup> The research and writing of this article were completed while the tuthor held a Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, for which he is grateful.

<sup>2.</sup> Dadabhai Naoroji, Poverty and Un-British Rule in India (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901), pp. 1-103. Parliamentary Branch Collec-Sonnenschein & Co., 1901), pp. 1-103. Parliamentary Little Finance, (India Office Library), No. 210, Select Committee on East India Finance, Report on Native 1873, Furdonji's evidence, f. 5164, 5937, 6032 and passim. Report on Native Newspapers, (National Archives of India), Bombay, Jan.-June, 1879, pp. 113, Bengal रा, Bengal, Jan.-June 1896, p. 131.

long as Hindu and Muslim interest groups were consulted in the making of policy affecting 'traditional' India—its religions, its social institutions, it was believed possible to widely ignore Indian opinion regarding the 'modernized' framework established and directed by the British. The Lytton tariff revision exemplified this attitude of British rule.

The 'dual politics' of British economic Imperialism may be viewed in the policy the Secretary for India, Lord Salisbury, tried to impose on Lytton's predecessor, Lord Northbrook. It was probably most significant as exemplifying the total failure of political diplomacy between Whitehall and the Government of India, and for providing that flame of discontent which, fanned by open governmental dispute, burst into furious Indian opposition, Salisbury complained of much 'pressure' from Manchester against the cotton duties. He wrote to Northbrook that he would facilitate political 'satisfaction' if the Viceroy's contemplated tariff reform granted Manchester's 'reasonable' request.3 Salisbury indicated his conviction that Manchester mistakenly blamed the five per cent cotton duties for expulsion of its coarse cotton goods from Indian markets. 'The duties were 'insignificant' and he proposed rapid abolition to prevent a British-Indian rift when Manchester publicly condemned 'protection' in India.4 However, Salisbury also, patently, contemplated pleasing Manclicster to benefit the Conservative Government. This he later clarified to Lytton, but would not vouchsafe to Liberal Northbrook.5 The Viceroy considered Indian finances too unstable for modification of cotton duties, which earned revenues of 80 lakhs sterling. He wrote to Salisbury vaguely about reduction needing 'much... consideration'.6 Putting through his tariff legislation in a single session at Simla, on August 5, 1875, he presented Salisbury with the fait accompli of an unreduced cotton duty, but he newly taxed

4. Parliamentary Branch Collection, Papers on East India Tariffs, Conmand 56, pp. 3-4.

hat cot Mallet, 'n Salis which . salisbu1 lemocra ment of

d 'popt

The An

mport (

he veno

ine text

importa still tir anticipa jealous; hdian Actuall

realistic

ed expo

hindran

Wh brook resigned ior re-e spectac! before verbal cotton i the dut increase

7. 5 to North 8. I

guarant of an

9. F P. S March 9

<sup>3.</sup> Salisbury Papers (India Office Library), Salisbury to Northbrook, 11, 1874; Salisbury Dec. 11, 1874; Salisbury to Northbrook, Jan. 29, 1875.

<sup>5.</sup> Lytton Papers (India Office Library), Salisbury to Lytton, March 1877. 22, 1877.

<sup>6.</sup> Northbrook Papers (India Office Library), Northbrook to Salishury, 26, 1875. Feb. 26, 1875.

in the

ns, its

Indian

ed and

ed this

nay be

y, tried

It was

of poli-

India, y open

osition.

against

facili-

iff re-

v indi-

ne five

goods

e pro-

when wever,

ter to

fied to

g. He

ch . . . .

single

with

taxed

brook,

Com-

March

ishury,

The cation port of fine yarn into India. He assessed superior yarn to draw venom from Manchester attacks upon 'protection' for Bombay be textiles. Salisbury expressed complete 'surprise', and insisted totton duties 'must go'.7 He sent his Undersecretary, Louis bilet, to Calcutta for 'consultations'. While the Viceroy wrote Salisbury of 'grave' constitutional difficulties of tariff revision, thich would multiply financial upset and political unrest, Misbury dismissed contemporary Indian popular opinion, and emocratic processes. The Secretary thought that the Governzent of India's financial discussions were an 'unmeaning mimicry' popular institutions'.8 Public opinion was that of 'a clique'. The Anglo-Indian community was articulate but more 'noisy' than mortant. Other Indian opinion was comatose and there was sill time' to revive tariffs without true 'popular' opposition. By micipating Manchester's wrath, the Government could avoid the ralousy of the two populations'. Salisbury, then, represented bdian opinion as awakening only after some years' growth. Actually, Rast Goftar, Indu Prakash, and many other publications relistically evaluated Northbrook's tariff. They judiciously praisexport reductions, and some found duty on yarn only a future indrance to Bombay.9

When Mallet arrived in Calcutta in January, 1876, Northbook obdurately opposed tariff revision. However, he had resigned as Viceroy, effective in a few months, and was preparing or re-entry into English politics. Mallet presented the imaginary spectacle of Northbrook defending his anti-Free Trade policies before a uniformly hostile Parliament. Under Mallet's skilled rebal pressure Northbrook agreed to a compromise, by reducing totton import tariffs to three and a half per cent, and abandoning the duty on yarn.10 Northbrook's proposition, however, included acreased borrowing power for India, abandonment of India's blarantee of 50 lakhs sterling revenue surplus, and the rewriting India Office despatch which roundly condemned North-

8. Ibid., Salisbury to Northbrook, June 12, 1874.

<sup>7.</sup> Salisbury Papers, Salisbury to Northbrook, August 6, 1875; Salisbury b Northbrook, Sept. 20, 1875.

<sup>9.</sup> Report on Native Newspapers, Bombay, 1875, pp. 131-32. 1. Salisbury Papers, Lytton's Minute on Conversation with Mallet, March 9, 1876.

sentin riters :

under. is, and

the I

o cust

vorthbir

duction

Lytt

ppositio

reasonal

Esent :

a ignor

opposition

dssent

to artici

rule'.

friction

expansio

backdro

Lytton's

onism

reated

bdia d

met pro

hat del

Lytton

rect.

Viceroy

Salisbur

Party.

Lancash logues.

14. R

15. S

16. II 17. P

Duty, Co J. 21

don: Ro

brook's tariff. These terms were too rigorous for Salisbury, who rejected them, no doubt, partly through conviction that if the Viceroy would not make an easier bargain, Lytton, already appointed his successor, could dispose quickly of the duties when he reached Calcutta. The Conservatives would reap the benefits in Lancashire at polling time. The breakdown of Mallet's mission unloosed a battle of despatches between Salisbury and Northbrook; their recriminatory comments, which reached the public in Parliamentary Blue-books, began creating that popular irritation which Salisbury had stressed avoiding. While Salisbury tried to emulate the confirmed Free Trader to claim the 'protective' quality of the duties, and to adumbrate the Lancashire cotton trade depression as created by Indian tariffs, Northbrook developed solid financial reasons for postponing revision. 11 Salisbury's generally cautious India Office Council split on the issue. Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Henry Montgomery, and, later Sir Barrow Ellis, recorded dissents against the Mallet mission and the making of Indian fiscal policy at Whitehall12 By the time Northbrook's resignation became public, Indian opinion had contemplated the relations made apparent by published despatches, between Manchester pressure and Northbrook's yarn duty, and vilified the tariff as one of Northbrook's Black Acts. Indu Prakash wrote that except for export duty abolition the tariff had created dissatisfaction 'among all classes'; Rast Goftar considered the import duty on yarn a major misdeed, and the Bombay Samachar 'condemned' it.13 Thus, before Northbrook boarded ship for England, elements of a major political storm were activated. The India Office Council was divided, Northbrook's Council primed to resist tariff interference. India's financial problems were thoroughly aired, and the duties capably defended on theoretical premises by high Indian officialdom. Salisbury had badly under-estimated the ability of Indian officialdom and opinion to oppose Whitehall, if not by preventing change, by sufficiently leaving a compost of

12. Parliamentary Branch Collection, Papers on East India Tariffs, Com-nd 216. pp. 2-13 mand 216, pp. 2-13.

<sup>11.</sup> Parliamentary Branch Collection, Papers on East India Tariffs, Command 56, pp. 42-57; Command 515, pp. 8-41.

<sup>13.</sup> Report on Native Newspapers, Bombay, Jan.-June, 1876, pp. 49, and 319. 51 and 319.

y, who if the

dy ap-

when

enefits

nission

brook; lic in

itation

ried to

ective'

cotton

deve-

bury's

. Sir

Barrow

naking

rook's

ed the

tween

ed the

wrote

d dis-

mport

rachar

p for

. The

ned to

ughly

es by

ed the

all, if

st of

Com-

Com-

p. e49,

senting minutes and articles, later ignited by fluent Nationalist niters like Romesh Dutt. 14 Northbrook made one serious tariff mider. He failed to remove petty imposts, on rape seed, shark is, and other minor goods, whose literal few rupees contribution the Exchequer failed to justify breaking the fiscal maxim of on insignificant items inconvenient to administer. orthbrook's mistake served as Lytton's lever for a general tariff eduction.

Lytton's policy was to exhibit a Conservative incognizance of mosition politics in India. Lytton conceived that a superficially resonable public justification would eliminate the effects of Indian isent and that the India Council could be internally controlled gignored. By the 1870's Indian opinion already fulfilled the oposition function of criticism, and was developing a national issent from British economic rule. Dadabhai Naoroji had begun articulate the 'Drain' theory regarding British economic 'mis-Me'. Internal Indian economic problems, population pressure, intion between peasant and moneylender, the failure of trade apansion to significantly raise living standards provided the ackdrop for transformation of critical to national opposition. lytton's tariff policy helped gestate a national economic antaonism to British rule. Lytton's accession to the Viceroyalty treated unity with Whitehall on Indian tariffs. He arrived in hdia determined to deliver a 'mortal' attack on the duties but problems of implementation. Mallet had been frightened hat delay of abrogation during Northbrook's regime would cause lytton to face 'an excited and hostile council'.16 Mallet was cor-Alexander Arbuthnot, a Northbrook holdover on the Viceroy's Council, wrote that 'not a dozen officials' regarded the Salisbury-Lytton policy as other than attempts of a 'political Porty...at any cost' to placate 'the cotton manufacturers of lancashire'. 17 Salisbury and Lytton were not Free Trade ideo-Salisbury was shortly to politically romance a youthful

<sup>14.</sup> Romesh Dutt, Economic History of India in the Victorian Age (Lon-Routledge, and Kegan Paul Ltd., 7th edn., 1950), pp. 410-12.

<sup>15.</sup> Salisbury Papers, Lytton to Salisbury, April 14, 1876.

le Ibid., Lytton's Minute on Conversation with Mallet, March 9, 1876. Parliamentary Branch Collection, Further Papers Relating to Import Duty, Command 24, p. 7.

mpora

rivatel

hich i

John St

puntrie

reasonal

W.34 ]

gre', be

mine 1

er com

poted to rear, th

artial 1

he enti

Whiteha

Parli

The Cor

abolition

he duti

bdian r

he tex

mained'.

"ustrion

interest.

the enti

depicted

once-we]

centres .

with 'b.

Lancash

huper'

thetoric,

lobby',

24. Sa

25. Ly 26. Hz Bil) coli

27. 19 28.º Ib

Fair Trade movement. Lytton pettishly cited Free Trade influence as preventing his annexation of South Afghanistan.18 Lytton's motivation appears not a simple electoral toadying but an Imperialistic wish to rationalize Indian policy, to break the independent resistance of his Council and to bring economic policy into line with English views. Lytton was complex, and his eco. nomic co-operation with Manchester may have balanced to him, his utter disregard of liberal opinion in fashioning his 'forward' foreign policy.

To complete tariff reforms, Lytton followed Salisbury's advice to have 'little to do with his Council';19 and he re-worked its composition. With Lytton and Salisbury agreed that the Council exhibited a dangerous 'home rule tone', not surprisingly Council members Arbuthnot and Sir Arthur Hobhouse told Ripon that they, Sir William Muir and Sir Henry Norman were disaffected.23 The attitude of a fifth member, Whitby Stokes, was dualistic, for he hoped Lytton's Napoleonic visions would signal a Stokesian codification of British Indian law. Lytton believed that notwithstanding financial difficulties he could virtually on arrival have dealt a 'death blow' to cotton duties. However, Muir, his Finance Member, was 'committed' against 'touching' them.21 Financial distress would have allowed Muir and others to generate a political row. Further, Lytton began to comprehend the morass of Indian finances, into whose bogs disappeared through the nineteenth century the majority of reform plans. Lytton found the fall in silver, depreciating the rupee, 'strange and puzzling' and considered 'masterly inactivity' temporarily required.22 He conducted a charade to 'get finance out of the hands of Sir William Muir'? Through Lytton's flattery and cajolery Muir was enticed into effective nullity on the more conservative India Office Council. By this means the prophet of Free Trade in India, John Strachey, achieved the financial portfolio. Lytton then felt strengthened for a massive attack on the cotton duty. Indian financial problems

22. Ibid., Lytton to Salisbury, April 14, 1876.

<sup>18.</sup> Lytton Papers, Lytton to Cranbrook, Nov. 10, 1879. 19. Ripon Papers (British Museum), Ripon's Diary, p. 7.

<sup>21.</sup> Salisbury Papers, Lytton to Salisbury, April 11, 1876.

fluence

ytton's

out an

e inde-

policy

is eco-

o him.

rward'

advice

ced its Council

ouncil

n that

cted.20

ic, for

kesian

twith-

have

inance

ancial

a poli-

ass of

nine-

ne fall

con-

lucted

uir'.23

into

uncil.

achey,

ed for

blems

apporarily frustrated Lytton's tariff ambitions. Even Salisbury wately reacted against Lancashire's single-minded importuning, thich ignored India's famine and monetary crises. He wrote to him Strachey that there was 'discontent in....manufacturing with delay at tariff revision, but that it was 'quite unrasonable' and commanded 'no sympathy in the rest of the coun-He told Lytton that "The Manchester people" were 'a little ge', being of the impression that the Government had 'made this mine to disappoint them'.25 Under existing conditions Manchescomplaints would 'not meet any support'. However, Salisbury med to Lytton that unless they instituted some revision the next they would have political 'trouble'. They contemplated urial removal of imposts on coarse cotton, to eventually 'unravel' te entire duty. Unable to obtain immediate satisfaction through Mitchall, Manchester attacked through Commons. The campaign Parliament was not the complete victory sometimes claimed. he Commons gave no complete mandate for immediate tariff bilition. Hugh Birely, Manchester M.P., argued predictably that be duties should be repealed 'without delay', and that successful blian manufacturers of coarse goods were competent to produce be textiles and might soon seize 'a half [of the trade] that remined'.25 Jacob Bright of Manchester, less known than his ustrious brother, was a formidable spokesman of the cotton tierest. He portrayed how the tariff would eventually destroy entire trade.27 More colourfully, W. E. Briggs of Blackburn repicted the deepening depression in Lancashire. He predicted the well-tc-do receiving 'bread and soup....doled out by.... thires of relief', and gloomily prognosticated Lancashire houses the bare walls! naked floors! destitution and want'. Good lancashire citizens would be branded with the odious epithet of The House did not favour the exaggerations of this ripe hetoric, especially in view of famine in India. The tiny India bby, led by George Campbell, Henry Fawcett, and Samuel

<sup>34.</sup> Salisbury Papers, Salisbury to Strachey, April 12, 1877. 5. Lytton Papers, Salisbury to Lytton, March 22, 1877.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, Vol. 235 (June-July, column 1997) [57] column 1087.

the lbid., column 1091. bid., columns 1101-1102.

new

Lytro

and fi

ber, 1

loss b

Salisk

early

India

his t

select

bypa

provi

justil the

dutie

be le

Lytt

ber

trade

toile

piece

shirt

com

that

cons

mul

cust

of '

This

Salis

attr

3

3

men

Com

Laing was moderately successful in its defensive campaign. The Commons compromised. It did not adopt Campbell's entirely proIndia motion; but it tacked to Birley's demand that 'The duties now levied upon cotton manufactures imported into India being protective....should be abolished without delay', the significant words 'as soon as the financial condition of India will permit's Parliament, then, partly straddled the tariff issue, noting Indian financial peril. By denoting the tariff as 'protective' the Commons assured its ultimate removal, but abrogation was virtually immediate, and devolved from Lytton's policy.

Although faced with extreme financial stress, Lytton continued manipulations for tariff revision, but Salisbury partly restrained him, through anxiety of consequences of other tax increases. In September, 1877 Lytton was still optimistic, despite imminent starvation in Madras. He wrote that 'famine permitting' he would propose 'to abolish the duty on coarse goods, and reduce one half per cent on finer qualities'.30 Obtaining new taxation for tariff revenue loss was Lytton's major hurdle. Salisbury warned that 'a good deal of opposition to the local cesses' which Lytton raised for famine relief had 'risen up' in the India Office Council. Lytton was accused of having 'infringed the permanent settlement', a charge Salisbury likened to 'incivicism' during the French Revolution.31 Salisbury and Mallet believed that the coarse goods tariff could be removed but were doubtful regarding the 'expedience of a general reduction on piece goods'. With Indian funds increasing ly pouring into Madras to prevent starvation there, Lytton continued to broach tariff reform, but linked it with obtaining fresh revenues. He conceived of raising an 'income tax', but decided that it would meet 'formidable resistance'. Reiterating his anxiety for 'purgation of the tariff' he noted its impossibility 'without the Famine Cess'.32 Salisbury dictated a policy consistent with earlier promises. He had publicly agreed with Sir Erskine Perry, who had insisted in November, 1875, that cotton duties should not be abolished if this required alternate taxation. Salisbury had reassured Sir Richard Temple, then Governor of Bengal, that 'no

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid., columns 1127-28.

<sup>30.</sup> Salisbury Papers, Lytton to Salisbury, Sept. 15, 1877....
31. Ibid. Salisbury to Lytton

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid., Salisbury to Lytton, July 6, 1877.32. Ibid., Lytton to Salisbury, Sept. 15, 1877.

tax should accompany....remission'.33 . Acquiescence to Lytion's tax proposals could have undermined Salisbury's position and furthered Council opposition. He wrote to Lytton in December, 1877 that his 'pledge not to impose a direct tax to make good loss by remission' was 'distinct'. It could 'not be departed from'.34 Salisbury transferred his management to British foreign policy early in 1878, and the less formidable Cranbrook obtained the India Office portfolio. Lytton virtually immediately implemented his tariff programme. Lytton and Strachey determined upon a selective abrogation of cotton duties, and financed the scheme by bypassing Salisbury's tax pledge. In February, Strachey obtained provincial 'license-tax' increases to 'combat famine'. 35 Lytton then instituted a partial cotton tariff abrogation, which he and Strachey justified in the Indian Financial Statement of March 18, 1878, by the dictates of Free Trade policy issued by the Commons: that duties should be fiscal not protective; that raw materials of production should be exempt from imposts; that tariffs should only be levied on articles of sufficient revenue to justify interference. Lytton capitalized on Northbrook's mistake of continuing a number of petty imposts to give his policy appearance of genuine free trade reform. Spaced between customs exemptions on mats, soap, toilet articles was the abolition of tariffs on certain grey cotton piece goods, below fineness 30s, including T-cloths, jeans, domestics, shirtings and drills. Stressing the 'principles of Free Trade' as comprising British 'national policy', Lytton and Strachey insisted that Free Trade possessed 'peculiar significance' for India. considered that although India had an 'almost total absence of accumulated capital', it possessed 'great productive powers'. Import customs involved the 'evils of protection' because India was capable of 'producing almost every article required for the use of man'. This argument, tacked to the banner of Free Trade, contradicted Salisbury's earlier frank admission that Indian textile industries attracted capital despite duties, which were not protective.36 Lytton

The

ly pro-

duties

being

nificant

rmit' 29

Indian

mmons

ly im-

ntinued

trained

es. In

minent

would

ne half

r tariff

ed that

raised

Lytton

ient', a

Revolu-

s tariff

ence of reasing-

on con-

g fresh

decided

anxiety

out the

earlier

y, who

not be

had rehat 'no

<sup>33.</sup> Ibid., Salisbury to Temple, March 3, 1876.

<sup>34.</sup> Ibid., Salisbury to Lytton, Dec. 5, 1877. 35. Governor General's Council Proceedings, 1878 (Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1879), pp. 47-48.

<sup>36.</sup> Parliamentary Branch Collection, Papers on East India Tariffs, Command 56, p. 3.

tries a

spent

develo

from I

1878

Salisbu

taxatic

Lytton

tion.

leashed

nearing

final y duties

helped

Indian

for a

first re

that th

chester

cularly cative

letter (

vative

'Conser

unfairl

There

Lancas

duties.

Hornby

board t

mittee,

Calcutt

cess wo

41. I

42. I

43. I

44. F Dunes, 45. I

and Strachey played upon the sentiment of Indian Government officials, that duties should be abolished only as they were protective.37 Strachey and Lytton by suggesting that the duties were theoretically protective, sidestepped the relevant issue that, certainly, they were not the reason for the expanding Indian production of coarse cloths at Lancashire's expense. That India could produce almost 'any article' was not equivalent to judging by theory of comparative advantage at what competitive level India produced cotton textiles. Nations ordinarily possessed an ability to produce many goods—but at an inferior or superior competitive productive capacity for each good. 'The crucial question was whether India's specific competitive advantage in coarse cotton manufacture was sufficient to oust Lancashire without tariff aid. Even Salisbury admitted that in rougher cloths India's competitive advantage enabled it to capture the Indian market without tariff protection, The tactics of Lytton and Strachey in obtaining a partial revocation of the cotton tariff were calculated to make the entire duty untenable. They planned to obtain that 'unravelling' effect which Lytton and Salisbury had earlier discussed, by having duties condemned 'in principle', and beginning an 'erosion' in which Indian officials would not be outraged by too rapid abandonment of customs revenues. Consequently Lytton and Strachey also underscored the Government of India's concern in the 'state of the finances' not to diminish revenues by more than the few lakks sterling which revision would cost.38

Lytton consummated his tariff revision of 1878 without creating a major official furor mainly because of the minimal revenue loss. Nevertheless, Indian opinion was consolidating against Lytton's general economic policies, and particularly castigating his taxes. The Gujarat Samachar attacked the 'increased duty on salt'.39 The Nyaya Praharal wrote of the tax burden as 'dreadful and unbearable'.40 The Subha Suchak condemned the English as having 'reduced the country to utter poverty' and having 'ruined indus-

<sup>37.</sup> Parliamentary Branch Collection, Papers on East India Tariffs, Command 333, p. 3.

<sup>38.</sup> Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79, Vol. LV, Command 241, p. 9. 39. Report on Native Newspapers, Bombay, Jan-June, 1878, p. 59.

tries and manufacture'.41 The Swadesh Mangal contrasted funds pent on lavish British establishments with small outlays for development, education, or relief of the the 'long suffering ryot from heavy assessment'.42 The only discernible tariff comment in 1878 was the Bombay Samachar's,43 noting Lytton's ignoring Salisbury's promises that removing duties would not bring new axation. Before the tariff had been thoroughly considered, lytton's Vernacular Press proposals absorbed newspaper attenwhen Lytton completed his tariff policy in 1879 he unleashed a political tumult. By 1879 Lytton's Viceroyalty was mearing conclusion, and economically gloomier prospects for his final year, 1880, probably prompted his singular abrogation of duties in financially chaotic 1879. Manchester political pressure beloed insure this course. In Lancashire the depression in the Indian textile trade continued and Manchester exhorted Whitehall or a further tariff revision. Almost immediately after Lytton's first reform, on March 27, 1878, the Manchester Chamber stated that the free goods list must be 'materially' augmented.44 Manchester's lever upon Conservative Government policy was particularly strong in 1879, with a general election approaching. Indicative of the politics of reform at Whitehall and in India was a letter Cranbrook sent to Lytton. In it, W. H. Hornby Jr., Conservalive Chairman in Blackburn warned of the conviction amongst Conservative masters and workpeople' that they had been 'very unfairly treated....with reference to....Indian import duties'.45 There was 'no hope' for 'any Conservative candidate' in much of lancashire, unless something was 'immediately done' reducing duties. Lytton already planned a further revision. On the day Hornby composed his letter in Blackburn, Lytton constituted a board to review earlier reductions. The appointment of the committee, T. C. Hope of the Executive Council, and J. D. MacLean, Calcutta Customs Collector, revealed how the 'unravelling' pro-Vorked. Manchester effectively attacked Lytton tariff reduc-

offi-

ve.37

eore-

inly,

n of

duce

y of

uced duce

ctive

dia's

was

oury

tage

tion.

evo-

duty

hich

ities

hich

ient

also

of of

khs

ling

oss.

on's

xes.

The

un-

ing

us-

iffs,

<sup>41.</sup> Ibid., pp. 87-89. 42. Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>44.</sup> Parliamentary Branch Collection, Further Papers Relating to Import Dunes, Command 241, p. 14.

mancia

erisis W

Afghan

of milli

Lytton's

asuran

he repr

terrible

heavy

he. . . .

the rup

dramati

loss by India's

upset',

culties

Hence

legislati

India C Financi

by cries

as 'too

crisis b

sacrifice

Lancash

until th

mistake

ces' to

cal, fina

cause ex

desperat

Indian r

nity', a

dissiden

52. L

53. Ib

54. P

55 Ib

56. Ib

tions as 'arbitrary'.46 The instructions which the Indian Revenue Secretary issued to the Review Board took complete account of Manchester criticism, denoted Lytton's revision of 1878 as 'avowedly arbitrary' and recommended 'some amendment'.47 Hope and MacLean faithfully reported that enforcement of a scattered abolition of cotton duties below count 30s was impossible. The Lytton reductions had removed the tariffs from certain coarse grey cloths, but 'cloths of almost the same texture' could be found in a variety of other goods-in dhotis, and long cloths. The only effective remedy was to 'treat similarly....all cloths of the same texture'. To meet the technical difficulty of classifying quality of cloths, they advocated allowing Customs Collectors to judge fineness by weight of west, and Lytton adopted this method.48 In barring tariffs on all grey cotton goods below 30s, Lytton in his Notification of February 28, 1879 argued that the losses caused by the 'protective duties' to the 'English producers' and the 'Indian consumer' were 'indisputable'.49 He insisted abrogation would not cause 'surrendering any considerable...revenue'-approximately £200,000, which he insisted India could afford.

Lytton's calls to Free Trade principle, and his insistence on Indian financial solidity were failures. His Council and the India Office Council rejected the measure. Lytton and Cranbrook then invoked authoritarian powers with somewhat dubious constitutional justification. Lytton reported to Whitehall on March 13, 1879, that he held 'the interests of British India' as 'essentially affected', and used his statutory right, under Act 33 Victoria, for Notification of elimination of the cotton duties.<sup>50</sup> At Whitehall a similar drama unfolded. The India Office Council deadlocked, and Cranbrook voted the measure into law. Governmental and population lar opposition was gestated partly from India's obvious financial problems. Lytton acted at a most unpropitious time. Manchester itself admitted that Bombay mills were experiencing serious distress. The Bombay trade was judged far from remunerative. In a few months, 'nearly one third' of Bombay mills 'failed'.51 The

<sup>46.</sup> Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79, Vol. LV, Command 241, p. 14.

<sup>47.</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>48.</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>49.</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>51.</sup> Ibid., pp. 23-25.

fpancial strain of the recent famine was not absorbed. The silver risis was worse. Lytton led India into an expensive clash with Mghanistan. This necessitated the Viceroy's negotiation for loans millions of pounds in London. Partly the manner in which lytton's claims belied realities stimulated uproar. Lytton's public surances contradicted his private correspondence. To Cranbrook represented financial circumstances as critical. He told of the terrible silver difficulty', a 'pertinacious demon'; and noted that heavy [new] taxation' to enable the government....to meet he....loss' was 'inevitable', unless Whitehall allowed bolstering he rupee.52 Shortly after, he declaimed India's crisis in language famatic to the rim of hysteria, depicting the 'bottomless gulf of his by exchange', the Famine Insurance Fund' 'swept away', India's credit 'jeopardized' by war, the 'whole financial policy uset', and India's need for heavy borrowing.53 These grave diffialties Lytton could not, of course, propagandistically disguise. Hence Lytton's and Cranbrook's barreling through of anti-tariff kgislation unloosed the greatest political storm in Indian and Idia Office circles roused by an economic measure in decades. Financial complaints culminated in political condemnation, stamped y cries of 'autocracy'. Stokes defined India's financial condition s too deplorably bad' for sacrifice of even 20 lakhs. He defined disis borrowing from England as 'begging'. He feared eventual sacrifice of the remaining 65 lakhs cotton duty. The 'powerful lancashire manufacturers' would be encouraged to 'new attacks' they succeeded.54 Rivers Thompson stressed the political stake of venerating Free Trade to prevent 'trifling inconvenien-(les' to Lancashire. 55 To Arbuthnot, tariff abolition was a politifinancial and military disaster. The Afghan problem would Gause extensive military outlays 'for years'. India's finances were desperate. Local opinion had been ignored. The hostility of the public was shared by the European mercantile commuby the 'official hierarchy throughout India'.56 The dissidents of the India Office Council echoed the Lytton Council's

enun

it of

as

Hope

ered The

arse

ound.

only

same

y of

fine-

In

i his

used

dian

ould

roxi-

e on

ndia

then

nsti-

13,

ially

, for

all a

and

opu-

ncial

ester

ious

tive.

The

<sup>52.</sup> Lytton Papers, Lytton to Cranbrook, Jan. 13, 1879. 53. Ibid., Lytton to Cranbrook, April 10, 1879.

<sup>54.</sup> Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79, Vol. LV, Command 241, p. 1. 55 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>56.</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-7.

Romha

decried

goods,

realitie

a theor

perhap:

nationa

nating

cept pe ing adl

rated a

egitatio

express army 1

tude.

of Brit

still tir

fied thi

paterna policy .

the mo

crudity

which h of the 1

clearly

compar

prosper

slaved

violence monetar

salt tax

ad valo

cantly.

61. It

62. It

63. J (London:

04. P

Ly

dismayed complaints. Muir emphasized that cotton tariff abrogation had ignored the more important need for removing export duty on rice, for swelling Indian exports, and stabilizing India's shaky finances. Henry Norman was disturbed that cotton revenues had been quelched when India's rickety finances required 'stopping to a great extent....public works', and while other economies were inflicting 'severe hardship'. Henry Montgomery protested against Lytton's ignoring 'men...with great experience' better acquainted with Indian economic realities.57 Erskine Perry's Minute most resoundingly criticised the constitutional irregularity of Government policy. He implied that by over-ruling his Council, Lytton had committed the very type of 'despotic' act that Parliament had meant to prevent by providing a Council and other constitutional checks on the Viceroy. Parliament, he insisted, had intended to give the Governor General powers of overruling the Council only in cases of 'high and critical importance', involving India's 'safety', as defined in the famous Act of 1786. Sudden emergency, or foreign policy were the valid fields for the invocation of these powers, but not ordinary, widely discussed 'domestic matters'.58 Lytton, then, in Perry's view had broken with just English concepts of Indian governance. The tumult in governing circles gave resonance to that increasingly articulate Indian popular opinion Salisbury had dismissed. Indian newspaper opinion, split on Northbrook's tariff, gained unity in opposing Lytton's anti-tariff Act. Even before the Council's dissenting minutes were published Lytton's tariff was condemned. Native Opinion and Maharashtra Mitra cried that the masses were 'destitute' owing to 'recurring famine' and 'heavy taxation'.59 Crops had been destroyed. Disease, rats, locusts, and famine prevailed. These journals, Rast Goftar, Yajdan Parast and other publications attacked the 'license tax, imposed by Lytton as an alternative to cotton revenues as 'cruel', 'mischievous', and 'inconvenient'. They completely a construction of the convenient's and convenient's and convenient's and convenient's as an accomplete the convenient's and convenient's as a convenient of the convenient's as a convenient of the conveni They concluded it was the worst of times to 'please the merchants of Manchester' while 'disregarding Indian interests'. The Dayan Prakash insisted that Manchester was doing its 'utmost' to crush

<sup>57.</sup> Parliamentary Branch Collection, Further Papers on East India Cotton Duties, Command 392, pp. 3-4.

<sup>58.</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>59.</sup> Report on Native Newspapers, Bombay, Jan-June 1897, pp. 113, 185. 60. Ibid., pp. 113, 217.

gomhay.61 In an incipient Swadeshi vein, Bodhya Sudhakar decried Lytton's tariff policies, forcing consumption of Manchester gods, as one of Imperialist 'enslavement'.62

Lytton's tariff policy signalled an incomprehension of political realities in India. The failure of Lytton's policy is explainable by a theory of 'lag' which coloured the British political mind. Until perhaps after Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, India's capacity for a national political movement threatening British rule and culminating in Indian independence was not seriously entertained, except perhaps for the visionary future. Military security, involving adherence of warlike and feudatory groups more than educated and commercial middle classes appeared crucial. Indian egitation expressed in print was viewed as serious not through expressing educated discontent, but as possibly weakening Indian amy loyalty. The Vernacular Press Law exemplified this attitude. Similarly, a lag existed in perceptions of Indian awareness of British tariff manipulations. Salisbury's view that there was still time' for cotton duty reform without political difficulty typifed this view. In economic thought, John Strachey illustrated a Meternalistic conservative view, when he defended Lytton's tariff with the dicta that even 'better educated' Indians had not the most elementary knowledge' of tariff issues.63 The political ctudity of Lytton's tariff revision heightened Indian discontent, which had been nurtured by internal distress. By the last decades of the nineteenth century the Manchester Free Trade pattern was clearly not fulfilling original expectations of the Smithian idea of comparative advantage. Agrarian India had not become truly Prosperous. Tenancy and money lending were increasing, Bondslaved peasants saw recourse to ending their thraldom in such violence as the Deccan riots. Foreign problems and internal monetary crisis were causing a multiplication of taxation. The tax, for example, was raised until it reached 600 per cent valorem. 64 Yet industrialization had not progressed signifi-While Indian critics like Naoroji and Dutt, and news-

proga-

export India's

cotton

quired

r eco-

omery

ience'

erry's larity

Coun-

t that

1 and

insist-

over-

tance'.

1786.

or the

cussed

roken

ult in

culate

news-

ppos-

enting

Vative

desti-

s had

ailed.

ations

ve to

ent'.60

hants

nyan

crush

India

3, 185,

Smill of sayed of the part delain!

<sup>61.</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151. 62. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>63.</sup> John and Richard Strachey, The Finances and Public Works of India (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1882), p. 287.

Parliamentary Papers 1893-94, Vol. LXV, Command 7060, p. 15.

papers, recognized that Free Trade theories were inadequate for Indian purposes, they possessed no Keynesian or Nurksian hypotheses for alternate modes of economic growth. Politically, Bagehot wrote of the educative function of Parliament, but in India parliamentary dialogue was replaced by public controversy. Rising national economic opinion in India sought political explanations for what could not be proved by economic theory. By the mid-1870's opposition opinion in India, as expressed by Naoroji, Furdonji and others focussed primarily on the 'Drain' regarding expensive employment of British officials, and the commodity imbalance against India in international trade. Attributing the 'Drain' caused by remittances to England for British civil servants in India, critics could connect the issue politically to the British failure to honour promises of complete and equal employment of Indians.65 Their 'case' against the British was largely limited to the employment issue. Lytton's tariff policy, however, allowed a broadening of the 'Drain' theory, a further dimension to political power proliferating into a ruinous economic Imperialism, as explaining India's economic problems. Criticism by Bodhya Sudhakar was most significant. It described Indian poverty as mainly attributable to 'the inordinate consumption of Manchester goods in India'. It ascribed 'untold wealth being carried to England on account of Government and commerce', and concluded that it was the object of the English to make 'slaves of natives'.66 That Salisbury and Lytton so thoroughly misunderstood Indian political processes cannot be deemed accidental. It can now be easily comprehended that the 'opposition' functioned in India with much the same 'advocate' approach as in Western politics. Through public opinion, tract, newspaper, and economic theory it criticized Imperial rule with the techniques of Opposition elsewhere. although deprived of an open parliamentary forum. The Conservative strength in English politics was its ability to pragmatically absorb the policies of the liberal opposition; the failure of the Conservative Imperial idea in India was its lack of sufficient regard for Indian opposition views to absorb them as policy, at least not without a lag allowing crystallization of Indian antipathy to British economic Imperialism.

p. 200; 2.

Th

Ändhr

were t

with th

gana,

of the

dēśa.

immed

South

the in

Islam

the mo

into ar

record

Mahan

ment.

A

compa

ages a

advent

centur

with 1

plates2

Vadug

<sup>65.</sup> Dadabhai Naoroji, Poverty and Un-British Rule, pp. 90-99.
66. Report on Native Newspapers, Bombay, Jan.-June, 1879, p. 113.

# Mahitandhradeśa

te for

agehot parlia-Rising nations

mid-

aoroji, arding nodity ng the

rvants

British

ent of

ted to

wed a

olitical

as ex-

Sudha-

nainly

goods

ind on

it was

That

politi-

easily

much rough ticized

where,

onser-

tically

of the

nt re-

least

hy to

13.

BY

DR. (MRS.) V. YASODADEVI, M.A., D.Litt.,
S. V. University, Tirupati

T

The Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajamundry who swayed Andhradesa for a century and a quarter from about A.D. 1325, were the political successors of the Kākatīyas. Contemporaneous with them were the Velamas (C.A.D. 1325-1527) ruling in Telingana, the Bahmanis of Gulbarga (A.D. 1347-1527) to the North of the Kṛṣṇa, and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar in Western Āndhradeśa. This crop of fresh kingdoms in full bloom had been the immediate result of the liberation movement in the Deccan and South India in the first quarter of the fourteenth century against the imposition of Muslim imperialism as well as the religion of Islam from North India. Subsequent to the age of the Kākatīyas, the most formative period in Andhra history, the country enters into an age of consummate glory and efflorescence, and the Reddi tecords1 most aptly and amply applaud it as Mahitandhradeśa and Mahanīyāndhradēśa with full confidence, due pride and endearment.

#### $_{ m II}$

Andhradēśa, in the early centuries of the Christian era, a comparatively limited area on the Kṛṣṇa, expands through the ages and attains compactness, comprehension and unity with the advent of the Reddi rule. The core of Andhradēśa in the third century A.D. was Andhrāpatha ruled over by a Pallava Viceroy with headquarters at Dhanakaṭaka, attested by the Mydavōlu blates² of Śivaskandavarman. To the West of Andhrāpatha i.e., Vadugavali, lay Perumbāṇappāḍi, the kingdom of the Bānas.

<sup>1.</sup> A. P. Govt. Arch. Series, 6 — C. P. Inscriptions in A. P. Museum, 2. E.I. VI, 8, pp. 84-89.

Andhrāpatha, thus extended southwards from the Guntur District up to the limit of modern Andhra Pradesh. Within a century, Andhrapatha developed into Andhramandala Twelve Thousand country, borne out by the Bana grant (A.D. 338) of Vadhūvallabha Malladeva Nandivarman.<sup>3</sup> Obviously this is Vadugavali Twelve Thousand country of Tamil and Kannada inscriptions.4 Thus in the 4th century A.D. Āndhrāpatha, Vadugavaļi and Āndhramandala applied to the country South of the Kṛṣṇa in Andhra Pradesh,

Andhrapatha extended beyond the Kṛṣṇa, to its North in the fifth century A.D., for poet Murāri<sup>5</sup> specifies the location of god Bhīmēśvara in proximity to the Saptagodavari in Andhravisaya, The commentator Jayamangala6 locates Andhravisaya to the East of Karnātakavisaya in Daksināpatha to the South of the Narmada, In the seventh century A.D., the age of the Calukyas of Vengi, Andhravişaya had extended on either side of the Kṛṣṇa, even beyond the Godavari in the North and the Pinakini in the South. Mahākavi Daṇḍin<sup>7</sup> mentions Āndhranātha Jayasimha I (Vallabha). Andhranagara i.e., Vēngīpura, the capital of Andhraviṣaya and Kolanu i.e., the Colair.

In the eleventh century A.D., under the Calukya-Colas, the lineal descendants of the Vēngi Cāļukyas, Āndhraviṣaya comprised of fifty lakhs of villages. For, Gonka I of the Velanandu Codas, their feudatories, is mentioned as the ruler of Andhradeśa consisting of fifty lakhs8 (of villages). But Coda I, the son and successor of Gonka I, was conferred with the rulership of Andhrabhūtalamu Sixteen Thousand (country), by far a smaller area. hv Kulottunga I.9 King Nannicoda of the period mentions Andhravisaya.10 In the reign of Coda II, the grandson of Choda I and son of Gonka II, the bounds of his kingdom, Andhravişaya,

4. S.I.I. III, p. 90; S.I.I. IX-I.5.

-do- Vyākyhya on Kāmasūtra by Vātsāyana.

ime, Ā protect and Di more I Th nagara

were t

when t

ie., Or capital to the the lite bounds rently nent a several the thr cal suc queror: Lord o solidari

On rivers, Prosper granary the uti the cou fication ence to far ear

of Mah

glories

11. E 12. C Aryavața P. 553 ft 13. S

<sup>3.</sup> E.C. 10, Mulbagal C.P. 157; Rājarāja Sancika (1922), pp. 98-99.

<sup>5.</sup> K. I. Dutt: Ancient Historical Geography of A. P. p. 26 Citation.

<sup>7.</sup> Daśakumāra Mahākāvya; Kētana: Daśakumāracaritra caritra Canto XI.

Bhārati 8. Pancāśatlakṣasasamyuktamāndhradēśam-Pulivarru Kaifiyat. Vyaya, Śrāvana.

<sup>9.</sup> S.I.I. X. 177.

<sup>10.</sup> Andhrakumārasambhava I.

istrict.

ntury.

usand

llabha welve

ous in

aman-

adesh.

in the

of god

isaya.

e East

mada.

Vēngi,

even

South.

bha). and

the,

rised

lodas,

consuc-

dhra-

area.

tions

5da I

şaya,

aritra

iārati

the eastern ocean, Śrīśailam, Mahēndragiri, and Kāļahasti when the Calukya Cola emperor was Rajaraja II.11 In course of ime, Andhradēśa had come to be known as Trilingadēśa, 12 its three protecting deities being the three lingas at Śrīśailam, Kāļēśvaram, and Drākṣārāma. Further, Trilingadēśa came to be called by its nore popular names, Telugudēśa and Tenugudēśa.

The kingdom of the Kākaṭīyas was Āndhradēśa, and Āndhrapagara was no more the Cāļukyan capital Vēngi, but Ēkaśilānagara ie, Örugallu the Kākatīya capital. Thus, the shift of the Andhra capital was from Vēngi to Ōrugallu (i.e., Warangal). Passing on the Reddi times, it is significant that neither the records, nor the literature of the period specify the location of Andhradeśa, its bounds, or the total number of villages it had comprised. Apparently this was because these data had become too static, permaent and familiar to require any recurrent repetition. Besides, geveral petty kingdoms of the country, a characteristic feature of the three preceding centuries, had faded into oblivion. As politial successors of the Musunuri Nayakas of Warrangal and conquerors of the Velamas of Telingana, both bearing the title of lord of Āndhradēśa, the Reddis called themselves Āndhras. The solidarity of comprehensive Andhradēśa finds expression in phrases of Mahitandhradeśa and Mahaniyandhradeśa—the prologue for the glories of the Reddi age.

#### III

On account of nature's bounties in the form of mountains and tivers, Āndhradēśa has been a byword for fertility, plenitude and Prosperity. As Tanjore of Tamil country, Nellore has been the Ranary of Andhradesa and South India. The Reddis realised the utility and importance of the mountain and river systems in the country more than their predecessors. The practice of specification of territorial divisions and bounds of villages with reference to mountains, rivers, streams and roads was in vogue in by ar earlier times e.g., Ṣaṭsahasrāvani to the South of the Kṛṣṇa, 13

<sup>11,</sup> E.I. 29, 32. pp. 225-247 — Naṇḍūru C.P. grant.

<sup>12.</sup> C. Vīrabhadra Rāo: History of Andhras III, p. 120 — Citation from Vavatam C.P. Ayavajam C.P. grant of Mummadi Nāyaka of Kōrukoṇḍa; Bhārati. 21. I, 13 ft — Anitalli's Kaluvaceru c. p. grant.

<sup>13.</sup> S.I.I. X. 8. Aruvēlavelanāņdu, 144.

briress

durgas

and giri

from th

was bui

Calukya

rincial, ouently

ridu, p

durga i

thas.23

konda,

capital

o Pārā

śrinātha

of hill I

pura or

fortress

s far a

the imp

that it t

(i.e. the

grandeu

relics o

at a di

capital of the

period.

Macerla

parvata

ress of

had one

22. S.

23. S.

24. S.

25. K

C 21. V

Gautami.

J. 23

Pāvanavāra visaya on the Gūdhastani,14 Omgērumārga visayals through which river Omkara flows, Kolanumandalas, 16 Giripascima visaya<sup>17</sup> to the West of Kondavidu, Pattisapunādu<sup>18</sup> and Punginādu. The Pūnginādu extending from the eastern foot of Srisailam to the ocean on both sides of the Kuṇḍi, was the nucleus of the Reddi kingdom with its first capital at Addanki.19 Such elaborate specifications are comparatively few in Reddi records.

Regarding the mountains in Andhradeśa, the Eastern Ghāts and their offshoots bore different names varying with localities, The range extends from Utkal to Madura at a distance varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles from the sea and the maximum height of the range is 2000 feet. The Mahendragiri range spreads from the confluence of the Ganges and the ocean to the Gōdāvari and Mahēndranātha i.e., Gōkarņēśvara had ever been the guardian deity of Kalinga, particularly under the Gangavamsis, the contemporaries of the Reddis. Mahendragiri had been the eastern limit of Andhravişaya in the age of the Cāļukya-Cōļas,<sup>20</sup> and the range bears the names Pālakoṇḍas (in Vizāgapaṭam District), Malayas and Pāpikoṇḍas (in Gōdāvari District), Pālakoṇḍas and Velikoṇḍas (Nellōre and Cuḍḍapah Districts), Nallamalais (Kurnool District) with the peaks Sesasaila and Kalahastigiri (in Cittoor District). Among these are the abodes of Nṛṣimhasvāmi at Simhācalam, Śrīrāmacandra at Bhadrācalam, Kanakadurgā at Indrakīlādri, Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam, Narasimha at Ahōbalam and Vēnkatēsvara on Sesasailam.

Top priority had been accorded to hills not only as sanctum of gods, but also for the construction of forts. No eminence, strategically important, was left unfortified. The Reddis bore titles21 implying their building of eighty-four forts, including four kindsgiri, vana, jala and sthala durgas, and their having wrested such

<sup>14.</sup> S.I.I. X. 146, 147.

<sup>15.</sup> S.I.I. X. 573.

<sup>16.</sup> S.I.I. X. 206.

<sup>17.</sup> S.I.I. X. 151, 199.

<sup>18.</sup> S.I.I. X. 116.

<sup>19.</sup> S.I.I. X. 355, 574.

<sup>20.</sup> E.I. VI. 35-Tēki plates of Rājarājachōda Ganga.

<sup>21.</sup> Kondavīţi dandakavile: S.I.I. X. 559.

sayals aścima Pūngiof Sriucleus Such

erds.

Ghāts alities. arying ne sea Iahēnd the a had er the

ragiri of the s (in i Dis-Dis-

aśaila - the adrāilam,

ctum stratles<sup>21</sup> ids-

such

briesses in the possession of enemies. Records reveal that vana urgas and jala durgas were numerically less than sthala durgas ad giri durgas. As regards the fortresses in Āndhradēśa, starting from the East and North, the sthala durga<sup>22</sup> at Rājamahēndravara built in the tenth century A.D. by King Amma I of the Vengi Calukyas. Thereafter Rājamahēndravaram had become the proincial capital of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu and subsemently the capital of the Reddi kingdom of Rājahmundry. Kolanuidu, popularly known as Kollēţikōţa, is a rare example of jala urga i.e., water fortress. It had been the capital of the Saronahas.23 The single example of vana durga is the fortress at Koruարվa, at a distance of twelve miles from Rājahmundry. This apital of the Reddis of Körukonda owes its name Pārāśara śaila<sup>24</sup> p Pārāśara Bhatta, the Vaisnava preceptor of the royal family. hinātha calls it Vēdādri,25 the abode of Nṛsimhasvāmī. Instances thill fortresses abound in the country. Kondavidu alias Acalapra or Sailapura, thirteen miles from Narasarāopet, has a hill lattress. The eminence has a commanding view of the country s far as Haidarabad. The Reddi court poet Śrīnātha<sup>26</sup> describes he impregnability of the fortress in his inimitable style thus hat it tempts and proves to be the death-noose to the three rulers i.e. the Gajapati, the Aśvapati, and the Narapati) and equals in gandeur the Amaravati (in heaven). Now the place teems with relics of bygone glory. Next, the hill fortress of Kondapalle lies at a distance of nine miles from Bezavada. It figured as the apital of the District of Kondapalli Three Hundred since the days of the Western Cāļukyas of Kalyāṇi and throughout the Reddi Period. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa alias Śrīparvata, fifteen miles from Macerla on the Kṛṣṇa, had a hill fortress. Vinukoṇḍa, alias Śṛṭa-Pervata durga<sup>27</sup> had a strong hill fortress. Besides the hill fortof Bellamkonda, Udayagiri alias Arunādri, like Kondavīdu, one of the eminent and strategic fortresses in the country

<sup>22.</sup> S.I.I. X. 559. Niravadyapura had a sthala durga. 23. S.I.I. X. 262.

<sup>24.</sup> S.I.I. X. 554.

<sup>25.</sup> Kasikhandamu I. preface; S.I.I. X. 577 — Vēdādri Nṛsimha on the

<sup>&</sup>amp; Catu verse cited in p. 226 of History of Andhras III; S.I.I. X. 577, 753, Vallakia থী. Vallabhāmātya; Krīḍābhirāma. J. 23

and had been the bone of contention between the Reddis and the Räyas and thereafter between the latter and the Gajapatis, and throughout the headquarters of Udayagiri räjya. All these fortresses are in Sägara Andhradeśa.

Gōlakoṇḍa, five miles from Haidarabad, Rācakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, the capitals of the Velama kingdoms, and Nalgoṇḍa all in Telingāṇa, possessed historical hill fortresses. Penugoṇḍa and Gutti² in Rāyalasīma had important hill fortresses. These and several other fortresses were maintained in excellent state under Reḍḍis.

The river system in Andhradeśa starts with R. Mahanadi in the East and North, now in Orissa state. Prolayavema Reddi, the founder of the Reddi dynasty conquered several petty states in southern Kalinga and granted agrahāras on either bank of the Mahānadi.29 Proceeding southwards, the next river is the Godavari, the Gangā of Dakṣiṇāpatha. From Mahārāṣṭra it enters Telingāņa in Āndhradēśa, passes through the Sarkars, divides itself into the Sapta Godavaris i.e., the seven branches at Rajahmundry, and falls into the Bay of Bengal. The Sapta Godavaris namely Tulyabhāga, Ātrēya, Bhāradvāja, Gautami, Vṛddha-Gautami, Kausiki and Vasistha render fertile Konamandala or sima, a by word for facundity, plenitude and prosperity, even today. The Gödāvari in its course is joined by its tributaries-Vain-ganga, Prānahita, Indrāvati and Sabari from the North and Manjīra from the South. Pattisam, Kēipalli and Bhīma-mandala are some of the holy places of pilgrimage on the banks of the Godavari. Along with the Mahānadi Kṛṣṇāvēṇi and Bahuda, Gōdāvari is eulogised in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Mārkaṇḍēyapuraṇa, Viṣṇupurāna and Kavyamīmāmsa. Nannayā Bhaṭṭa, the court poet of Kājarāja I of the Vēngi Cāļukyas calls the Gōdāvari as Daksiņa Ganga<sup>30</sup> and describes the glory of Āndhradēśa. Śrīnātha,<sup>31</sup> subsequently, most picturesquely delineates the sacred centres of pilgrimage on the Gōdāvari. Contemporary literature refers to the Godavari simply as the Ganga.

Fu

lesa is

the Ped

Rayalas

with th

hstacle

is Sout

renna i

Kannad Telugu

Krsna.

be styl

two rive

North-

malai F

District

brough

on its k

lls trib

Kundik

and pra

The

further

Ananta

District

Mahābh

nver b

popular

through

32. A 33. S

34. S

35. S. 36. A

Nex

<sup>28.</sup> S.I.I. X. 757.

<sup>29.</sup> E.I. 21. 41-A. p. 267.

<sup>30.</sup> Adiparvamu.

<sup>31.</sup> Bhīmēśvarapurāņamu III.

ind the is, and e fort.

Devanda all da and se and under

nadi in ldi, the ates in of the Godaenters divides Rājahdavaris a-Gau-

-ganga, a from ome of Along logised upura-

r sīma,

v. The

f Kajaaksiņa 31 subres of fers to

Further South is the Krsnaveni which after entering Andhrais joined by its tributaries — the Kṣīra (Palēru), the Diṇḍi, peddavāgu and the Musi in Telingāṇa and the Bhavanāsi from Byalasima. Andhra Mahābhārata<sup>32</sup> mentions the river along with the Penna and the Bāhuda. The Kṛṣṇa had ever been the stacle for the spread of Muslim rule and religion of Islam to South. It bore the names — Kannabenna, Karabenna, Kannaana in Prākṛt, Sahyaja and Kṛṣṇaveṇṇa in Sanskrit, Pardore in Kannada, Perāru in Tamil, Kranavenņa, Kranavēni and Pērēru in lelugu inscriptions33 and literature. Indrakīlanaga is close by the Krsna. As the Gōdāvari is called Dakṣiṇa Gangā, Kṛṣṇavēṇi may e styled the Daksina Yamuna and the country between the rivers — Sindhuyugmāntara resembles the Madhyadēśa in the North-between the Ganga and the Yamuna.

Next in order is the Gundlakamma flowing from the Nallamalai Hills, through Kurnul District. It passes into the Guntur District and joins the sea at Peddavorampādu. Thus, it runs brough the territorial divisions Kammanādu<sup>34</sup> and Pūnginādu and mits bank is located Addanki, the earliest capital of the Reddis. ls tributaries are the Jampilēru and the Enumalēru. Records35 ive the river several names — Guṇḍēru, Guṅḍlēru, Kunti, Kuṇḍi, Kundika, Kundija, Kundiprabha, Brahmakundī and Gundlakamma and praise it as the sacred pascima vahini. Kanuparti was a holy place of pilgrimage on its banks.

The Pēnnār, celebrated as Suprayoga and the Pinākini, lav hither South in Andhradesa. Flowing through the middle of Anantapur District, the northern Penna passes through Nellore District. In early inscriptions and literature, except in Andhra ahābhārata, where Tikkana uses the popular name Penna. 36 the bears the name Supravoga. Its tributary is Mahabahu. Mopular as the Bāhūda or Cheyyeru, joining it after flowing hrough Chittur and Cuddapah Districts.

<sup>32.</sup> Āraṇya parva II, Bhīṣmaparva I.

<sup>33.</sup> S.I.I. X. 358, 447, 363, 559.

<sup>34.</sup> S.I.I. X. 371.

<sup>35.</sup> S.I.I. X. 63, 340, 371, 559, 586.

<sup>36.</sup> Āraņyaparva II 278, Bhiīşmaparva I, 38.

colida

of ma

from

1356)

Krsna

and T

passi

The '

Kund

Krsnu

nēkāg

Gund

severa

rivers the k

Musli

agrah

quent

calla

from

mana

vati i

from Rudra

titla madh

bagan

padār

nētra,

cintar gonāl and I

his v Palla

42.

43.

1 44.

45.

of the

Among the lesser rivers recurring in records37 are Vanisadhāra and Nāgāvaļi (i.e., Lāngulya) in southern Kalinga; and Pampā or Pampāvati in Peddāpuram Taluk (East Gōdāvari District) has on its bank Mummadivīdu,38 the capital of the Korukonda Reddis. The village Pampavaram is in the same Taluk, Apparently this Pampa is a counterpart of the famous Pampa ie., Tungabhadra, as Cina Tungabhadra is in Guntur District. The Tulyabhāga is Daļiyavāvi of Visnukundin records.39 The river Kumāra alias Ela40 with its tributaries flows through the Rampa forest area and past Calukya Bhimavaram and Pithapuram (East Godavari District). The Gostani i.e., Gudhastani or Godhastani passes through Pāvanavāra visaya and is now a channel passing through Tanku and Bhimavaram Taluks (West Godavari District). Proceeding South, the Ömkara or Omgeru passes through the Taluks of Palnad and Bapatla (Guntur District) and enters the Bay of Bengal at Nizāmpaṭnam. The Kṣīra or Pālēru in Natavāḍi vișaya flows into the Kṛṣṇa at Rāvirēla. Another river Kṣīra flows through Kanigiri and Kandukūr Taluks (Nellore District) and falls into the ocean at Pākāla (Kandukūr Taluk). The river Dindī i.e., Dandenagova of the Reddi records41 is a tributary of the Krsna. Among the two rivers bearing the name Tungabhadra, the larger one popular in Andhradeśa as Peda Tungabhadra joins the Krsnavenna at Kūdalsangamam, and the other river Cina Tungabhadra flows from the Sītānagaram hills on the South of the Krsna and falls into the sea in Bapatla Taluk. Now it has been converted into a canal. Besides, the rivers Nāgilēru i.e. Nāgēśvara, Bhavanāśi, Bhīmarathi (Bhīmānadi), Candrabhāga, Candravanka, Malapahari alias Malaghni, Manika or Manneru or Mākēru, Mūshaka or Muśi that is, Elikēru and Puliyēru are celebrated in records and literature.

#### IV

The titles of each Reddi king, besides those of ministers and subordinates, epitomise the events of his reign, extension and con-

<sup>37.</sup> S.I.I. X. 707, 750.

<sup>38.</sup> Āryavaṭam grant of Mummaḍi Nāyaka.

<sup>39.</sup> J.A.H.R.S. VI. p. 17.

<sup>40.</sup> E.I. IV. p. 369 1.28, Bhīmakhandamu II, VS 4 prose passage 55.4 41. S.I.I. VI, 225, 243.

Vamsaa; and ri Dis-Koru-Taluk. pa i.e.. t. The e river Rampā (East hastani passing strict). gh the ers the atavādi Ksīra istrict) e river tary of ohadrā. ā joins r Cina uth of it has ru i.e., bhāga, ēru or.

ers and id con-

55.

e cele-

solidation of the kingdom, conquests, personal parts, and grants of many agrahāras on the banks of the major rivers in the country from South to the North. Thus, Prolaya Vema Reddi (C. 1325granted forty-four agrahāras42 situated to the West of the Kṛṣṇa and the Tungabhadra to Brahmanas of Vēginādu, Drāvida and Velanadu sects. Here, Tungabhadra is Cina Tungabhadra passing through the divisions, Velanādu and Kammanādu. The titles of Vēma in the Cīmakurti grant<sup>43</sup> (A.D. 1335) — Kundiprabhāsahyajā-gautamījalakrīdāvinoda, and Brahmakundī-Kṛṣṇavēni-gōdāvarī-mahānadītaṭadvaya-tanmadhyadēśa (dattā) nekāgrahāra (one taking delight in sporting in the waters of the Gundlakamma, the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari; and grantor of several agrahāras on either bank and the mid-country of the rivers Gundlakamma, Kṛṣṇavēṇi, Gōdāvari and Mahānadi) attest the keen anxiety of the king, who liberated the land from the Muslim yoke, to rehabilitate the country, establish Brahmanas in agrahāras and restore order and settled life in Andhradēśa subsequent to the disturbances from the Muslim ravages. The Mancalla grant44 (A.D. 1340) specially states that he wrested agraharas from the enemies (i.e., the Yavanas) and restored them to Brahmanas. By A.D. 1345 — the date of the Atukūru and the Amarāvati inscriptions,45 Vēma bore the title Rāvacēkōluganda, wrested from the enemies agrahāras granted to Brahmanas by Kākati Rudradeva and restored them to their owners. He assumed the title Dandenaaova-brahmakundi-krsnavennäaodävari-tatadvayatanmadhvadēśadattānēkāgrahāra, in the long string of titles-jaganobbaganda. Bhujabalabhīma, vīranārayana. kodandarāma, virodhinrpodānavanarasimha, Durmadavairi vīrabhayankara, Šrīpallavatrinētra, Pallavāditua, Pratyarthi-hēmādridāna nirata, Hēmādridānacintāmani, Srīśaila ahōbalanirmitasōpāna, Jagarakṣapāla. Jagadagonāla, prajāparipālana prajñācaturvidhōpāya, nityaparipālitasatya and Dharmaparipālanānirata. Of these the first six titles attest his valour and heroism; Pallavāditua is reminiscent of the early Pallava rule in the heart of the Reddi kingdom; Hēmādridānacintā-

<sup>42.</sup> M. S. Sarma: The History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p. 87 — Citation the Cal. of the Cātu śloka.

<sup>43.</sup> E.I. 21. 41. A. p. 267 ff.

<sup>44.</sup> V. P. Šāstri: Syngāra Srīnāthamu Appendix. 45. E.I. X. 3. pp. 9-15; S.I.I. VI. 225.

i.e., 1

(A.D.

bhisik

dēśa)

far, th

fourth

the G

Ksatri

mund

giri ar

In thi

ern po

Vēma

capita

Kumā

ocean

borne

contin

so lon

of agr

by su

T

ruled.

(Kan

the K

sana

Reddi

Śrīvir

52.

53.

54.

55.

56.

57.

Kingdo

mani speaks of his munificence in performing the several charities prescribed in Dānakānda of Caturvargacintāmani by Hēmādri,46 and the rest mention his building steps to Śrīśailam, Ahōbalam and Pātāļaganga, his capacity for efficient administration, truthfulness, and ardour to the well-being of his people.

An eminent warrior who had a tough role in the freedom movement in the fourteenth century A.D., Prolaya Vema Reddi, with the blessings of Ghōderāya Gangayadēva,47 as Harihara and Bukka who were blessed by Vidyāranya, founded, expanded and consolidated the Reddi kingdom to the bounds of Andhradesa. The exuberance and jubilance of the country is exemplified in the phrase Mahitandhra i.e., glorious Andhra, used in the Puvvada grant<sup>48</sup> (A.D. 1346) of Prolaya Vema. The date happily synchronises with the celebration of Vijayotsava by Harihara and his brothers at Śrngēri. The steps to Manikeśvaram (Ongole Taluk) from the Kundika were constructed in A.D. 1353 by a feudatory of Prolaya Vema.49 Vema had planted several gardens on the banks of the rivers, trees on the sides of the roads and established choultries and calivendras for the use of pilgrims and travellers. His successor Anapota Reddi (A.D. 1356-1370) shifted the capital from Addanki to Kondavidu. Anavēma, brother and successor of Anapōta, strengthened and rebuilt Kondavīdu. His reign can be considered to be the best and happiest period in Reddi history. Entitled jagarakṣapāla, according to his Manthena plates<sup>50</sup> (A.D. 1371), Anavēma wrested several agrahāras from his enemies and restored them to their owners. His Peddacerukuru inscription51 mentions him as Ksurikāsahāya and Sangrāmagāndivi indicating his valour, and as the performer of sodasadanas and charities at Sriśailam, Kumārācalam, Pancārāmas, Simhācalam, Srīkūrmam, Puru sõttamam and Kāśi. Anavēma celebrated Vasantõtsavas (i.e. spring festivals) on a grand scale in his kingdom and assumed the title—Vasantarāya. He bore the title—Pūrvasamudrādhīśvart

<sup>46.</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar: Early History of the Deccan. Appendix.

<sup>47.</sup> E.I. VII. p. 15; Errāpreggada; Harivamsamu, II-IV, VI. 48. N. Ramēśan: c.p. grants in A. P. Museum, p. 200.

<sup>49.</sup> Nell. Ins. III. 678.

<sup>50.</sup> V. Yasoda Dēvi; The Reddis (of Kondāvīdu and Rājahmundry) Appendix.

<sup>51.</sup> C. V. Rao: History of the Andhras III, p, 179 citation.

le lord of the eastern ocean. 52 In his Śriśailam epigraph (A.D. 1377), he assumes the epithet—Mahaniyāndhradēśa Paṭṭāhisikta53. (i.e., anointed to the throne of the glorious Andhradesa) with legitimate pride.

Kumāragiri was the nephéw and successor of Anavēma. So far, the Reddi kings claimed descent from the Caturthanvaya (i.e., fourth caste) born from the feet of Puranapurusa and sacred like the Ganga born from Visnupāda; and king Kumāragiri claimed Ksatriya descent and this was maintained by the Reddis of Rajahmundry. For, Manumakulavārdhicandra<sup>54</sup> is a title of Kumāragri and later on was borne by Vīrabhadra Reddi<sup>55</sup> of Rājahmundry. In this reign, the purvaraya i.e., pracibhuvam,56 that is, the eastern portion of the kingdom was separated and entrusted to Kātaya Vēma, brother-in-law of king Kumāragiri and his descendants. Its capital was Rājahmundry. Pedakomati Vēma, the successor of Kumāragiri, bore the titles—Vīranārāyaṇa, the lord of the eastern ocean and the lord of the Andhra kingdom. His scholarship is borne out by his title Sarvajñacakravarti. The Vasantotsavas continued to be celebrated both at Kondavidu and Rajahmundry, so long they survived as capitals. The titles speaking of the grant of agrahāras on the banks of the important rivers were assumed by subsequent rulers.

# V- 1 5 Pri Sur C. Single College

The Reddi administration was efficient and beneficial to the ruled. The Hēmasimhāsana<sup>57</sup> (the golden throne) at Skandapuri (Kandukūr), the seat of the government of Sivalingabhupa of the Kandukur branch of the Reddis, reminds us of the Vajrasimhā-Sana of the Rāyas. Pallava Trinētra,58 the sign manual of the Reddis, and Basavaśankara of Prolaya Vema stand comparison with Śrīvirūpākṣa of the Sangama dynasty. The signature of Anavēma

arities

ādri,46 balam

thful-

edom

Reddi

a and

d and

adēśa.

ed in

vvāda

chrod his

aluk)

latory

n the

ished

ellers.

apital

or of

con-

Enti-371),

estor-

men-

g his

Śri-

ouru-

(i.e..

umed

svarl

ndry)

The About the Walter San Andrews

<sup>52.</sup> S.I.I. X. 559.

<sup>54.</sup> S.I.I. X. 555, 556, 557. 55. Niśśanku Kommana; śivalī lāvilāsamu. The History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p. 550, v. 63.

<sup>56.</sup> Tottarāmudi plates of Kātya Vēma. 57. cf. Tyāgasimhāsana of the Cāļukyas.

<sup>58.</sup> E.I. 8. pp. 9ff.

attana other

The Rec

abhaya

Motupa

Abhaya

fering

inādēs

alle as

f their

rade in

from the

Kumāra

mporta

West of

charter7

arge so

aitha si

Ceylon,

Tavai (

or Born

Setti, br

tival, ca

from A-

water)

rotnānk

and Rad

several !

doubt, t

68. E.

69. 60

70. M

71. H

72, E. 73. S.

1, 24

The tated b Ankanag

The

was in four forms<sup>59</sup>—Kşurikāsahāya, Kaliyugabētāļa, Pallava Trinetra and Tripurantaka, indicative of his valour and religious leaning. Kumāragiri signed as Kumaragiri and Vasantarāya, the latter indicating his taste for spring festivals. Śrīvīranārāyanaw was the sign manual of Pedakōmaṭi Vēma Reḍḍi, and jaganobbaganda was that of his younger brotner Pedakomați Māca. Allaya Vēma and Anitalli signed as Śrīmārkandēyēśvara,61 as god Mārkandēya on the Godāvari in Rājahmundry was the guardian deity of the kingdom. The banner of the Reddis had either Vṛṣabha,62 symbolic of Dharma or Vīrabhadra, embodiment of action. The Reddi palace at Kondavidu was Grharaja saudha,63 or Grharaja mēda, built on a single pillar as the basement. The ruins are known today as Grharājumēḍadibba or Gurrājumēḍadibba. The Reddi palace at Rājamahēndravaram was Trailōkyavijaya on the Godavari, in the Candraśala of which, Vīrabhadra Reddi held his court.64

In the Reddi kingdom, Dharma was compared to Vṛṣabha walking on four feet, while formerly, it was limping with a single foot.65 The rulers practised sound religious toleration, performed Hēmadri dānas, Ṣōḍaśa dānas, Tulā dānas, and Tulāpuruṣa dānas. For the economic improvement of the people, the Reddi kings restored sound trade conditions in the country. This was necessitated by the prevalent unsettled political condition of the country subsequent to the fall of the Kākatīyas. The port officers were taking undue advantage of their positions by collecting exorbitant customs and confiscating the salvage of the wrecked ships. Prolaya Vēma secured all the ports within his kingdom including Mōtupalle,66 the most important port of the Deccan. Mōtupalle had the names<sup>67</sup> Vēļāpura, Mukuļapura, Mogadapalle, Dēśyuyakkonda-

<sup>59.</sup> c.p. 15 of 1922-23; S.I.I. VI, 243.

<sup>60.</sup> Several grants composed by Kavisārvabhauma Śrīnātha.

<sup>61.</sup> J. Tel. AC. II, pp. 98 ft: Bharati 21-I, p. 553 ft.

<sup>62.</sup> Title — Basavasankara — S.I.I. X. 559, VI. 243. 63. E.I. XI, p. 312 ff, J.A.H.R.S. XI, p. 213 v. 20, p. 205 ft; V. P. Śastri: upadvamani monicii i catupadyamani manjari I, p. 31; Kaifiyat of Kondavidu, p. 9.

<sup>64.</sup> Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍamu. Preface.

<sup>65.</sup> S.I.I. X. 559.

<sup>66.</sup> Errana: Harivamsamu I, iv, 23.

<sup>67.</sup> S.I.I. X. 278, 601, 602 of 1909; S.I.I. X. 556; K. A. N. Sastri: Foreign Notices of S. India, pp. 174-175.

attang and Mutfili. Ships could come closer to shore here than other places on the coast and hence its primacy in the period. The Reddi King Anapota in A.D. 1358 renewed the trade charter 68 shayaśāsana (A.D. 1244)—of Ganapati, to traders coming to Witupalle. He called it Maryāda śasana, Dharma śāsana and bhaya śāsana in three languages—Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil, fering facilities of free trade to merchants from foreign lands and mādēsi merchants in port towns. Traders could reside at Mōṭualle as long as they desired and go unmolested to any other place their choice. The charter 69 shows that silver was an article of rade in A.D. 1358, and Motupalle was celebrated for fine muslins om the Kākatīya, or even earlier times. Trades flourished under imāragiri, and Komaragiripatņam in Prolunāņți sīma was another mortant port on the coast. Vādarēvu, seven miles to the Southlest of Bapatla was a centre of foreign trade attested by a Reddi

The prosperity of the Reddi kingdom could be guaged by the age scale on which the spring festivals were celebrated. Sriwith a says 71 that articles—silks from China, mast elephants from Ceylon, horses from Ormuz, sankumada from Goa, perfumes from <sup>lavai</sup> (in Malay Archepelago), Jaffna, and Panjara (in Sumatra Borneo) were imported for the annual spring festivals. Cami betti, brother of Tirumala Setti, supplied to Kumāragiri for the festval, camphor from the Panjab, golden plants from Jalanogi, pearls hom A-page, musk from Chōtangi, sandal, agaru, himambu, (rose water) and kumkumaraja. This family of merchants supplied otnankuras (gems) in the crowns of the Sultans of Panduva, Delhi ad Rādha in their ships from Ceylon.

The high sense of sanitation prevalent in the period is indiby some of the Reddi titles. For instance the title— Ankanagaropakanthapratsitāpitabhahuvidhārāma i.e., layer kinds of gardens in front of many towns 72—attests this. No bubt, this policy was continued on a larger scale by Anavēma,73

allava

igious

a, the

yana 60

lobba-

Allaya

Mar-

deity

bha,62

harāja

is are The

n the

ld his

sabha

single

ormed

dānas.

kings

cessi-

untry

were

bitant

Prō-

Motu-

id the

onda-

šāstri:

oreign

The

<sup>68.</sup> E.I. XII. 22, pp. 188-197. 69. 601 of 1909; S.I.I. X. 556. 10. M. G. Sarma: Koņdavīţisāmrājyamu. Haravilāsamu I, vv. 26, 28. 72 E.I. 21. p. 276 ft. 73. S.I.I. X. 559.

idu, Śa

rere lec

orings a

e first

milarly

town

rere lai

es in 1

The

a pro Midana

lads, an

ever drin

mer act

le Bra

crifices

tatemen

grahāra

y their

maintena

TCCesso:

getrasat

ompassi hūdāna

rahārap

Fere M

Recorded

eight ten anavēm; Forshipp

levadivy

Pandada

83. Ka

84. E.I

85. S.I

86.º S.I

The

Kumāragiri and their successors. Besides harnessing rivers for irrigation, and fortifying hill tops for defence, laying parks and celebrating festivals, the rulers indulged in tank-digging, a meritorious act and one of the sapta santānas. Prolaya Vēma enhanced public weal by digging wells for every house and constructing tanks. Inscriptions<sup>74</sup> refer to Kumāragiri digging tanks in the place at Kondavidu for pleasure bath and sport with his ladies. The tank Komaragirisamudramu was constructed by Goggayadēva, a subordinate of the king. The Santāna sāgara<sup>75</sup> tank was built by queen Suramamba in A.D. 1410, in the reign of Peda. komativema and dedicated to public use; and the feeder to it, Jaganobbagaṇḍakāluva,76 was dug by her son Rācavēma in AD. 1415. In this reign, in A.D. 1403 at Appāpura, the tank Govardhanasamudramu was constructed by a benefactor for the satisfaction of eighty-four lakhs of lives-birds, cattle and human beings...77 Śrīsasrīgiri Reddi of Kandukūr dug several tanks for facilitating the production of plenty of crops.78 At Vinukonda, on the way up the hill was an artificial reservoir with a spring. An embankment to the North of Doṇḍapāḍu (Vinukoṇḍa Taluk) connected formerly two hills to form a tank which irrigated the land as far as Vinukoṇḍa.<sup>79</sup> At Dharaṇikōṭa was a big artificial lake Even today there are wells (in Amalapuram and Nagaram Taluks) stated to have been dug during the Reddi period. They are known as Jain wells or Reddis' wells with depth about eighteen to twenty feet, holding ten to twelve feet of water, practically perennial and riveted with bricks and used for areca and cocoanut plantations. Near Kollūr (Sattenapalle Taluk) are traces of two bunds of ruined tanks, which originally collected water from hills in the East. 81 The Nāgulēru82 had a massive embankment with at one time dammed its waters between the hills of Karempudi and Singarutla agrahāram. From the huge stone dams at Gāmāla-

<sup>74.</sup> J.A.H.R. S. XI. p. 91 ft.

<sup>75.</sup> E.I. XI. 33-A. pp. 313-316.

<sup>76.</sup> S.I.I. X. 582.

<sup>77.</sup> S.I.I. X. 573.

<sup>78.</sup> Nell. Ins. II, KR. 35.

<sup>79.</sup> Kistna District Manual, p. 201.

<sup>80.</sup> Gödāvari District Gazatteer I, p. 89. 81. Kistna District Manual, pp. 170-171.

<sup>82.</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

vers for

arks and

a meri-

hanced

structing

in the s ladies.

doggaya. ank was of Peda.

er to it,

in A.D.

ne tank

for the

human

anks for

onda, on

ng. An

ik) con-

the land

ial lake.

Taluks)

known

twenty

nial and

ations.89

unds of

in the

at one

idi and

Gāmāla-

Sankarapuram and Dāchēpalle, small irrigation channels gre led to gardens. In the capital Kondavidu, were several gings and large tanks, one leading into the other, so that when first was filled, the second began to receive its supply and milarly the third and so forth. Besides, according to the methods town planning, in Kondavidu, sūrya and soma vithis (streets) re laid.83 Thus under the benevolent Reddi rule, Āndhradēśa in remarkable state of progress.

The society in Reddy kingdom was prosperous. Hinduism was 14 progressive condition. Prolaya Vema's titles84—Aparimita-Midānaparaśurāma i.e., a Paraśurāma in making lavish gifts of ads, and Anavaratapurōhitakṛtasōmapāna i.e., making Brahmanas for drink soma juice attest the happy condition of the Brahmanas mer active in celebrating sacrifices. Assured of royal patronage, Brahmanas invoked the blessings of gods by performing Exifices to their satiety. Inscriptions of Vema are replete with tements that Vēma pleased the Brahmanas by his gifts of wahāras, and they in their turn appeased the appetite of gods their knowledge of the Vēdas and sacrifices. The policy of taintenance of Dharma by Vēma was followed zealously by his ccessors. The praśasti of Anapōta<sup>85</sup> has the title—aganyapunyavetrasatradattabahuvidhāhāra attesting to his munificence and ompassion. Allāda Reddi of Rājahmundry had the title Niśśīmahidanacakravarti, and his son Vēma bore the title, gocarmamahāahāraprada,86 and exempted the lands of Brahmanas from taxation.

The Reddis practised religious toleration. Their family deities Mullagūramma, and Cedalavāda Raghunāthanāyakasvāmi. beorded tradition says that Prolaya Vema built one hundred and the temples at Kondavidu in expiation of the sin of Brahmahatya. havēma was devoted to Tripurāntakēšvara at Tripurāntakam and orshipped Siva six times daily. He bore the title Tripurantakapadivyaśrīpādapadmārādhaka. He made mahādānas — Brahand Kalpa-and Kanakadhārā mahādāna, gōsahasra dāna. and Kalpa-

<sup>&</sup>amp; Kaifiyat of Kondavidu.

<sup>84.</sup> E.l. III. p. 286. V 5, S.I.I. VI, 243. 85. S.I.I. VI. 205.

<sup>8.</sup> S.I.I. IV. 1382; J. Tel. Ac. II, pp. 96-112.

ausp

eclip

Sivar

from

villag mana

varie

Cent

ces

gram

astro

disea

Whi]

rulei

was

Telu

of th

prod

cour

Ānd

māh

and

his (

preg

vam

othe

from

and of K fami

He v

95

96

97 and

koma

taru dāna and kept golden and silver pinnacles on the temples at Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam, Ahōbalam, Kāśi, Prayāga, Gaya, Simhā calam, Śrīkūrmam and Puruṣōttamam.87 Kumāragiri performed Tulā puruṣa dānas in the presence of Bhīmēśvara at Drākṣārāma,® Pedakōmaṭi Vēma was a devotee of Ādilakṣmi Kāmēśvarī enshrined in the Grharāja palace in Kondavīdu. The rulers of Rājamundry were ardent Saivaites and in accordance with injunctions in the Agamas, worshipped Siva six times daily to the accompaniment of music and dance.89 Allayavēma performed Gosahasra danas at Drākṣārāma.90 Vīrabhadra adored Mārkaṇḍēśvara on Kamalācala at Rājahmundry, where the temples of Gōpāla and Mullagūriśakti were within the fortress.

Ghoderāyapada was a religious pītha like Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha at Śrīśailam, Sṛṇgēri pīṭha, and Kāmakōṭi pīṭha at Kāncīpuram, The Reddi rulers were devotees of this pitha. The annual Vasantõtsavas, also known as Kāmōtsavas or Madanamahōtsavas had not merely religious and social significance but also gathered royal grandeur and political momentum. The spring festival was celebrated at the approach of the vernal equinox. Anavēma was the first Reddi King to participate in the festival. The titles Vasantarāya and Karpūravasantarāya imply the profuse use of camphor in the festival,91 the other articles being musk, saffron, sandal, rose water, civet, and eagle wood. The vasantavaibhava of Kumaragiri had been appraised by Harihararaya, Firozshah and the Gajapati and was conducted by Tirumala Setti, son of Avaci Tippaya Setti whose entire family was in the service of the Reddis and devoted to Ekāmrēśvara of Kānci.92 Probably the low hill-Vasantarāyugatțu at Tādēpalle was named after Kumāragiri Vasantarāya. The Vasantarāya mandapa<sup>93</sup> in the temple at Sarpavaram was built for the merit of Kumāragiri. The festivals of Gautami and Krsna Puskarams,94 occurring once in every twelve years, making gifts in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>87.</sup> S.I.I. X. 559.

<sup>88.</sup> J.A.H.R.S. XI, p. 91 ft — Komaragirivaram and Anaparti grants. 89. Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍamu I, V. 56.

<sup>90.</sup> E.I. XIII, p. 237 ft.

<sup>91.</sup> E.I. III, p. 289, V. 13, IV, p. 226; ep. 15 of 1922-23. 92. Śrīnātha: Haravilāsamu.

<sup>93.</sup> S.1.1. V. 27.

<sup>94.</sup> S.I.I. V, 114-Palivela; 290 of 1934-35-Kētavaram (Gunțur District)

mples at , Simhāerformed ārāma,88 nshrined mundry in the iment of lānas at malācala gūriśakti

i matha ipuram, l Vasanhad not ed royal as celewas the Vasantacamphor al, rosemāragiri Gajapati ya Setti, devoted ıtarayua. The built for sna Puşgifts in

ants.

District).

auspicious times of Uttarāyana, and Dakṣināyana, lunar and solar eclipses, Ardhodaya and Mahodaya occasions, and the vratas of • Sivarātri, Ēkādaśi, Dvādaśi, and Kāmēśvari were observed, as seen from the records, e.g., Allaya Dodda of Rajahmundry granted the village Gumpini on the occasion of Ardhodaya Punyakāla to Brahmanas.95 The rich could command all comforts and enjoyed rich variety in food. The women of higher classes were cultured. Centres of education existed and the development of various sciences was stimulated by royal grants to scholars. Mathematics, grammar, philosophy, logic, philology, law, āgamas, sacrificial lore, astrology, astronomy, āyurvēda, rasavaidya (i.e., treatment of diseases with mercurial preparations) were studied in the period.

#### VII

As regards arts, the period witnessed substantial advancement. While in the Kākatīya period, Sanskrit was patronised by the rulers and Telugu literature having completed the Puranic age was on the threshold of the Prabhandha age, in the Reddi period, Telugu was elevated to a position on par with Sanskrit. Some of the best works in the entire range of Telugu literature were produced by two master minds of this age. Errapreggada, the court poet of Prolaya Vema, wrote Rāmāyana and Harivamsamu, Āndhra Mahābhārata, and Narasimhapurāna (alias Ahōbalamāhātmya). Of these, Harivamsamu is the first extant prabandha, and Bhārata96 earned him the title-prabandhaparamēśvara, while his devotion to Siva secured him the epithet-sambhudasā. Errapreggada's contemporary poet Nācana Somana wrote Uttara Harivamsamu in dedication to Harihararāya I of Vijayanagar. other celebrated poet was Srīnātha, the court poet of the Reddis from the reign of Kumāragiri to the close of the reign of Anitalli and Virabhadra Reddi. He was the Vidyādhikāri in the courts of Kumāragiri, and Pedakomați Vēma. Śrīnātha hailed from a family of scholars, and composed several grants of the period. He visited the courts of Dēvarāya II and Sarvajña Singama at

<sup>95.</sup> E.I., V, p. 55 ft. — Konkuduru plates.

<sup>96.</sup> Narasimha purana IV. 17.

<sup>97.</sup> Ponnapalli grant (A.D. 1404) — L. R. 43, pp. 267 ff — the earliest of Rudra. and Rudravaram grant (A.D. 1404) — L. R. 43, pp. 2011.

Romati Variation of Pedakomați Vēma's reign; Bhīmēsvara Purāṇamu I, V 23.

Vijayanagar and Rāckoṇḍa and won laurels. He acquired the title Kavisārvabhauma and his works are Maruttarāṭcaritra, šālivāhana Saptaśati, Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra, Śṛngāranaiṣadha, Bhīmēśvara purāṇa, Haravilāsa, Kāśikhaṇḍa, Palnāṭivīracaritra, Vīthināṭaka, and innumerable chāṭus in superb style.

poses

Niśśa

broth

Śival

three

ture.

broth

Śriśa

cian.1

dance

of Sc

a re

She :

the c

ple f

The

Telu

name

Valla

Was

paksa

enact

alias

the ·

Śrīśa

Kaly

100.

Kingd

101. 102. 103. 104.

105.

106. 107.

1

Vennalakanti Surana, Lollamahādēva and Pramathakavi Śrīgiri were poets in the court of Prolaya vēma. In the reign of Anapōta, Bālasarasvatī was Vidyādhikāri and composed grants, Like his father, Anavēma patronised scholars, and several chitu verses attest his munificence to poets and Trilocanacarya was Vidyādhikāri in his reign. Kumāragiri, a versatile scholar, wrote Vasantarājīya, a work on dramaturgy. His general, Kātaya Vēma, dedicated his Kumāragirirājīyavyākhya, a commentary on the three dramas98 of Kāļidāsa, to his lord. King Pedakōmaţivēma wrote, Syngāradīpika, a commentary on Amaruśataka, which earned him fame in the literary world. He styled himself as Sakala Vidyāviśārada as Śrīnātha assumed the epithet Sakalakavitāsanātha, in the Colophon of his Sṛngāra Naiṣadha. His other works are Bhāvadīpika alias Saptaśatīsāravyākhya, a commentary on the select hundred stories of Gathasaptasati by King Hala, Śāhityacintāmaņi, an excellent work on poetics and rhetorics, Sangītacintāmaņi, an important work on music, and Vīranārāyaņacaritra. In his court, besides Śrīnātha was Vāmana Bhatṭabāṇa entitled Abhinavabhatta Bāṇa. The fame of vāmana bhatṭabāṇa rests on his prose work in Sanskrit Vīranārāyaṇacaritra alias Vēmabhūpālacarita, wherein he assumes the titles99 Sāhityachūdāmani and Gadyakavisārvabhauma, and proclaims his determination to disprove the saying "Bāṇōcciṣṭam jagatsarvam". He modelled his work on Bāṇa's Kādambari. Among his other works are Pārvatīpariņaya, Šṛngāra bhūshaṇa, and Raghunātha caritra. Narasimhakavi, the author of the drama, Kādambarīkalyānamu, was in the court of Pedakomați Vema. Mamidisinganāmātya, minister of Padakomați Vēma, wrote Somasiddhantavyākhya alias Gūdharthadīpika. Prince Sivalingabhūpa wrote Giriśāśrtisūktimālāvyākhya, a commentary on Haradattācārya's work bearing that name. Śrīvallabha and Sarasvatī Bhaṭṭa com-

<sup>98.</sup> Abhijñāna Sākuntalam, Vikramõrvasīyam and Mālavikāgnimitram. 99. In Sṛngārabhūṣaṇa (Bhāṇa) and Vīranārāyaṇacarita respectively.

posed grants in the courts of Kāṭaya Vēma and Allāḍa Reḍḍi, Niśsanku Kommanamatya, patronised by Dodda Reddi, the younger brother of Allada Reddi, and Queen Anitalli wrote two works śwalila vilasamu 100 and Viramahēśvaram. 101

Music advanced under royal patronage. Anavēma granted three agrahāras to three women, proficient in music and literafure 102 Pedakomați Vema was a musician and his younger brother Pedakomați Māca was an expert player on viņa and flute. śriśaśrigiri of Kandukūr was a man of letters, artist and a musician, 103 Kāṭaya Vēma was an adept in the technique of music and dance. Vīrabhadra Reddi was learned in the laksya and laksana of Sangīta śāstra, and a player of Vīņa and flute. 104

The art of dancing flourished in the age. Lakumādēvi was a renowned dancer in the court of Kumāragiri Vasantarāya. 105 She filled a large role in the annual spring festivals in Kondavidu, the capital. Dramas were enacted during the celebrations of temple festivals and on several important auspicious days as well. The drama Vallabhābhyudaya was staged during the Tiruṇāl of Telungurāya i.e., Āndhranāyakasvāmi of Śrīkākuļam. As the name implies, the theme was about the deity, also known as Vallabha. Again, Śrngārabhūṣaṇa Bhāna of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa was staged during the festival caitrayatra mahōtśava of Srīvirūpākṣa at Pampa i.e., Vijayanagar. Possibly Krīḍābhirāma was enacted during the Tirunāl of Bhairavasvāmi on Bhairavakonda alias Mōhanaśaila in Mōpūr.

Architecture and sculpture registered considerable progress in the period. Vīraśirō mandapa<sup>106</sup> and a hall in the temple of Śriśailam, Anavēmanagaru<sup>107</sup> in the temple of Simhācalam, Kalyāņa mandapa with twenty pillars in the Kṣīrārāmēśvara tem-

d the

Sāli-

īmēś.

thina-

akavi

gn of

rants.

chītu

Was

wrote

řema,

the

vēma

earn-

akala vitā-

other

ntary

Hāla,

orics,

jana-

bāṇa

bāṇa

alias

ityahis

am".

ther

ātha

barinidiinta-

rote

ya's

:OT:1-

6

<sup>100. (</sup>MS). Introductory portion is appended to the History of the Reddi Kingdoms, pp. 543-563.

<sup>101.</sup> It is known from verses quoted in laksanagranthas. 102. M. G. Śarma: Kondavīţi sāmrājyamu.

<sup>103.</sup> Nell. Ins. II, KR. 19.

<sup>104.</sup> Śrīnātha: Kāśikhandamu V, v. 338.

<sup>105.</sup> Sākuntala vyākhya — citation in p. 57 of Śrngāra Śrīnāthamu. 106. S.I.I. X. 559.

<sup>107.</sup> S.I.I. VI. 806.

500

# JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

ple<sup>108</sup> at Pālakol, a *śilāmandapa* with a *Kalyāna vēdi* in the Koppeśvara temple at Palivela,<sup>109</sup> and several *mandapas—nātya*, *kalyāna*, *hōma*, *śanivāra*, *āsthāna mandapas* and twelve pillared *gōpura* in the temple of Drākṣārāma<sup>110</sup> were constructed in this age. The steps from Pātālaganga up to the hill of Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam were built by Prōlaya Vēma. Malla II of Kandukūr built in his capital a temple to Janārdana with a *mandapa*, *prākāra* and *gōpura*.<sup>111</sup>

So the Reḍḍi epoch was a glorious chapter in the history of Āndhradēśa, deservedly appraised in their records as Mahitāndhradēśa.

Te

On Circle, the his portance premise of Śrī dity.

Th

of Ind
Bhāgav
Patañja
century
literatu
centre
Ghatik
far-off
tury A
learn t
who Ii
politica
a Sang

1. I 2. I 3. Vol. II,

King, Was un

J, 25

<sup>108.</sup> S.I.I. V. 133.

<sup>109.</sup> S.I.I. V. 113.

S.I.I. IV. 1379, 1381, E.I. IV. p. 328, Bhimēśvarapurāņa IV, 74.
 Nell. Ins. II, KR. 18, 19, 21.

# Terracotta Figurines and other objects from Kāńci Excavations, 1962

oppes. lyāna,

tra in

his-

ds as

The balam in his and

# DR. R. SUBRAHMANYAM AND K. V. RAMAN

#### 1. Introduction

On behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, the authors undertook a trial excavation at Kāncipuram, the historic city of the South, famous alike for its political imwrtance and cultural glory. The excavation was done in the nemises of the Mutt of His Holiness Jagadguru Śrī Śankarācārya of Śrī Kāńci Kāmakōṭipīṭham, situated in the busy centre of the

#### Historical Background 2.

The origin of Kanci, like that of many other ancient cities of India, is almost shrouded in obscurity. Known to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa as Satyavratakṣētra it has been mentioned by Patanjali, the great Sanskrit grammarian who lived in the second tentury B.C.1 We find references to this city in the early Tamil literature of the Sangam period. It is described as a leading tentre of Buddhistic and other studies by the Manimekalai.2 The Ghatikasthānās (colleges) of Kāńci attracted many students from ar-off places. Mayūraśarman, the Kadamba King of fourth cen-Mry A.D. is said to have joined one of these colleges at Kāūci to learn the Vēdas, while Buddhaghōṣa, the great Pali commentator who lived in fifth century A.D. had stayed at Kanci.3 On the political side, however, the picture is not so clear. We know from a Sangam poem that while Karikāla (c. 190 A.D.), the great Cola King, was ruling in Tanjore and Tirucirappalli districts, Kanci was under one Ilam Tiraiyar. It is not known whether the latter

<sup>1.</sup> R. Gopalan: Pallavas of Kāńchi, p. 157.

<sup>2.</sup> Epigraphia Indica, VIII, p. 31. 3. A Comprehensive History of India, ed. by K. A. N. Sastri (1957), Vol.º II, p. 679 n. J, 25 

was subordinate to or independent of the Cola power.4 But, except for some scrappy information like this, the history of Kanel before the advent of the Pallavas (in fourth century A.D.) is rather dark, Even the early years of the Pallava rule cannot be said to be free from obscurity. It is only from the seventh century A.D., thanks to the stone inscriptions left by the Kings, that a more authentic history emerges.5

# Object of Excavation

The excavation was undertaken to get, if possible, a vertical sequence of cultures at Kāñci and, more particularly, a glimpse into the Pre-Pallava times. Though only a small trench of 20 feet by 10 feet was taken, it has furnished a continuous story of Kañci at least from the early centuries of Christian era. The discovery of Śātavāhana coins in well-stratified layers may be an important evidence to postulate the expansion of the Satavahana rule over Kanci in the second century A.D. which has been surmised by some early scholars.

# Cultural sequence

The excavation uncovered a total cultural deposit of about 16 feet and revealed broadly two main periods of occupation, viz, Ancient and Mediaeval, besides a thin but very much disturbed deposit of modern occupation at the top. In Period I (Ancient), two sub-periods were noticed: I-A Pre-Pallava, i.e., earlier than fourth century A.D; and I-B which can broadly be termed Pallava in point of time i.e., from fourth to tenth century A.D. Period II is mediaeval and Period III is modern. More details about the cultural equipment of each period cited above and stratigraphy are published elsewhere.6 In this paper we give details about the terracotta figurines and other clay objects recovered in the excavations.

> 5. Terracotta objects

Comparatively, the North Indian sites are more prolific in their yield of clay images than those of the South.7 But this small trial

5. Ibid, p. 138.

7. Ancient India, No. 2, p. 102; No. 13, p. 110.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ed for man : the the leads, amesm te earl

at at

naterial

d utilit an in deposit tile in ess, on ate tha rated in mes w **Epressi** 

It is

y the rude, h which h a co ist cen exhibit cularly, beir orr

reat he

arts in nish. plooker lahābal Hongate

ylish h awling ice, the

ound . ane art

<sup>4.</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: A History of South India (1959), p. 121.
5. Ibid. p. 138

Indian Archaeology — A Review, 1962 (under print).

503

except d before er dark, be free thanks uthentic

vertical glimpse 20 feet f Kāñci

scovery aportant ale over ised by

f about on, viz, sturbed accient), er than Pallava eriod II out the graphy out the

n their

in the

121.

y at Kanci has, however, yielded a rich crop of terracotta nterials, 33 in number, which are interesting for their variety of for high quality in workmanship. The materials comprise of iman figurines including royal busts, a dancing girl etc; animals the bull and the elephant and various utilitarian objects like hads, bangles, pendants, ear-ornaments, finger-ring, hair-pin, mesmen etc. A terracotta coin-mould with square sockets in a early level is extremely significant.

### 6. General features

It is of interest to note that the terracotta objects, particularly, tutilitarian value, were more in number in the earlier levels in the later ones. In Period I Ancient, represented by a posit of eight to nine feet thickness, 23 clay objects were found tile in Period II (Mediaeval)—a deposit of about five feet thickxx, only 5 terracottas were collected. This may probably indithat at Kāñci, the art of making clay objects was more cultialed in the Pre-Pallava and Pallava days than in subsequent mes when stone and metal became the popular media of art spression. That this art, with its crude beginnings, touched reat heights of quality, in the course of time, is clearly borne out with the discoveries. Find No. 1, for example, is a very rare but rude, hand-made figurine of a cult image from the lowest levels have yielded the megalithic Black and Red ware and, even a conservative estimate, it can be assigned to not later than ast century A.D. But the figurines and the objects of later levels considerable skill and refinement in modelling. Partidarly, the two beautiful human figurines (Fig. 2 and 3) with ornamental royal headgear can rival any of their counterats in stone or metal in their naturalistic treatment or careful Fig. 3 is a remarkable depiction in clay and reminds the bloker of many of the familiar Pallava sculptured figures at habalipuram or Kañci, which it anticipates. It has a rather bigated face, broad nose, full lips, double chin and a simple but hish head-gear. Fig. 4 is a good model of Balakrishna in the Tawling pose and belongs to Period II. Its round and smooth the flowing ears and thick necklace in a circular pattern the neck show typical features of the Cola style. The neck show typical features of the con-

dress

incise

evide

of a

in d

porti

orna

of a droo

thick

well-

raise

and

fron

rich

the

Peri

B.

to b

of a

in d

dn j

a powerful modelling of a sturdy bull with a shapely hump, reminding us of similar bulls of the Pallava times. Fig. 14, which is only a fragment depicting the back portion of an elephant in double-mould, is of no mean artistic merit. Even the terracotta objects of daily use listed in an earlier paragraph show artistic ingenuity. Fig. 28, for example, is an ear-ornament with beautiful floral designs. Similarly, we have fine samples of decorated bangles, pendants, finger-rings etc. The discovery of a coin-mould with roughly square sockets which served to produce punchmarked coins by die-strike method affords important evidence to show that the punch-marked coins were probably in use at Kañci in the early centuries of Christian era.8

# 7. Description of Terracotta objects

### A. Human Figurines

- Fig. 1. A nude male figurine, representing a cult image, crudely modelled by hand. Nipples and navel indicated by piercing holes. Nose and eye-brows are indicated by pinching, eyelids by applique and mouth by incision. From Period I-A.
- Fig. 2. A beautiful human head in double-mould having a characteristic Pallava style. It has a somewhat elongated face and ears, broad nose, full lips and a simple but stylish head-gear, suggestive of a royal personage. Kundalas adorn the ears and strings of beaded ornament are seen in the crown. Stratigraphically, it belongs to the early Pallava period i.e., about fourth of fifth century A.D. period I-A.
- Fig. 3. Head with elaborate three-tiered spiral, ornamental head-gear and long ears and big-ear-lobes with Kundalas. Nose and mouth are formed by pinching and eyes by incision. Some what similar head-gear is seen depicted in some of the Pallava sculptures of Piravatana-Iśvara temple at Kańcipuram<sup>9</sup>. Period I-B.

9. Compare Plate XXII, fig. 11, Lalit Kala, No. 3 & 4 (1956-57).

<sup>8.</sup> It is important to note that these strata have also yielded many Sātavāhana coins of I and II Centuries A.D. Probably the punch-marked coins were in vogue side by side or that they were kept as prized posses, sions long after they ceased to be legal tenders.

mp, re-, which chant in arracotta artistic

beautiecorated n-mould punchdence to at Kāñci

t image, by piercng, eye-

naving a ted face ead-gear, ears and tigraphiourth or

namental s. Nose Some-Pallava riod I-B

ded many ch-marked ed posses,

- Fig. 4. A fragmentary human head with outflanged head-dress and a prominent forehead and nose. Eyes and mouth incised. Period I-A.
- Fig. 5. Part of a human hand with outstretched palm evidently that of a lady as is indicated by the bangles. Period I-A.
- Fig. 6. Two folded-hands in worshipping posture evidently of a lady as indicated by the beaded bangles and wristlets—made in double-mould. Period I-A.
- Fig. 7. Two fragments depicting lower part of the back portion and the shoulder of a dancing girl (?) String of beaded ornament are seen around the waist. Double-mould. Period I-B.
- Fig. 8. A fragment appearing to be the outstretched left hand of a dancing figure (like Kāļiyamardana Kṛṣṇa) with figures drooping down. Fingers indicated by pronounced incisions. A thick wristlet is also seen. Period I-A.
- Fig. 9. Shoulder and hand with folded palm. Fingers not well-marked. Rather crudely modelled. The hand seems to be raised at the elbow as if in abhaya-mudra. Period I-B.
- Fig. 10. Human leg. Foot rather disproportionate to the leg and the thigh. Period II.
- Fig. 11. Figurine of Bālakṛṣṇa in the crouching position. The front two hands resting on the floor are half-broken. It wears a rich necklace in circular pattern round the neck, characteristic of the Cōla style. Facial features smooth and rather blurred. Period II.
- B. Animal Figurines
- Fig. 12. Broken figurine of a humped bull-stylistically seems to be an anticipation of the Pallava bull. Period I-A.
- Fig. 13. A star-shaped clay bullae with the faint impression of a seated bull—Period I-A. (Too faint to be illustrated).
- Fig. 14. Fragment depicting the back portion of an elephant in double-mould. Portion of the ornamental caparison is visible its back. Period I-A.
  - Fig. 15. A fragment of the head, perhaps of a ram—Period II.

# C. Utilitarian objects

Fig. 16. Coin mould: Very rare and interesting design of a coin-mould in grey-ware pottery. It is disc-shaped with square sockets on one side, the other side being plain. Only four such sockets are intact and, in its fuller shape, it would have had two more. At its rim, traces of a notch with a straight channel for the inflow of the molten metal and two distinct smaller feeder channels, inter-connecting the sockets are visible. In one of the sockets some traces of sun and bull symbol are visible. The designs in other sockets are evidently worn-out. The rather irregular square shapes and the sun symbol are very much typical of the punch-marked coins. This mould was evidently designed to produce in a single operation imitations of coins with designs which were normally struck by a series of punches. It is also very significant that stratigraphically this mould belongs to Period I-A i.e., earlier than fourth century A.D. i.e., a period prior to the advent of the Pallavas of Kāñci. This technique of coin-moulding, must have found its way to Kāñci during the rule of Sātavāhanas, whose coins have also been found along with the moulds. Similar moulds both in terracotta and stone were also found in the lower levels of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa excavations datable to first-second centuries A.D.

#### Beads

Fig. 17. Bead, Long bicone and circular in section with one groove on each end. Period I-A.

Fig. 18. Bead or small finial with grooves in concentric circles on its neck. Period I-A.

Fig. 19. Long biconical barrel bead with circular section with three grooves in the centre and one at an end. Period I-A.

Fig. 20. Bicone, one side rather truncated and circular in section. Period I-B.

Fig. 21. Truncated bicone with a thin iron wire in its central hole, projecting on both ends. Might have been a spindle whorl. Period II,

Finge F

beari outst

Pend

F

hole Hair-

F

and of three Even Tamil

Perio F

compa stud-l

F Plain

like d

Ear-or

F

with f side. to whi

seen i

B: 10.

# OBJECTS FROM KÄNCI EXCAVATIONS, 1962

507

Finger-Ring

•

of a

luare

such two for

eder

f the

signs gular f the

pro-

hich

very

I-A

the

ding, anas,

nilar

wer

cond

one

cir-

vith

in

tral orl Fig. 22. Ring or signet with a prominent, flat, circular head bearing an impression of some figures, possibly a Mayūra with outstretched plumage. Period I-B.

Pendent

Fig. 23. An almond-shaped pendant, one of the pair, with a hole on the top. Decorations at the top. I-A.

Hair-clip

Fig. 24. A circular decorated hair-clip with a central hub and dotted designs on the back, there is a central long ridge with three pairs of holes for the pin or thread to be tied to the hair. Even today similar hair-clips in gold are used by the ladies in Tamilnad. Period I-A.

Bangles: All the three terracotta bangles belong to the Period I-A.

- Fig. 25. Fragment with a rectangular section. Prominent compartmental decoration with vertical lines alternating with stud-like projections made of fine clay.
- Fig. 26. Fragment with convex section. A series of studlike dotted and other decorations along the outer rim.
- Fig. 27. Fragment of a bangle or bracelet circular in section. Plain except for one circular dot-embossment.

Ear-ornaments

Fig. 28. A circular decorated ear-ornament black in colour with floral designs and incised motifs in concentric circles on one side. Such big ear-ornaments were popular in the Pallava days to which this belongs (Period I-B). Similar ear-ornaments can be seen in the famous portrait-sculptures at Mahābalipuram. 10

8: and also Plates II and III.

- Fig. 29. Ear-ornament with biconical terminals and a deep groove in the middle. Roughly similar to the type III found at Sisupalgarh. Period II.
- Fig. 30. A very crude type of ear-ornament with rough surface. Period III.

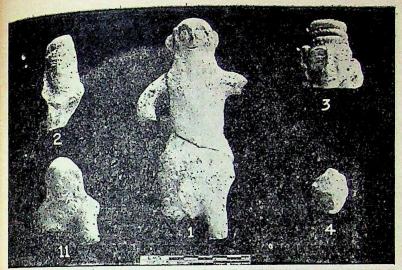
#### Toy-objects

Fig. 31. Terracotta disc with a central hole. Perhaps the wheel of a toy-cart. I-A.

Fig. 32 and 33. Terracotta discs, probably gamesmen. Both belong to Period II.

8. Conclusion: The foregoing description will amply show that Kāñci, which was the centre of intellectual and artistic tradition, zealously fostered by its long array of Kings, through the ages, also nurtured the poor man's art of making clay-objects, many of which may well challenge comparison with their contemporary representations in stone or metal. It is also seen that this art had a hoary tradition at Kāñci going back to the beginning of the Christian era. It is well-known that working in stone, both for temples and sculptural forms, was introduced in Tamilnad by Mahēndravarman I (600-630 A.D.). The Kāñci Excavation has shown that the burnt clay served as an admirable medium of artistic expression before the use of stone became common and continued to be so, long after too.

<sup>11.</sup> Ancient India, No. 5, p. 90, Plate XLVII, No. 10.



deep

h sur-

ps the

Both

show

tradigh the many porary is art of the th for ad by

n has im of n and

PLATE I: Kānchipuram—Terracotta Human Figurines

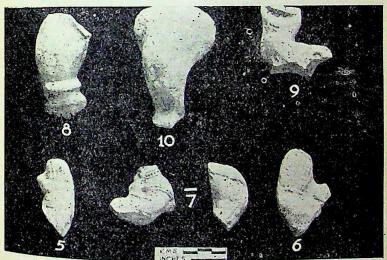
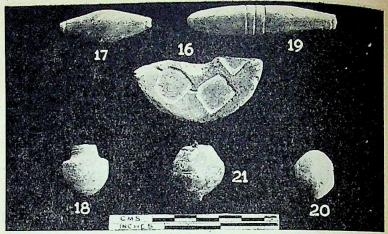


PLATE II: Kanchipuram—Terracotta Human Figurines



PLATE III: Kāńchipuram—Terracotta Animal Figurines



N

N

south

distric

by period They being the 1s of De

walls that t in 125

D

of the death Mewa

of the dened attack

create theref

1. 2. Mushte

TN, 31

\* 6. J. 26

PLATE IV: Kānchipuram—Terracotta Objects

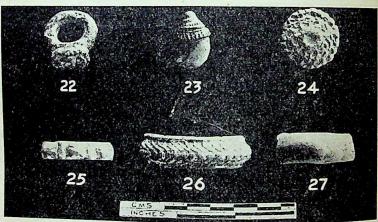


PLATE V: Känchipuram—Terracotta Objects

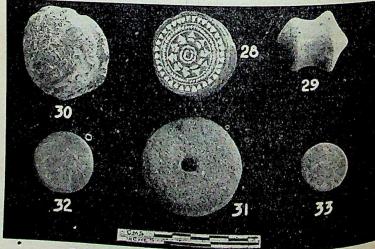


PLATE VI: Kāńchipuram—Terracotta Objects

# Mewat Affairs during the Sultanate Period

### B. S. MATHUR, University of Udaipur

Mewat1 or the land of the Meos and Khanzadas, lying to the with of Delhi and including considerable portions of the modern districts of Mathura, Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur, was inhabited by people, extremely contumacious, who during the Sultanate period remained a source of great trouble to the rulers of Delhi. They acquired during the early medieval period a notoriety of being thieves and robbers.2 On account of the hilly terrain and the large extent and density of the jungles3 that existed south of Delhi during the first half of the thirteenth century, they had succeeded in extending their depredatory activities to the outer walls of the metropolis. So much did they become troublesome that the contemporary writer Minhaj was constrained to remark in 1259 that they had become a terror even to the devil.4

During the period of the rule of Iltutmish, Mewat as a part of the kingdom of Hindustan was peaceful.<sup>5</sup> But after Iltutmish's death none of his successors took up seriously the task of holding Mewat under control.6 Largely on account of the incompetence of the successors of Iltutmish, the Mewattis had become so emboldened as to infest the jungles lying to the south of Delhi, and to attack there the travellers going southwards. Thus, they had created a situation which called for immediate action. In 1249, therefore Nasiruddin Mahmud, the reigning Sultan, directed Ulugh

<sup>1.</sup> Hunter-Imp. Gaz. 4, 8 ff, Tieffenthaler III map. 2. Tabqat-i-Nasiri, abbreviated subsequently as TN, 313, Wakiat-i-Mushtaqi, 27 relates an ancecdote about their thieving habits. 3. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi (Barni), abbreviated subsequently as TFS, 56, TN, 314.

<sup>4.</sup> TN, 227. 5. TFS, 56.

<sup>· 6.</sup> Ibid. J. 26

60 cot

in loo

Musli

grand

great

later 1

tramp

Turkis

in his

rebelli

the ac

time

report

farers.

ments

by a

them.

dren ·

Balbar

five ye

Sultan

might

were have s have 1

realise

ness a

immed

of acti

to long

14.

that ne

15.

18.

B habits

S

H

Khan to conduct a campaign against them. But this period being one of general disorder throughout northern India, Ulugh Khan could not achieve anything beyond effecting some destruction of Mewatti property and collection of some booty.7

The weak personality of the king coupled with the intrigues of Imamuddin Rihan and the dismissal and disgrace of Balban must have made action against the Mewattis difficult. They could therefore continue on a course of mischievous activities. Under the leadership of a Hindu named Malkha,8 they in 1257, committed an imprudent robbery of the transport camels belonging to Balban on the eve of one of his projected campaigns against the Mongols. This action of the Mewattis had aroused Balban's personal resentment,9 and when he was free from the activities of the Mongols, he decided to deal with the rebels of Mewat. On 29th January 1260, he therefore left Delhi<sup>10</sup> with an army of 10,000 soldiers, and in a single forced march penetrated upto 50 Kas11 and took the rebels completely by surprise. For twenty days the work of slaughter and pillage continued. In order to achieve quick reresults, Balban ordered the reward of one silver Tanka for every head, and two for every living prisoner. The soldiery thus stimulated, soon activised themselves and without caring for geographical difficulties they began to bring forth either the heads of the rebels or living prisoners12 from amongst them. The Afghan section of the Imperial army was particularly active, and Minhaj goes to the length of saying that each one of them brought at least one hundred Hindu prisoners. The rebel chief Malkha was arrested with his entire family together with 250 other leading men of the tribe.13 Besides this, 142 horses were captured and

8. TN, 313. 9. Ibid, 314.

Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi (Basu Tr.) 34, TN, 292.

<sup>10.</sup> TN, 227 and 314, Badaoni, Vol. I, 94, however gives a wrong inpression that Nasiruddin Mahmud had himself conducted this campaign, TMS (B) 37 agrees with TN.

<sup>11.</sup> TN, 314, Cunningham ASI XX, 13, incorrectly says that during this campaign Balban had captured two important towns called Santur and Salmur which he identifies a life two important towns called Santur Hodivals mur which he identifies with Indore and Alwar respectively. See Hodivals 227 and 229 for correct level. 227 and 229 for correct location of these places which were not in Mewat.

12. TN. 315

<sup>12.</sup> TN, 315.

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid.

# MEWAT AFFAIRS DURING THE SULTANATE

oction bags, each containing 30 thousand Tankas, were obtained in loot.

Having thus accomplished apparently a great victory for the Muslim arms, Balban returned to Delhi on 9th March 1260. A grand reception was ordered for him and the Sultan organised a great durbar at Hauz-i-Rani to celebrate the victory. Two days later the prisoners were publicly massacred. Some of them were trampled to death by elephants, others were cut to pieces by the Turkish soldiery and several hundreds were flayed alive. Thus, in his own ruthless way Balban tried to curb the menace of the rebellious neighbours.

Sometime later, news was again received at the capital about the activities of some of those rebels who had run away at the time of the earlier campaign and who, on their return, were reported to be infesting the highways and slaughtering the way-tarers. Balban after having ascertained from the spies, the movements of the robbers left Delhi on 5th July, 1260, 15 and as before, by a forced march reached the heart of Mewat and surprised them. Minhaj says that 12000 of them including women and children were taken prisoners. 16 Thus, by two vigorous campaigns Balban succeeded in establishing peace in Mewat for a period of five years.

But the geographical features of Mewat and the old rebellious habits of the Mewattis made them challenge the authority of Delhi Sultans once again. They had temporarily bowed down to the might of the Imperial arms and to the strategy of Balban, but were shortly up in arms again. Balban, on his part must also have seen the transitory nature of his earlier success. He must have noticed the fresh activities of the rebels, and would have realised how they constituted a psychological pointer to the weakness and incompetence of the Imperial Government. Therefore, immediately after his accession, Balbon planned a definite policy of action against Mewat. His hands were more free now as he was to longer a minister pursuing a dictated policy but was a sovereign

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

being Khan tion of

thereler the lemitted Balban longols, resent-

ongols,

anuary

rs, and
ok the
ork of
ick reevery
stimugraphi-

of the an secaj goes t least a was leading and

ng immpaign,

ing this nd Sal-Iodivala Mewat.

<sup>14.</sup> Speaking about the punishments that were inflicted, Minhaj says
15. TN 222

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid., Minhaj's account however, seems to be greatly exaggerated.

himself. The result was that even before the end of the first year of his reign, he decided to deal with this problem in right earnest.17

In the programme of the new government, the destruction of the Mewatti menace was given top priority.18 The Sultan, accordingly, ordered the camps of the army to be pitched outside the town. Barni points out two reasons for the increase of the nefarious activities of the Mewattis. In the first instance, the incompetance of the successors of Iltumish had taken away the feeling of awe from the hearts of the people at large, and secondly, the growth of dense jungles around Delhi, had provided secure places of concealment to these bandits. They used to prowl freely into the city of Delhi after sunset and rob and harass the citizens. They also plundered the travellers even during the day time and rendered the movement of trade difficult. They struck so much terror that people dared not move out of their houses after evening prayer. The famous picnic spot Hauz-i-Sultan19 lay neglected because it was here that the bandits several times stripped off the clothes of the water-carriers and women drawing water from the large reservoir. Indeed, it was out of the fear for these Mewattis that the western gate of the metropolis used to be closed after the hour of afternoon prayers.

The very first year of his accession saw Balban in action against these bandits. He rightly concluded that the clearance of woods around Delhi was the first step in dealing with them. Accordingly, for one full year he was constantly engaged in getting the woods to the south of Delhi cleared, and bringing the place under cultivation.20 This was followed by military activity. The net result of the year-long exertion was the massacre of a very large number of the Mewattis.21 Not satisfied with this, Balban further got constructed a fort at Gopalgiri.22 and established a number of police stations around Delhi, which were garrisoned with 1 that t menac

Ba as we a cent have n Nor w So far worry binatio destru tively pointe not co

> cles du measu author by Al New 1 be felt

W

It ing ac the co popula how h the ba of Me the da remain Musal

> 23. 24.

25. Which 26.

<sup>17.</sup> TFS, 56.

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19.</sup> The famous Shanisi reservoir constructed by Iltutmish.

<sup>20.</sup> TFS, 57, Ferishta (Briggs), Vol. I, 225. 21. Barni, 57. says that one hundred thousand of the royal army were killed by the Mewattis, but Ferishta appears to be correct when he says that Balban put one hundred thousand of the enemy to sword.

<sup>22.</sup> TFS, 57, FA, 84 calls this place 'Kabalkar'

#### MEWAT AFFAIRS DURING THE SULTANATE

with Afghans. Barni records with great satisfaction that from time onwards the people became free from the Mewatti menace.23.

Balban's Mewat policy had been successful to a large extent as we hardly find any mention of trouble from Mewat for nearly a century. During this period the Chiefs of Mewat appear to have maintained satisfactory relations with the authorities at Delhi. Nor were there any serious activities of the dacoits in that region. So far as Balban himself was concerned, he certainly had no more worry on their account for the rest of his reign. Thus, 'by a combination of ruthless massacre, show of military force and wanton destruction', Balban succeeded to a considerable extent in effectively controlling Mewat. Wolseley Haig24 has however, rightly pointed out that in spite of all these measures, Mewat was still not completely subjugated.

We do not find any mention of Mewat in the Persian chronicles during the period of the Khalji rule. It appears that Balban's measures were still paying dividends. The fear for the Central authority was further reinforced by the drastic punishments given by Allauddin Khalji to such rebels as the Jalali nobles and the New Musalmans. This terror of the Central authority continued to be felt by the Mewattis till the days of Muhammad Tughlaq.

It was during the days of Firuz Tughluq that the proselytizing activities of the Muslim state reached Mewat. It resulted in the conversion to Islam of a considerable section of the Hindu population of northern Mewat. In his autobiography, Firuz writes how he got destroyed a Hindu temple at Sohona.25 Powlett,26 on the basis of the family histories and traditions of the Khanzadas of Mewat, holds that their ancestors became Musalmans during the days of Firuz Tughluq. But the southern portion of Mewat temained for many years free from the religious impact of the Musalmans, and we find a member of the Chauhan dynasty named

year est.17

n of

cord-

the

fari-

com-

eling

, the

laces

into

zens.

and

nuch even-

ected

flo f

from

wat-

after

ction

ce of Ac-

tting

olace The

very lban

ed a oned

were

SAYS

<sup>23.</sup> TFS, 57.

<sup>24.</sup> CHI, Vol. III, 76.

<sup>25.</sup> Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, 12, writes Gohona, but it is clearly Sohona which lies a few miles South of Delhi, on the Delhi-Alwar road.

<sup>26.</sup> Raj. Gaz. III, 203.

Koka ruling at Macheri.27 One of the members of the Yaduvanshi Rajput family who had been ruling over northern Mewat accepted Islam probably to obtain greater power from Firuz. He was Bahadur Nahir who is better known to history as the founder of the Khanzada tribe of Mewat.

By 1389, Bahadur Nahir had become an active participant in the court politics at Delhi, and till his death he often held the balance of the rival parties.28 Sultan Ghiyasuddin II, greatly relied upon him and entrusted to him the conduct of an important campaign against Prince Muhammad.29 In this enterprise the Mewatti chief showed great vigour. After the assassination of Sultan Ghiyas, Bahadur Nahir joined the ranks of the new Sultan Abu Bakr and helped him against Prince Muhammad.30 But Abu Bakr was also not destined to rule for a long time and he soon discovered to his consternation that an important faction at the court was secretly in league with Prince Muhammad. Having lost his nerves, Abu Bakr fled to Mewat and took shelter with his friend Bahadur Nahir at the latter's Kotla.31 Like a devoted friend, Bahadur Nahir extended to him all help. This necessitated a campaign against him, and the Imperial army under Islam Khan obliged him to submit. Abu Bakr was carried off to Delhi as a prisoner, but Bahadur was pardoned. Further, in an attempt to convert an erstwhile enemy into a friend, he was even awarded a robe of honour32 and sent back to his Kotla.

But used as he was to play the part of a free-booter, Bahadur could hardly stay quiet. By the middle of 1393, he had already re-started his plundering activities. This required immediate attention. Though ill, Sultan Muhammad Shah personally led

32. TMS, 151, TM, 426 B.

arm arm Chief x Muham the are now en who wa the Kat

In occupat his Ko Mewat Delhi a one of was en hat fro for a m met the Timur

> advanta activitie the Sul nor of boting he nor mporta Sarhata 10 Mew b wait

Aft

marchy

33. I 34. T 35. T 36. I b Bahac

Journal 37. T 38. It 39. I

10. T

<sup>27.</sup> Macheri is about 25 miles from Alwar, B.V.B. Series, Vol. VI, 97, wrongly asserts that Koka Chauhan was the ruler of the entire Mewat. In fact, the northern portion was held by Yaduvanshi Rajputs who had accepted Islam in large numbers during the days of Firuz. TMS, 138, Hodivala 390 Redoni 254 T. Lon had vala 390, Badaoni 254. It was with Koka Chauhan that Khan i-Jahan had taken shelter in 1387.

<sup>28.</sup> For the part played by this Khanzada Chief, see my article in Journal Indian History, Well Williams of Indian History, Vol. XXXVIII, 1960.

<sup>29.</sup> TMS, 142.

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>31.</sup> TMS, 149, Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, 423 A, TA, 246, Ferishta, 472.

## MEWAT AFFAIRS DURING THE SULTANATE

army against him.33 In a series of clashes the Mewatti thief was defeated and obliged to retreat. After the death of Muhammad Shah in January 1394, Bahadur managed to re-enter he arena of court-politics taking advantage of the civil war that now ensued among his successors. His friend Mukarrab Khan who was a leader of one of the rival factions, recalled him from he Kotla and put him in charge of the fortress of old Delhi.34

In the wake of the general confusion that followed Timur's occupation of Delhi at the close of 1398, Bahadur withdrew to is Kotla and watched the development of events from there. Mewat during this time was flooded with fugitives flying from Delhi and Khizr Khan Syed, 35 the future Sultan of Hindustan, was ne of those who took shelter in Mewat. That the Mewatti Chief as enjoying a high reputation at this time is shown by the fact hat from Delhi, Timur had sent him two envoys36 who invited him or a meeting with the invader. Bahadur accepted this invitation, met the invader and offered him rare and suitable presents, which limur praised highly.

After the departure of Timur from Hindustan widespread harchy prevailed over northern Hindustan. Such a situation was dvantageous to the Mewattis, who took to their old rebellious ctivities. Throughout the period of the Syed rule, they harassed he Sultans of Delhi. In 1411/12, Khizr Khan the powerful governor of the Punjab invaded Mewat<sup>37</sup>, ostensibly for the purpose of boting it, but really to prove his military prowess. He over-ran he northern portion of Mewat upto Tijara<sup>38</sup> and plundered the mportant commercial centre of Narnol<sup>39</sup> and other towns like Sarhata and Kharol. In the middle of 1413 he repeated his visit Mewat, where Jalal Khan, the nephew of Bahadur Nahir, came wait upon him.40 All these incursions of Khizr Khan were

adu-Wat

He

ıder

t in

the

re-

tant

the

of

ltan

But

he

tion

ing

vith

oted ated

han

s a t to

ded

dur

ady

iate

led

97, vat.

had

dihad

nal

<sup>33.</sup> TMS, 154, TA, 249.

<sup>34.</sup> TMS, 160, Balaoni, Vol. I, 266.

<sup>35.</sup> TMS, 166.

<sup>36.</sup> I have discussed the question whether Timur had sent an embassy Bahadur Nahir, in a paper published in the August 1963 issue of the lournal of Indian History.

<sup>37.</sup> TMS, 179, Badaoni, 227.

<sup>38.</sup> It is about 30 miles north-east of Alwar. Imp. Gaz. XXIII, 358.

<sup>39.</sup> It is situated in 28'. 2'N,, 76'. 14' E, and lies on Ajmer railway line. 10. TMS, 181.

really a prelude to his later attempts to capture the throne of Hindustan.

The habitual laxity of the Mewattis in rendering their stipulated tribute afforded a good pretext to the new Sultan Khizr Khan to attack them. In 1421 he advanced as far as Ketla of Bahadur Nahir and besieged it.41 Finding resistance difficult, the beleaguered garrison fled towards the interior of the mountainous terrain. Kotla was razed42 to the ground and thus the strong citadel which had resisted many earlier attempts, was at last demolished.

But the recovery of the Mewattis was as usual quick. In the winter of 1424, we find the new Sultan Mubarak Shah proceeding against them.43 This time the Mewattis followed a scorched-earth policy and retreated towards Jahara.44 The Sultan having thus failed to get the necessary supply of fooder and grain returned to Delhi without achieving anything. But this failure rankled deep in his mind and in 1425/26, he led yet another expedition against them. Jalal Khan and Qadr Khan,45 the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir adopted the old tactics of laying waste the territory and retreated to the fort of Indore.46 The Sultan pushed on with the siege of Indore. Finding it difficult to hold on any longer, the Mewattis retreated to Alwar.47 In sheer anger Mubarak ordered the dismantling of the fort of Indor48 and pushed on to Alwar. Ferishta tells us that in spite of the great pressure of the Imperial

42. TMS, 192.

46. The fort of Indor lies 6 miles from Kotla, in the hill range which

forms the boundary between Alwar and Gurgaon districts.

army, t obstina Khan F made a on his rak Sha thing W

In been ir from th Khan A interne sion fro

Me found t Sharqi of Qadı to caus deputed in the upon tl and Fal But up peace. capital.

Jala avenge in the which t ecame ment, h imself

49. T 50. T 51. T 52. T Punjal

J. 27

<sup>41.</sup> TMS, 192, TA however, says that the expedition was organised in order to punish the rebellious Mewattis.

<sup>43.</sup> TA I, 276, TMS, 204, Badaoni writes 'reduced the fortress of Indor and Alwar.'

<sup>44.</sup> Obviously Tijara, the initial letter of which was omitted. Babur described the Tijara fort as a stronghold of the Mewattis. Baburnama (B) II,

<sup>45.</sup> Ferishta calls Juliu and Kudroo. Badaoni does not name them, Yahya and Nizamuddin both call them Jallu and Qaddu, probably in contempt.

<sup>47.</sup> Alwar lies in lat. 27'.4, 28'.13' and long 76'.7', 77'.14'. 48. The damage must not have been much for we find the Mewattis taking shelter in this fort after some time.

#### MEWAT AFFAIRS DURING THE SULTANATE

amy, the Mewattis defended the passes leading to Alwar with much obstinacy. They had however, to yield to superior force and Qadr Khan personally went to pay homage to the Sultan. But he was made a prisoner and with him Mubarak returned to Delhi. While on his way to Bayana during the winter of the same year, Mubatak Shah again passed through Mewat probably to see that everything was in order there.

e of

ipu-

hizr

a of

the nous

rong

last

the

ding

earth thus

d to

deep

ainst

adur

and

the

the

ered

war.

erial

ed in

Indor

Babur

3) II,

hem. y in

vhich

vattis

In the fifteenth century, Mewat again became what it had heen in the fourteenth century, a sancturay for fugitives flying from the wrath of the Sultans of Delhi. Thus we find Muhammad Khan Auhadi, the rebellious governor of Bayana, who had been interned at Delhi, escaping to Mewat<sup>49</sup> and organizing his opposision from there.

Meanwhile, at Delhi Qadr Khan was not sitting idle. He found to have been in secret correspondence with Ibrahim Khan Sharqi of Jaunpore.50 Mubarak found it a good pretext to get rid of Qadr Khan and got him murdered.<sup>51</sup> Since this step was likely o cause great discontent in Mewat, Wazir Sarwarul Mulk was leputed to go to Mewat to suppress any rebellion that might arise n the wake of Qadr's murder. Taking this to be another attack upon them, the Mewatti leaders like Jalal Khan, Ahmad Khan and Fakhruddin again shut themselves up in the fortress of Indor. But upon the advance of the Imperial forces they begged for Sarwarul Mulk collected Kharaj and returned to the capital.

Jalal was bitter. He lay low waiting for an opportunity to wenge the death of his brother. The opportunity presented itself the conditions created by the rebellion of Jasrath Khokhar which turned the attention of the Sultan northwards. Now Jalal ecame active again. When Mubarak heard about Jalal's movement, he turned towards Mewat and reached Taoru. 52 Jalal shut imself in the fortress of Indor, later shifting to Kotla which

<sup>49.</sup> TMS, 206 and 210, TA, I, 277. 50. TMS, 211, TA, I, 279.

<sup>51.</sup> TMS, 211, 212. Ferishta, I, 166, TA, I, 279. 52. TMS, 227. Taoru is a small village about 20 miles east of Rewari Punjab. J. 27

was considered safer on account of its being in the interior. But • the Sultan pushed on devastating a greater part of Mewat. Failing to hold his own against the Imperialists any longer, Jalal submitted and agreed to pay tribute. In the confused situation that prevailed over northern Hindustan at that time, the Sultan could not expect anything more. Jalal was accordingly pardoned. This turned out to be the last campaign of Mubarak Shah into Mewat. for he was himself assassinated in February 1434. Mubarak was the second Sultan after Balban who gave serious thought to Mewat affairs. Like Balban, he also tried to solve this problem by force. but unlike Balban he did not supplement force with constructive measures. No roads were laid, no forts constructed and no garrison posts established. Thus though credit must be given to Mubarak for having brought vigour into the campaign against the Mewattis, the result in the end remained the same-Mewat was hardly subdued.

Yet, largely on account of Mubarak's repeated expeditions, the rebellious tract remained comparatively quiet during the days of his successor Muhammad. In 1438, we find Ahmad Khan Mewatti coming to Delhi to pay his obeisance to the new Sultan.53 In spite of this apparent submission, the Khanzadas had not given up their love for intrigues and we find some of them inviting Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa to occupy the throne of Hindustan.54 Besides, they were also quietly extending their sphere of influence and activities. The country lying upto Lado-Sarai55 was under their control at the time of Bahlul's accession.

Accordingly, one of the earliest measures of Bahlul was to bring Ahmad Khan back into the fold of submission. To accomplish this work he marched into Mewat. Ahmad Khan submitted and offered his uncle Mubarak Khan for employment in the service of the Sultan. Ahmad Khan was punished with a loss of seven parganas,56 which were bestowed upon Tartar Khan.

54. TA, I, 291, Badaoni, I, 303.

pargan Lodi. the Mo Theref marche who b Like b Mewat in the Mewat the in

Th

a prob of the bornly tated f suffere dition to the almost 15th c had or they r attitud tion of import them f

> It the Su dition sion an view, conces each ti

57.

58. 59.

<sup>53.</sup> TMS, 243. Jalal Khan had already died in 1440. His last coin bears the year 1439.

<sup>55.</sup> TA, I, 296, Tarikhi-i-Daudi, 7, Tarikh-i-Shahi, 5. Lado-Sari is very near Delhi.

<sup>56.</sup> TD, 16, TA, I, 302, Maasir-i-Rahimi, I, 441, Makzan-i-Afghani, 81, mention seven parameters and seven parameters. all mention seven parganas. Ahmad Yadgar however says eleven, T.S. 16.

#### MEWAT AFFAIRS DURING THE SULTANATE

But

ing

ub-

hat

uld

his

vat,

was

wat

rce,

tive rri-

Mu-

the

was

ons,

ays

han

n.53

ven

ting

Iin-

ere

rai<sup>55</sup>

; to om-

tted

ser-

of

iese

ears

is

parganas remained with Tartar Khan till the reign of Sikandar Lodi. But when Bahlul was at war with Hussain Shah Sharqi, the Mewatti Chief again deserted and joined the Sharqi king.57 Therefore, the moment Bahlul was free from the Sharqi war, he marched into Mewat. It was Khan-i-Jahan, an influential noble. who brought about a reconciliation between the two opponents.58 Like his predecessors Bahlul also did not think it proper to annex Mewat to his kingdom. No further mention of Mewat is found in the Persian sources till the days of Babur, when the reigning Mewatti Chief Hasan Khan joined the ranks of Rana Sanga against the invader.

Thus, for a period of about three centuries, Mewat remained a problem tract for the Sultans of Delhi. Incorrigible till the end of the Sultanate period, the Mewattis constantly remained stubbornly hostile and rebellious. Their misdeeds, therefore, necessiated frequent visitations of the imperial army. True that they suffered heavily both in men and money as every imperial expedition into Mewat resulted in considerable damage and devastation to their life and property. But they remained undeterred and almost rash in their contumacious behaviour. By the end of the 15th century they were no longer thieves and robbers for they had organised themselves into some sort of political power. Yet they remained unchanged so far as their rebellious and hostile attitude to the Delhi government was concerned. In the evolution of this attitude the geographical features of Mewat had played important part, because it was Nature which had often shielded them from the wrath of the Delhi Sultans.

It must be admitted that in dealing with this rebellious tract, the Sultans of Delhi generally failed. It is true that each expedition against them succeeded in extracting a promise of submission and a payment of tribute. But from the Mewatti point of view, each time it turned out to be what Edward Thomas calls concessions to expediency.'59 Indeed, the Mewattis submitted each time to the superior force, but the moment it was withdrawn,

<sup>57.</sup> TA, I. 308, M.A. (Roy's trans.) 42.

<sup>58.</sup> TA, I, 308, M.A. (R) 42. 59. Edward Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 327.

they reverted back to their old habits. The failure of the Delhi Sultans against Mewat was largely due to the fact that they made no efforts to evolve a clear policy on a long-range basis. The rebellions of the Mewattis were treated as isolated events, and not as manifestations of the activities of a newly rising tribe, As such efforts were made to suppress them by force only. It is surprising that in spite of repeated rebellion in Mewat, no Sultan of Delhi ever thought of annexing it permanently and thereby governing it as a part of the kingdom of Hindustan, No imperial governor was ever appointed to control Mewat probably till the period of the Lodis, and no administrative machinery was evolved to maintain a touch with it. All these steps were later on taken by the Mughal government, which resulted in making Mewat a quiet administrative unit under them.

Appa

(A)

R Britisl differe to the in-roa tion i by his incapa Bhons as Re enteri 28 M arrive Soggo about becan 1817.5

> 2 ward. had 1 He s other cause

Raght 2.

A COMMENT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF TH

# Appa Sahib Bhonsle in Marwar (1828-1840 A.D.)

BY

#### Dr. G. R. Parihar, M.A., Ph.D. Sriganganagar

(A) Madhu Raj Bhonsle (Appa Sahib) and The British Power

Raghuji Bhonsle, after his sad experience of war with the British in 1803, continued to maintain an attitude of sullen indifference towards the Maratha confederacy confining his attention to the protection of the territory of Nagpur against future British in-roads. His death on 22 March, 1816, facilitated British penetration into Nagpur, which he had long resisted. He was succeeded by his son, Parsoji Bala Sahib who, being blind and paralytic, was incapable of conducting the affairs of the State. Madhu Raj Bhonsle, the nephew1 of the late Raghuji Bhonsle was appointed Regent of the new ruler.2 He strengthened his position by entering into a secret treaty of mutual help with the British on 28 May, 1816.3 Thereupon a British force under Col. Doveton arrived at Nagpur on 18 June,4 in order to crush all possible opposition to Appa Sahib. The consequent confusion brought about the death of Parsoji on 1 February, 1817. Appa Sahib became, with British support, the ruler of Nagpur on 25 April, 1817.5

Soon after his accession Appa Sahib changed his attitude towards the British Government. He dismissed his Minister who had been responsible for negotiating the treaty with the British. He sent secret communications to the Peshwa Baji Rao II and other Maratha leaders, indicating his desire to make common cause against the British. He enlisted new recruits and maintained

2. Jenkins' Report on Nagpur, p. 68, P.R.C.V. 227, 229, 231.

3. P.R.C.V. 227.

Delhi made

The , and

tribe. y. It

it, no

and . No

bably

y was later

aking

4. Jenkins' Report on Nagpur, p. 69.

5. P.R.C.V. 230, 231.

<sup>1.</sup> He was the son of Vyan-Koji Manya Bapu, younger brother of Raghuji. He died in 1811 at Benaras (P.R.C.V. 214).

a larger force than he was entitled to. The British could not tolerate his activities in contravention to the treaty of May, 1816.6 Matters became worse when he joined the cause of the Peshwa against the British in November, 1817.7 The British moved an army against him, resulting in his deposition from the throne.8 He was taken prisoner but somehow managed to flee in May, 1818.9 In 1819 he proceeded to the Punjab, where he remained with Ranjit Singh for some time. 10 In 1812, he found shelter at Oonah in the Simla Hills, in the possession of Sahib Singh Bedi. 11 Later on he made Mandhi his place of residence. 12 But in February, 1828, he came to Amritsar and lived there in seclusion. 13

One of the despatches, intercepted by Wellesley, Resident at Indore, indicates that while remaining at Mandi, Appa Sahib developed good relations with many persons in Rajasthan. It further says that he sent a person, Ganga Singh, to various States of Rajasthan in order to secure support to his cause. At the close of the Burmese War in 1826, taking advantage of the resentment of local rulers against the British, Appaji asked his agent to meet

- 6. Ibid., 232.
- 7. Jenkin's Report on Nagpur, pp. 71-72. P.R.C.V. 235.
- 8. P.R.C.V. 235.
- 9. Ibid., 236. Calcutta Gazetteer (1813-1823), Vol. V, p. 259.
- 10. P.R.C.V. 248.
- 11. Ibid.
- 12. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others from Hawkins to Swinton, F. P. 16 April 1830, No. 25.
  - 13. Ibid., No. 26.
  - 14. Ibid., No. 35.
- 15. Ibid., He visited Bharatpur, Jaipur, Karauli, Fatehpur, Tonk and Udaipur. At Ajmer he was apprehended in 1825, under a charge of raising troops for the service of Appa Sahib, but the charge could not be proved and he was released in September 1826. (From Metcalfe to A. Stirling, Persian Secretary to Governor General, dated 20, Sept. 1826. F. P. 25, Oct. 1826. No. 4).
- 16. To meet the expense of the Burmese War, the Governor Genearl took from the Princes of India amounts, (as indicated below) which they gave grudgingly. The King of Oudh paid £ 1,00,000 sterling; the Raja of Nagpur paid £ 50,000; the Raja of Benaras paid £ 20,000; Baji Rao, the ex-Peshwa, paid a very considerable sum out of his pension. Lord Amherst's treatment of the Emperor at the time of his visit to him in February, 1827, was also humiliating to Indian sentiments. (B. D. Basu: Rise of the Christian power in India, Vol. IV, pp. 440-441).

Metcalf a comp ber, 18 about 1 Govern with G secured

(B) A
Co
wher F
Bikane
at Desi
Govern
a rupee
Howev
regular
his age
he wro
desire

reside

17. lawkins 18. I 19. 1 20. I lated 23 21. 1 lawkins 22. I 129, No 23. I 1929, N. 24. I 1829, No 25. I 26. F June, l. P. 28

27. F

Metcalfe and Colebrooke17 in order to get favourable terms for compromise with the British. He met Colebrooke on 10 October, 182718 and wrote to Sir John Malcolm on 8 February, 1828 bout his mission.19 However, Colebrooke was ordered by the Governor General in May, 1828, to discontinue all negotiations with Ganga Singh.20 Even help from Ranjit Singh could not be geured for his cause.21

#### (B) Man Singh helps Bhonsle against the British

Coming down from the hills and failing to find support in ther parts of Rajasthan and the Punjab, Appaji moved towards likaner in 1829<sup>22</sup> (about March). He resided at the holy temple # Deshnok.23 He tried to settle his differences with the British Government by promising to pay, on his restoration, six annas in rupee to the British.<sup>24</sup> The British did not entertain the move.<sup>25</sup> however, as Appaji was popular at Nagpur, the local people were regularly financing him; and money also reached him through is agents in Rajasthan and outside.26 While staying at Deshnok, e wrote to the Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur indicating his lesire to go over to Marwar. He requested him to permit him to eside at Nagor.27 The British Government now adopted a stern

17. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others, from wkins to Swinton. F. P. 16, April 1830, No. 25 and 26.

18. Ibid., No. 25.

19. Ibid., No. 26. 20. From the Secretary to the Governor General to Resident, Delhi, ated 23, May, 1828. F. P. 23, May, 1828, No. 41.

21. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others, from

awkins to Swinton, F. P. 16, April 1830, No. 25 and 26.

22. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 19, March, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 129, No. 12.

23. From Colebrook to Cavendish, dated 20, May, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, N. 13.

24. From Cavendish to Colebrook dated 19, March, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

25. Ibid.

26. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8 and 13 May, 1829. F. P. June, 1829, No. 12 and 13.

Maratha papers about Appa Sahib, dated 13 Aug. and 15 Aug. 1829. P. 28 May, 1830, No. 15.

27. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8, May, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

1816,6 shwa d an one.8 May, ained

tole-

edi.11 it in ion,13

nt at

er at

deverther es of close ment meet

from

and aising roved irling, , Oct.

enearl they aja of , the Amruary,

of the

attitude towards Bikaner and Jodhpur. The Governor General reprimanded the ruler of Bikaner for having given asylum to Appa Sahib in violation of the treaty obligations and instructed him not to let him pass into the adjoining territories of Jodhpur or Jaipur.28 Man Singh also was instructed to apprehend or detain Appaji, if he were to cross over to Marwar.29 The instructions were effective. Appa Sahib was asked, after a stay of more than two months, to leave Bikaner by its ruler.30

The ex-Raja made his next move towards Bhawalpur.31 Later on, he changed his movements and crossed the frontiers of Marwar<sup>32</sup> and reached Nagor with 300 followers, posing as a friend of the British. There he did not remain silent, but kept his contacts with his friends at Nagpur.33 He arrived at Mandor in April, 1819, and requested the Maharaja to allow him to reside there for some days.34 The British Government was on his trail. Suspecting his march towards the Deccan, the British Resident asked the Vakil of Jodhpur at Delhi to urge his master to comply strictly with his previous instructions about Appa Sahib.35 He was asked to convey to him that Appa Sahib must be expelled towards Bhawalpur<sup>36</sup> and some men from Jodhpur must be deputed to take Appa Sahib back by the same route from which he had gone over there.37 At first Man Singh did not entertain the re-

31. From Colebrooke to Cavendish, dated 20 May, 1829. F.P. 5 June 1829, No. 13.

32. From Colebrooke to Swinton dated 2 and 4 June, 1829, F.P. 19 June 1829, Nos. 26 and 27.

33. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 25 May 1829. F.P. 19 June 1829, No. 26.

34. From Cavendish to Man Singh, dated 8 May, 1829. J.B.R.S., Vol. xxxiii (1947), Pts. I and II.

35. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 25 May 1829, F.P. 19 June 1829, No. 26.

36. From the Resident, Delhi to Mehta Buch Raj, Political agent of Jodhpur, F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 26. 37. From Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8 May 1829. J.B.R.S.

Vol. xxxiii, (1947), Pts. I and II,

west of geond t he Nat. andir,4 uler to ad not ising of eing qu his ri revious the E fairs c British as rep Idhpur ingh b ermitte me to d dities' bund t

ver, M

38. Ib 39. Fr 29, No. 40. Ib 41. M adal ris Dhonk e policy Brule. date th Will's Hi 42. Fr 0, 3, 43. Fr ol. xxxi May, ach Raj, 44. Le 29. No. 45. Fr 1. 28

<sup>28.</sup> From Colebrooke to Cavendish dated 16, May, 1829, F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

<sup>29.</sup> From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8 May, 1829, F. P. 5 June, 1829, No. 12.

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid., dated 25 May 1829, F. P. 19 June 1829, No. 26 and dated 11 June, 1829. F.P. 3 July, 1829, No. 28.

gest of Appa Sahib to permit him to stay in his State;38 upon a good thought, however, probably on account of the influence of Naths, he was allowed to stay.39 He was lodged at Mahaandir,40 now a suburb of Jodhpur city. This brought the Rathor aler to a headlong clash with the British. For some time past he ad not been happy with the British. They had supported the ising of the feudal chiefs against him in 1827-1828.41 Now he was eing questioned about his policy towards Appaji. He considered this right to give asylum to any person without securing the revious permission of the British, as he was under no obligation the British to act according to their directions in the internal fairs of his State.42 The letters, which he received from the hitish Government through his agent at Delhi and in which he as repeatedly questioned about the lodging of a criminal at Mhpur were disliked by him.43 In reply to these letters, Man ingh boldly wrote in the strain, 'An agent of Appa Sahib is rmitted to reside at Delhi. On what principle do you require to disgrace myself by expelling the master from my princialities'?44 He further declared that by the treaty he was not bund to deliver an enemy of the British Government.45 Hower, Man Singh was very particular to sound the reaction of

38. Ibid.

eral

ppa

not

ur.28

paji,

vere

two

ater

s of

iend

his

r in

eside

rail.

dent

nply

He

elled

uted

had re-

June,

June,

June,

June

June

June

R.S.,

June

t of

R.S.

39. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 27 May, 1829, F.P. 19 June, 29, No. 27.

40. Ibid., dated 8 June 1829, F.P. 3 July, 1829, No. 25.

41. Man Singh had asked the British to go over to his aid to repress the deal rising, which tried to strengthen itself by putting forward the case Dhonkal Singh, the supposed son of late Bhim Singh. The British adopted policy that their Government was not pledged to protect him for his rule. However, they interfered later on and made Man Singh to accodate the demands of the noble chiefs by restoring the confiscated lands. History of British India, Vol. ix, pp. 309-311).

42. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 23 Sept. 1829 F.P., 7 Nov. 1829,

43. From Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8 May 1829. J.B.R.S. May 1997 Pts. I and I. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated May, 1829. F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 26. From Resident, Delhi to Mehta ch Raj, F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 26.

44. Letters from Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8 June 1829, F. P. 3 July

3. No. 25 and dated 20 June 1829 F.P., 7 Aug. 1829, No. 8.

From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23 Sept. 1829, F.P. 7 Nov. 1829,

the British on this issue. He sent Babu, a Bengali employee in his State, to secretly learn about the reactions of the authorities at Ajmer.46

The British Government suspected that Man Singh was in league with Appa Sahib in order to send him to Nagpur via Pushkar in the guise of a pilgrim.<sup>47</sup> To counteract this move, letters were sent to the Political Agents at Nagpur, Indore, Gwalior, Sagaur, Kota, Udaipur and Jaipur to alert them to be on their guard against it.48 At the same time, refuting Man Singh's stand on the issue of treaty obligations, the British Agent at Ajmer informed him that the State was not justified in giving an asylum to the enemies of the British,49 and that Appa Sahib should be arrested.50

It appears from the letter<sup>51</sup> of Cavendish to Colebrooke, that Appa Sahib had left Mahamandir and proceeded towards Bikaner. It was also proved by an enquiry conducted by the Political Agent at Ajmer through his news writer at Nagor.52 However, again it was reported that Appa Sahib had gone back to Mahamandir.53 Our sources are silent as to whether Man Singh was a partisan in sending him away from Jodhpur or whether he went away on his own accord. But when he returned, he was properly looked after and lodged at Mahamandir.54

50. From Cavendish to Man Singh dated 12 June, 1829 J.B.R.S., Vol. xxxiii

Fui strail, British British at Ajm him in explaine 1829: nacy, r ng Mar Govern Govern o the he Brit ersona subsiste

> ehalf, ster's ine.53 atisfy ! Residen ion pre ence a e bour sme cl

Ma:

55. F So. 9. 56. It

57. F 10. 3. F rs. I and 29, No.

58. Fr 10. 9. 59, Ib

60. Ib 61. Ib 62. IP

<sup>46.</sup> From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8 June, 1829. F.P. 3 July, 1829, No. 25.

<sup>47.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49.</sup> From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 27 June 1829 F.P. 24 July 1829, No. 19. Appa Sahib was declared an enemy of the British and a reward for his arrest was substituted (P.R.C. v. 241).

<sup>(1947)</sup> Pts. I and II.

<sup>51.</sup> From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 26 June 1829, F.P. 31 July, 1829, No. 8. From Colebrooke to Swinton dated 4 July, 1829, F.P. 24 July 1829. No. 20 1829, No. 20.

<sup>52.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53.</sup> Maratha Papers about Appa Sahib dated 14 July 1829. F.P. 28 May 30, No. 15. 1830, No. 15.

<sup>54.</sup> Hakikat Bahi No. 11, p. 218 R.A.Jd.Rec.

Further news from Jodhpur that Man Singh would substitute stranger in his stead and allow him to escape disturbed the British Government.55 They drew the attention of Hawkins. British Resident at Delhi, who asked Cavendish, Political Agent t Ajmer, to explain the reasons of the slow policy adopted by im in relation to Appa Sahib's asylum at Jodhpur. Cavendish explained his position while submitting his report on 10 October, 1829: 'In the present time of peace and our undoubtable suprenacy, no immediate danger threatened our interests from allowng Man Singh ample time to reflect on his treaty with the British Covernment'. 56 The reply of Cavendish was not satisfactory. The fovernor General desired that Appa Sahib must be handed over the British authorities.57 It was conveyed to Man Singh that he British Government would take over the responsibility for the ersonal safety of Appa Sahib and guarantee to him comfortable absistence.58

Man Singh was not ready to hand Appaji over and on his chalf, he requested the British to remove his (Appa Sahib's) ister's son from the throne and to replace him by one of the main ne.53 He also demanded a jagir for Appaji, so that it might atisfy him.60 The British did not entertain the overtures. The esident threatened Man Singh that his insistence on any condion previous to his surrender might be considered a bargain, ence a violation of the treaty.61 As such the Government would bound to revise their attitude if Dhonkal Singh asked for the me claim.62 The Political Agent at Ajmer deputed a person,

July,

ee in

orities

as in

ir via

move,

ndore,

to be

ingh's

Ajmer

sylum

ild be

e, that kaner.

Agent

gain it

53 Our

an in

ay on

ooked

y 1829, eward

XXXIII July,

4 July

8 May

55. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 10 Oct. 1829, F.P. 13 Nov. 1829, 6. 9.

56. Ibid.

57. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23 Sept. 1829, F.P. 7 Nov. 1829,

o. 3. From Hawkins to Man Singh dated 2 Oct. 1829 J.B.R.S. xxxiii (1947). I and II. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12 Oct. 1829 F.P., 13 Nov. 29, No. 9.

58. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12 Oct. 1829, F.P. 13 Nov. 1829, 10. 9.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid. 62. Ibid.

Laxmi Chand to Jodhpur at the beginning of October, 1829, with an injunction to the Maharaja to deliver Appa Sahib.63

Man Singh turned a deaf ear to the mission of Laxmi Chand and began to prepare for the defence of Jodhpur,64 in view of the possibility of a struggle with the British. The troops were alerted.65 Recruits were taken into the army,66 which was placed under the command of Kaur Chand.67 In order to have internal stability, Bhim Nath was reconciled to him.68 He requested his friends in different parts of Rajasthan and the ruler of Tonk to support him at this juncture.69 But there was no hopeful response. 70 Moreover, he came to know that his feudal chiefs and Dhonkal Singh were in touch with the British.<sup>71</sup>

Finding his position at stake he opened negotiations with the British. He sent two letters to Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of British India, one directly received by him on 16 October, 182972 and the other received by him through the British Resident at Delhi on 19 October, 1829.73 The purport of the two letters is summarised below. Appa Sahib was still detained at

63. Extracts from intelligence in respect of Appa Sahib from Jodhpur received on 19 Oct. 1829.

A letter from Cavendish to Swinton, dated 12 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov 1829, No. 9.

- 64. Ibid.
- 65. Ibid.
- 66. Ibid.
- 67. Extract of the newspaper from Jodhpur, dated 17 Oct. 1829. (From Hawkins to Swinton, dated 10 Nov. 1829, F. P. 4 Dec. 1829, No. 10).

68. Extract of the newspaper from Jodhpur, dated 18 and 20 Oct. 1829. (From Hawkins to Swinton, dated 10 Nov. 1829, F. P. 4 Dec. 1829, No. 10).

The differences were over the succession to the Gaddi of Ayasji Maharaj. Bhim Nath wanted that his son should be adopted by the mother of Ladoo Nath. Man Singh was reluctant to give his assent to it.

69. Extract of the intelligence respecting Appa Sahib from Tonk sent by Cavendish to Swinton on 12 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

70. Ibid.

- 71. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 12 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov. 1829,
- 72. From Man Singh to the Governor General, received in 16 Oct. 1829, P. 7 Nov. 1829 No. 5 F. P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 5.
- 73. From Man Singh to Hawkins, received on 19 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 No. 9. 1829, No. 9.

Maha excite for p entire a par expel that ! places if the was t perish In th his St up su any s

> I pared in ma their would surety attem the p

adopt

exped

V Gove Gene 1830) issued

74. 1829, 1 No. 7.

75. No. 5. 76. E.P. 5

with

Chand of the were placed

ternal ed his onk to opeful fs and

th the vernor Octo-British

e two

odhpur

3 Nov

(From

1829. 10). Maha-

her of ent by

1829,

. 1829,

Nov.

Mahamandir. Man Singh had no longer any power or wish to excite disturbances in the British territory but hoped and prayed . for pardon and protection from the Governor General. He was entirely ruined by the displeasure of the British Government and a pardon would give him peace of mind. He was prepared to expel Appa Sahib as soon as the Government would order him to that effect. Man Singh pleaded that it was his duty to respect places of sanctuary and that obligation he would be able to fulfil if the British would sympathetically consider his position. If he was to seize Appa Sahib there, his name and reputation would perish. His family had ever been held in high esteem in India. In the past many people, great and small, had sought refuge in his State but upto that time it had never been customary to deliver up such persons. He requested the Governor General not to attach any stigma to the State but take into consideration and order the adoption of such measures as would appear to be salutary and expedient.

The Governor General wrote to the effect that he was prepared to consider the feelings and wishes of the allies of the British in matters affecting their honour and reputation in the eyes of their equals and tribes. He further informed Man Singh that he would consider his request only on condition that he would stand surety for Appa Sahib and make himself responsible for any attempt on his part to regain his lost territory of Nagpur or disturb the peace and tranquillity there.<sup>74</sup>

Man Singh was agreeable to the changed policy of the British Government over the Bhonsle affairs. He assured the Governor General through a letter, (received by the latter on 1 February, 1830). It that he would implicitly put into effect the directions issued by him and would keep the conduct and actions of Appa

<sup>74.</sup> From William Bentinck to Man Singh, dated 6 Nov. 1829, F. P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 6.

No. 7. From Swinton to Hawkins, dated 6 Nov. 1829, F. P. 7 Nov. 1829,

<sup>75.</sup> From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 12 Dec. 1829, F.P. 15 Jan. 1830, No. 5.

<sup>76.</sup> From Man Singh to the Governor General, received on Feb. 1830. P. 5 March, 1830, No. 79.

Sahib under vigilant observation. After making adjustment with the British, he tried to send Appa Sahib to Jalor,<sup>77</sup> a better defended and fortified place but Appaji was reluctant to leave Mahamandir<sup>78</sup> on the plea that it was a safer place for his stay.

Contemporary sources tell us that Appa Sahib did not remain silent at Jodhpur. A letter dated 26 January, 1833, (received by Alves, Agent to Governor General at Ajmer from an Akhbarnavis stationed at Jaisalmer), indicated that Appa Sahib was trying to raise an army from Jaisalmer and Bhawalpur, the neighbouring States of Jodhpur. He sent embassies to Nagpur to create a favourable atmosphere. A clandestine correspondence was maintained with Ambika Bai, the second Dowager Queen of the Late Raghuji Bhonsle. The atmosphere in 1834 was found so favourable at Nagpur that he wrote to his friends there to act speedily. But Appa Sahib failed to go to Nagpur and remained at Mahamandir. It led to the further augmenting of the relations of Man Singh with the British.

### (C) Last days of Appaji Bhonsle at Jodhpur

Appa Sahib took advantage of the Anglo Afghan rift, which occurred in the middle of 1838. He contacted the rulers of

- 77. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 12 Feb. 1830, F.P. 16 Feb. 1830, No. 16.
  - 78. Ibid.
  - 79. F.P. 27 Feb. 1833, No. 21.
- 80. From A. S. Grome, Resident at Nagpur to the Secretary to Governor General, dated 15 Sept. 1832, F.P. 29 Oct. 1832, No. 102, Prdg. p. 432.
- 81. From Briggs, Offg. Resident at Nagpur to the Secretary to Governor General, dated 18 Aug. 1834, F.P. 5 Sept. 1834, No. 20.
- 82. From Briggs to Secretary to Governor General, dated 18 August 1834—Translation of letters found from a Rasid travelling from Nagpur to Jodhpur, letter No. 3, from Appa Sahib to Amrit Rao, dated 14 June 1834, F.P. 5 Sept. 1834, No. 21, Oct. Prdg.
- 83. From Agent to Governor General at Ajmer to Macnaughten, dated 28 July 1835, F.P. 24 Aug. 1835, No. 22.
- From Alves to Prescott, dated 10 Nov. 1836, F.P. 12 Dec. 1836, No. 13. 84. From Agent to Governor General, Ajmer to Macnaughten, dated 28 July 1835, F.P. 24 Aug. 1835, No. 22.

had I wife.8 send he red Appa Singh vance arms and warms the I Diwal

the I check ly as Appa

V

85. Jodhp 86. F.P. 1

87. No. 36

1838, E 89. 90.

Mirza 91.

92. F.P. 23 93.

No. 29 84. vith

end-

aha-

nain

ved

an

the

pur

ence

ieen

und

act

ela-

hich of

1830,

ver-

rnor

gust

r to

1834,

ated

. 13.

1 28

Nepal, 55 Satara 86 and Baroda 87 to take up his cause. At Nagpur he had been able to create his own party, led by Banka Bai and his wife. 88 In response to his letter, the ruler of Nepal asked him to send his agents to him and he would furnish as much money as he required along with the troops. 89 The ruler of Baroda promised Appa Sahib to support him with 10 or 12 lacs of rupees. 90 Man Singh, of course, was an active associate of Appa Sahib. He advanced money, which Appa Sahib needed for the purchase of arms and ammunition at Jodhpur. 91 In association with his aunt and wife Appa Sahib made out a plan. The ladies would execute a coup at Nagpur on the occasion of Dusserah by arresting the ruler and he would join them near about the time of Diwali. 92

When Appa Sahib was thus busy, the British Government came to know that he had contemplated to go to Nepal or towards the Deccan. The British Government took immediate steps to check his escape from Jodhpur. The ruler of Bikaner was secretly asked to depute intelligent officers to keep a strict watch on Appa Sahib at Mahamandir. Mounted guards were organised

- 85. From Alves to R. Scott, dated 17 July 1838, containing an Arzee from Jodhpur Vakil written on 13 July 1838, F.S. 22 Aug. 1838, No. 36.
- 86. From Secretary to Governor General to R. Scott, dated 10 April 1837, F.P. 10 April 1837, No. 61.
- 87. From Alves to Macnaughten, dated 17 July 1838, F.S. 22 Aug. 1838, No. 36.
- 88. *Ibid.*, dated 19 June 1838, F.S. 12 Sept. 1838, No. 26, dated 12 Sept. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 25 and dated 15 Sept. 1838, F.S. 3 Oct. 1838, No. 147.
  - 89. From Alves to Macnaughten, dated 9 Oct. 1838, E.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 27.
- 90. Ibid., dated 17 July 1838, containing news from Jodhpur, written by Mirza Mohilah on 12 July 1838, F.S. 22 Aug. 1838, No. 36.
  - 91. Ibid., dated 9 October 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 27.
- 92. *Ibid.*, dated 12 Sept. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 26; dated 9 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 27; dated 22 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 31.
- 93. From Macnaughten to Alves, dated 22 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839,
- 94. From Alves to Torrens, dated 22 Dec. 1838, F.P. 3 April 1839, No. 48.

and put on the probable routes to be taken up by Appa Sahib, so who, it was feared, might escape in disguise. 96

The British adopted a stern policy concerning Appa Sahib at the beginning of 1839. The new Agent to the Governor General at Ajmer, Col. Sutherland and Capt. Ludlow visited Jodhpur in March, 1893 and insisted that Man Singh should hand over Appa Sahib to the British custody. Col. Sutherland also adopted a clever strategy by creating rift between Appa Sahib and Man Singh. He suggested to Appa Sahib personally in April and later through his embassy in May, that Appa Sahib should give to him in writing that he was in great troubles at Jodhpur and that he should be freed from Jodhpur environment and be taken under British protection. But the conscience of Appa Sahib did not allow him to accept this suggestion and he preferred the life and death of a beggar to entering on any condition which might appear a relinquishment of what he considered his right to a throne.

Man Singh, on his part, agreed to hand over Appa Sahib to the British Government in December, 1839, on condition that he would be given a territorial provision in Nagpur State. <sup>101</sup> It was not possible for Col. Sutherland to agree to such a condition during his second visit to Jodhpur in the closing months of 1839, to suk moval as it 1839.10

Sahib.
Politic rigoro not lividence State letter Gover of an Singh,

102. 1839, N 1839, F 103. 1840, N

Gover

1840, N 105. 1840, N

106.

letter : No. 12:

109. 28-Jod.

J. 28

<sup>95.</sup> From Macnaughten to Alves, dated 22 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 29.

<sup>96.</sup> From Ales to Macnaughten, dated 15 Nov. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 33.

<sup>97.</sup> From Sutherland to Man Singh, dated 26 April 1839, J.B.R.S. Vol. XXXIII (1947), Pts. I and II; From Waddock to Sutherland, dated 23 May 1839, F.P. 7 Aug. 1839, No. 30, Prdg. p. 626.

<sup>98.</sup> From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 3 May 1839, containing copies of the letters from Appa Sahib to Sutherland and vice versa, F.P. 19 June 1839, No. 25.

<sup>99.</sup> Dr. Russel was sent to attend on the ailing Appa Sahib in May 1839, F.P. 21 Aug. 1839, No. 66 prdg. pp. 82-84; From Sutherland to Waddock dated 6 June 1839, F.P. 21 Aug. 1839, No. 68, Prdg. pp. 87-88.

<sup>100.</sup> From Sutherland to Torrens, dated 18 July 1840, F.P. 3 Aug. 1840, No. 123.

<sup>101.</sup> From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 26 Dec. 1839, F.P. 12 Feb.

..

because the Governor General had directed him that any reference to subsistence would only be considered after Appa Sahib's removal from Jodhpur was finalised. Hence, leaving the matter as it was, 103 Col. Sutherland left Jodhpur on 4 December, 1839. 104

However, the British Government kept a keen eye on Appa Sahib. The letters to his wife at Nagpur were censored. The Political Agents at Jodhpur and Nagpur were directed to keep a rigorous watch on the movements of Appa Sahib. But he did not live long thereafter. After an attack of diarrhoea which lasted for five days, he expired at sunrise on 15 July, 1840, at his residence in the holy sanctuary of Mahamandir. He was given a State cremation at the orders of Man Singh. It appears from a letter dated 19 July, 1842, sent by Waddock, Secretary to the Governor General, that there was a proposal for the appointment of an heir-apparent of Appa Sahib in the person of Sheonath Singh, son of Thakur Sabal Singh of Sanderao, but the British Government refused to recognise such a claimant because

102. From Waddock to Sutherland, dated 10 June 1839, F.P. 21 Aug. 1839, No. 67, Prdg. pp. 85-86; From Sutherland to Waddock, dated, 26 Dec. 1839, F.P. 12 Feb. 1840, No. 42.

103. From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 26 Dec. 1839, F.P. 12 Feb. 1840, No. 42.

104. From Sutherland to Hamilton, dated 2 March 1840, F.P. 23 March 1840, No. 47.

105. From Ludlow to Sutherland, dated 26 March 1840, F.P. 27 April 1840, No. 32,

106. Ibid.

107. From Ludlow to Sutherland, dated 15 July 1840, enclosed with the letter from Sutherland to Torrens, dated 18 July 1840, F.P. 3 Aug. 1840, No. 123.

108. Ibid.

109. From Waddock to Sutherland, dated 19 July 1842, R.A.O. File No. 28-Jod. 1842, pp. 1-2.

110. From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 26 July 1842, R.A.O. File No. J. 29

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ib,95

b at eral r in

ppa ed a ngh.

vritould itish

him of a r a

to to he was

ur-839,

1839,

Vol. May pies

une May lock

840,

Feb.

#### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

neither did the wives of Appa Sahib at Nagpur entertain such a move111 nor did Man Singh ever give any assent to it.112.

#### ABBREVIATION:

534

= Poona Residency Correspondence. P.R.C.

= Foreign Political Consultations, National Archives, New Delhi. F.P.

= Foreign Secret Consultations, National Archives, New Delhi. F.S.

J.B.R.S. = Journal of Behar Research Society.

R.A.Jd. = Rajasthan Archives, Jodhpur Records, Bikaner.

Prodg = Proceedings.

28-Jodh, 1842, pp. 8-10.

R.A.O. = Rajputana Agency Office Files, National Archives, New Delhi.

ence, i choice young men, a The fr (III, 1 leacher studen The gi mained templa

A .

Th

good s

society

If and 30 not pr or amo of the not no

any re astra society tions, mean

is Know hers

\* D

111. From Sutherland to Ludlow, dated 26 July 1842. R.A.O. File No. 28-Jodh. 1842, p. 7. 112. From Ludlow to Sutherland, dated 29 July 1842. R.A.O. File No.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

# A note on the term 'Asūryampasya' in Pānini

BY

DR. APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., Banaras Hindu University

The term 'Asūryampaśyā' in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī offers a good scope for the study of purdah system in ancient India. The society in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī does not anywhere contain any reference, implied or direct, to Purdah. The women were free in the choice of their husbands. We notice absence of restriction on young maidens. They had full freedom to be wooed by young men, as the term 'varyā' in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (III, 1. 101) means. The freedom of women is further defined in the term 'anirodha' (III, 101) in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. We notice the existence of female leachers (IV. 1, 49), and female mendicants (II, 1, 70). Female students used to live in girls' hostels called chātrī-śālā (VI, 2, 86). The girls used to marry late and there existed women who remained maidens for their lives. All these facts nowhere contemplate purdah in society.

If we accept the period of Pānini as some time between 500 and 300 B.C., the contemporary Buddhist or Jaina sources will not provide any instance of purdah either among the commoners or among the aristocrats in society. Nor in the following period of the Mauryas do we find purdah in society; the Greeks have not noticed or recorded it and Kautilva too does not provide any reference to it; rather both the Greek accounts and the Artha-iastra of Kautilya picture a good amount of female freedom in society. The term 'avarodhana' (orodhana)\* in Asokan inscriptions, in reference to the female quarters of his brothers, cannot mean purdah in the true sense, as it lacks corroborative data in

ich a

Delhi.

elhi.

Delhi,

<sup>1.</sup> V. S. Agrawala, India as known to Pānini, pp. 89-92.

Dr. Bhandarkar (Aśoka, Hindi Tans. p. 157) and Dr. Agrawala (India is Known to Pānini, p. 407) however have interpreted orodhana of Aśoka's there as denoting prevalence of purdah in ancient India.

other sources. The practice of keeping the private apartments of the King and the members of the royal family under strict guard and that of the King to live in seclusion away from the gaze of the public were noticed by Megasthenes. He gives us details about it while describing the life of the King. "As a rule, the King remained within the precincts of the inner palace, under the protection of his Amazonian bodyguard and appeared in public only to hear causes, offer sacrifice, and to go on military or hunting expeditions. Probably he was expected to show himself to his subjects at least once a day, and then to receive petitions and decide disputes in person."2

Since the King lived in seclusion, naturally greatest care was taken of his nearest female relations, the ladies of his palace. In the absence of corroborative data for the custom of purdah for royal ladies the logical conclusion, particularly in view of the unsafe political conditions of the time, is that the term 'orodhana' in Asokan inscriptions simply refers to private royal apartments, kept under strict vigilance. The association of the inmates of the royal apartments with outsiders, particularly males, was unimaginable in Mauryan days when the King himself lived in great fear for his life and changed his bedroom every night.3 The instance of the last Sisunaga King being killed by the paramour of his Queen,4 was before the first Maurya whose position in the beginning was quite unsafe. We come across details of keeping the palace under strict guard in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.5 His precautionary measures against the ever-present chance of the King being poisoned explain very well the uncertain political conditions of the times.

Secondly, the term 'avarodhana' which may mean restricted and secluded life of royal ladies cannot very well explain the term 'asūryampaśyā' which literally means one not seen by the sun and which is better explained if a lady wears a veil of black or of some deep-coloured cloth. Even in restricted quarters sun-

3. Megasthenes, XXVII, 15.

hine W io see support on thei

Sin Pānini, 300-600 meant But, as that ro Even in women by this women V. 13) Harsac pectabi tradict the ide for we while : and m husbar wife a she is less li thal to fuses t clearer of the newly cepting husbar Sākun

6.

carita

<sup>2.</sup> V. A. Smith, Early History of India, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1924, 130. p. 130.

<sup>4.</sup> McCrindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 220.

bine will fall on a face but the sun is apparently not enabled o see the face hidden behind a veil. We have no evidence in support of the fact that Indian ladies in Asokan days wore veil on their faces.

ents

trict the

us

s a

ace,

ared

nili-

how

eive

was lace,

rdah

the

ana'

ents,

s of

un-

reat

The

nour

the

ping

pre-

King

ndi-

icted

the

the

lack

sun-

1924,

Since purdah was generally absent in society in the days of Pāṇini, in  $K\bar{a}$ ś $ik\bar{a}$  a commentary of Pāṇini (of the time between 300-600 A.D.6) the term 'asūryampaśyā' is explained as a term meant for royal ladies; so it is said 'asūryampaśyā rājadārāh'. But, as we have seen above, we have no positive data to hold that royal ladies lived behind curtains in the days of Panini. Even in the period of Kāśikā purdah for royal ladies or ordinary women was not actually etsablished in society. But of course, by this time we notice stray references to veil for respectable women. For example, in the Mrcchakațika, in Sākuntala (Act V. 13) in the Lalitavistāra (a work of early Christian era) in the Harsacarita,7 the wearing of veil is noticed as a mark of respectability for women though a general picture of society contradicts the fact that veil was worn by respectable women. Still the idea that the wearing of veil was a mark of respectability for women was gaining recognition during this period. Thus while in the Mahābhārata,8 Sakuntalā, in all her womanly dignity and majesty, gives a long and fiery harangue to her timid royal husband in the very court of the King for disowning her as a wife and her son as his own legitimate son, in Kālidāsa's work she is a frail feminine figure with a veil hiding her face, speechless like an image. In the Lalitavistāru,9 Gopā after her betrothal to the Buddha, is given a veil to wear but she strongly refuses to do so. In the last act of Mrcchakatika the point becomes clearer; the courtesan-concubine, as soon as she gains the status of the wife, is given a veil as a mark of respectability for her newly acquired dignity. It is to be noted, however, that excepting the veil worn by Sakuntalā when she went to her royal husband's court, no other reference to purdah, either throughout Sākuntalā or in other works of Kālidāsa is noticed. In the Harsacarita veil is noticed only once; in the rest of the work Rajvasrī

<sup>6.</sup> P. V. Kane, Dharmaśāstra Ka Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>7.</sup> Harsacarita, Ch. IV.

<sup>8.</sup> Mbh., Adiparva, Ch. LXXIV. 9. Lalitavistāra, Canto. XVI.

is always without any veil and as Hsiian Tsāng tells us, throughout her widowhood Rājyaśrī in her public or court appearances is without any kind of purdah. In Bāṇa's Kādambarī purdah is not noticed. Hsiian Tsāng nowhere refers to the practice of purda in India. In the Rāmāyaṇa¹¹¹ the references to veil are few and in the major part of the epic the ladies are found not to observe any purdah. So the literary references to veil are not only stray, they are incongruous with the general picture of society in which no purdah is noticed.

As we have noted, veil given to a betrothed or a newly married girl or to a bride (as we find Rājyaśrī with a lovely red veil on the eve of her marriage, meeting Grahavarman), was a sign of wifely status. Neither the Rgveda nor the Dharmasūtras or Dharmaśāstras would show that veil denoted wifely dignity. How then did this idea come into Indian society? Where can we trace its origin?

In Assyrian civilization a married woman wore veil. Her daughters also wore head-dresses prescribed by the custom. A concubine ('esirtu') was not entitled to wear a veil; if her keeper wished to raise her to the position of a wife, he had to veil her in the presence of five or six witnesses and declare "This is my wife". The married respectable women wore veil, by which they were distinguished from temple prostitutes, harlots and slaves.<sup>11</sup>

The Persian princesses wore veil as, being Fire-born, they were not supposed to be seen by ordinary people. In Persia the seclusion of women had become quite common before the beginning of the Christian era. <sup>12</sup> In Athens in 500 B.C. the association of women with male guests was not permitted, <sup>13</sup> and according to the prevalent social conditions <sup>14</sup> no bride might be seen by her husband before marriage. In Sparta female apart-

Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, pp. 198-99.

11. Delaporte, Mesopotamia, p. 283

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, p. 735.
 Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 445.

ments

most precised India, Centra of India, women

Th ing of coming is atte tala an during India s the Gr the Sa have b pectabi absenc literatu and se the sp restrict the Gr to the pointed charact should

> Th much India 1 brother

<sup>10.</sup> The couple of verses in the Rāmāyana referring to purdah (VI, 116, 28. II, 33, 8) are totally inconsistent with the absence of purdah throughout the Epic. It has been suggested that those are later interpolations. A. S. Altekar, The Position of Warman and Market and Altekar, The Position of Warman and Market and Altekar.

<sup>12.</sup> A. S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisati, on, p. 209.

13. Encyclopaedia of P. Lindon of Women in Hindu Civilisati, on, p. 209.

#### 'ASŪRYAMPAŚYA' IN PANINI

ments were separate from those of males and no woman could attend banquets.

ugh-

inces th is

e of

ot to

not

e of

arri-

veil

sign

s or

How

race

Her

. A

eper

her

my

they

es.11

they

ersia

the

and be

eart-

116,

hout . S.

209.

So Pāṇini who belonged to the North-West (500-300 B.C.) most probably used the word 'asūryampaśyā' in reference to the veiled ladies of Assyria. It is quite possible that North-Western India, because of its proximity to Central Asia, was affected by Central Asian ideas and practices and probably in those parts of India the wearing of veil was a practice adopted by Indian women. A veiled face is certainly not seen by the Sun.

The fact that in the early centuries of Christian era the veiling of face by married or betrothed girls of high status was becoming a practice or at least gaining recognition in Indian society. is attested by Lalitavistāra, Mṛcchakaṭika and Kālidāsa's Śākuntala and also in references to veil in the Epics. It is possible that during the centuries following the disruption of the Sunga empire, India saw waves of foreign invaders, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Greeks. The invaders settled in India but they, particularly the Śakas and the Parthians, being Central Asian nomads must have brought with them Central Asian notions of feminine respectability. And thus while the general picture of society shows absence of purdah, we notice its references here and there, in literature and commentaries. As regards the Greeks who ruled and settled in the North Western India, they had no need to stop the spreading of this idea of purdah as in their own society testrictions on women in movement and association obtained; and the Greeks in North Western India must have also contributed to the spread of the custom of purdah in India. It has been pointed out by the eminent scholar Dr. A. S. Altekar that a character in one of the plays of Menander says, "A free woman should be bounded by the street door."15

The term 'asūryampaśyā' in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī has nothing much to do with the general social condition of contemporary India nor has it any connection with the 'avarodhanas' of the brothers of Aśoka Maurya.

<sup>15.</sup> A. S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p. 209.

The mpress nd rep ame o State of buld c and yet heir de ome ti vere no ul influ o it, in reaties Covern Vpical Allegian accepte Mughal oin ca

> A I he Bri have th

Bahadu

1. A 2. C 0ffg. Ag llo. 146.

## · Change of superscription on Coins of Native States 1858-1872

BY

# SARJIT SINGH RANDHAWA New Delhi

The coinage of most of the Native States of India carried the mpression of the Mughal Emperor at the time of Revolt of 1857 nd represented a peculiar political phenomenon. Ordinarily the ame of only a paramount power is inscribed by a subordinate State on its coins. In 1857 Bahadur Shah, the Mughal Emperor, buld claim no paramountcy in any of the Native States in India and yet his name was inscribed on their coins as if he was still heir de-jure sovereign. The British, on the other hand, had beome the supreme authority in India much before 1857. They \*ere not only masters of vast territories, they were also a poweril influence in almost all the Native States, which were bound bit, in a subordinate position, by a series of engagements and reaties; and still no Native State had the name of the British Government superscribed on its coins. The Jaipur coin is a vpical example. Even when Jaipur had signed a "Treaty of illegiance" with the British Government in 1818, by which it had eccepted the British as a paramount power and even when the lughal Emperor had no influence on the affairs in Jaipur its oin carried the inscription "Sicca Badshah Adil Mohumud Bahadur Shah."2

A proposal had been made by the Rao of Kutch in 1846, that he British Government as the paramount power in India should have their name superscribed on coins;3 the Maharaja of Indore

<sup>1.</sup> Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. IV, p. 36. 2. Capt. W. F. Eden, Political Agent, Jaipur to Brig. Genl Lawrence, Ng. Agent to G. G. Rajputana: 28 Jan. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858:

J. 30 Political Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 39, 15 Sept. 1859.

made a similar proposal in 1857 and actually got new stamps made without the impression of the Mughal Emperor.<sup>4</sup> The Government of India, however, took no action to implement these suggestions.

The involvement of Bahadur Shah in the uprising of 1857, and his subsequent conviction by the British Government in the beginning of 1858, which resulted in his deportation to Rangoon, changed the whole situation. The title of the Mughal Emperor was abolished; and the Queen of England assumed the direct sovereignty of India by the Act of 1858. The retention of the name of the Mughal Emperor on the coins of the Native States, in these circumstances, became all the more anomalous. There was no Mughal Emperor, even in name, after 1858 whom the Native States could treat as a titular sovereign by putting his impression on their coins.

The Government of the North Western Provinces brought this anomaly to the knowledge and attention of the Government of India in February, 1858.<sup>5</sup> They reported that the Dholpur coin carried the impression of the Emperor of Delhi's name on the rupee.<sup>6</sup> The Bharatpur coin was also superscribed in the same way and perhaps all the Rajputana States continued to bear the earlier superscription on their coinage as if Delhi was the paramount power.<sup>7</sup> Having thus been apprized of the continued use of the name of the Mughal Emperor on the coinage of the Native States, Lord Canning ordered that, before taking any steps to get the superscription altered, it should be ascertained from the Residents and Agents as to what the practice was in the Native States upto the Mutiny.<sup>8</sup> They were to report whether the

5. C. B. Thornhill to C. Beadon: 9 Feb. 1858: For Progs. 9 April 1858: Pol. A: No. 67.

7. Nixon to Lawrence: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 68.

poins cu superscr he diffi ereafte

SU

At lears ea heir na trike hi

The he curvanted he new Her Maurrent, have on wentied in inscrion, 12 have of have of have of here.

The ulers to y that burbar the (art of good

dol. PA: 1

<sup>4.</sup> Sir R. Hamilton, Agent to G. G. Central India to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 11 Apr. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858. Pol. A. No. 164.

<sup>6.</sup> Capt. J. P. Nixon, Offg. Political Agent, Bharatpur to Secretary, Government of North Western Provinces: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Progs. 9 April 1858: Pol. A: No. 68.

<sup>8.</sup> Note by Lord Canning: 15 Feb. 1858: K. W.: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1853: Pol. A: No. 67.

# SUPERSCRIPTION ON COINS OF NATIVE STATES 543

ons current in the States under their political control carried the operscription of the King of Delhi, and to ascertain as to how de different Chiefs would react to a proposition to efface it breafter.9

made

vern-

sug-

1857,

n the

goon,

peror direct

name

these

as no

lative

pres-

t this

nt of

coin

n the

same

ir the

s the

inued

of the

steps

from

n the

istone,

: For

1858:

Gov-

April

1858:

Apr.

At this time, the Rao of Kutch, who had proposed twelve pars earlier that the British, as paramount power, should have beir name inscribed on Native coins, resolved on his own, to take his coin in the name of the Queen for the future. 10

The Maharaja of Jaipur also expressed his desire to withdraw he current coins and to reissue them with new stamps. He wanted to change the inscription on the rupee and proposed that he new coins should either have on one side an impression of her Majesty the Queen Victoria, similar to the British rupee wrent, and on the other his own name and year of reign—or have one side representing simply the year A.D. 1858, being the wentieth year of the reign of the Queen and the obverse having inscription bearing his own name and the year since his accession. Reporting this request to the Government of India, George havence felt that this would be a fitting occasion to change the dinage of all the Rajput States that might hitherto have had the lame of the Delhi Emperor on their coins.

The Rao of Kutch and the Maharaja of Jaipur were the first ulers to replace the impression of the name of the Mughal Emperor that of the Queen of England. The willingness of the Jaipur lurbar to inscribe the Queen's name on its coins was welcome the Government of India. It was a voluntary decision on the lart of an important Rajput State, which they thought would set good example for other States of Rajputana, and it had been

<sup>9.</sup> Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department to Agent to vernor General, Central India: 18 Feb. 1858: For. Progs., 9 Apr. 1858: A: No. 70.

<sup>10.</sup> Political Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 39: 15 Sept. 1859.
11. Eden to Lawrence: 28 Jan. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A:
146.

<sup>12.</sup> Eden to Lawrence: 28 Jan. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A:

<sup>13.</sup> Offg. Agent to Governor General, Rajputana, to Secretary, Governent of India, Foreign Department: 3 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: No. 145

effected without any political pressure. The change contemplated went further than the instructions the Government of India had just issued to the Agent in Rajputana, in the sense that, the Jaipur Durbar proposed not only to efface the superscription of the Emperor of Delhi from its coin, but also to inscribe in its place that of the Queen. The Durbar had even submitted the plan of the new superscription for the approval of the British Government. The Government of India, therefore, accepted the proposal of the Maharaja, both as regards the change of device in the Jaipur coinage, and the withdrawal of the existing currency.14 They however, preferred to leave the decision about the new device to the Maharaja and were willing to accept either of the two courses suggested by him.15 Jaipur decided to substitute the Queen's name on its new coin16 and submitted the impression of the new device for the approval of the Government of India.17

In the case of Bharatpur, Capt. Nixon had directed that the impression of the King of Delhi's name should be discontinued and that of the British substituted in its place. 18 But being President of the Regency Council, owing to the minority of the Chief of Bharatpur, his authority was greater than was usual in a State. The Governor General wanted to be sure that the consent of the Durbar had been taken in arriving at the decision to change the superscription on its coinage.19 He felt it very necessary that all acts of authority should be done in unison with the Durbar.20 It was only after the Government of India had been informed that Capt. Nixon acted entirely in unison with the feelings of the Punch of Sir them.

C of the under Super ernme assum gative Centr purpo the fa lation the N the C selves

> I ness : ment. of De order subst

by th

Pol. A bear t their ] 22. Pol. A

21.

23, tern I 24. Pol. A

25. 26. 27.

India A: No 28. India,

A: N Thas

<sup>14.</sup> Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 149.

Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858.
 A. No. 140 Pol. A: No. 149.

Lawrence to Edmonstone: 14 June 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858:
 A: No. 160 Pol. A: No. 160.

<sup>17.</sup> The new device was:—One side: Zurb Siwae Jeypoor Sun 1858, Buahud Malikeh Mouzumeh Sultaneet Inglistan Victoria: Other side: Sun Juloose — Menuncat Inglistan Victoria: Other Sun Ju Juloose — Memuneet Manoose Maharaja Dhuraj Ram Singh Jee Sun — 23. For Program 24 C. 23. For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 160A.

<sup>18.</sup> Political Agent, Bharatpur to Offg. Agent to Governor General, Rajtana: 27 Jan 1989. The large transport of the control of

putana: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Prog. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 68. 19. Note by Lord Canning: 24 Feb. 1858: Pol. A: No. 66. 24 Sept. 8: Pol. A: No. 140 1858: Pol. A: No. 149.

<sup>20.</sup> Ibid.

# SUPERSCRIPTION ON COINS OF NATIVE STATES 545

of Sirdars21 that they approved of the new device agreed to by them.22

Gapt. Nixon had also asked permission to efface the name of the Emperor from the Dholpur coin.<sup>23</sup> Dholpur, however, was under British management and Capt. Nixon was acting as its Superintendent. He was, therefore, informed that the British Government had no right to give orders on this matter, and that any assumption of authority by their agents in regard to the prerogative of coining, which the independent States of Rajputana and Central India so zealously maintained, was likely to defeat its purpose.<sup>24</sup> This attitude of the Government of India was due to the fact that they had in view the more important object of assimilation of coinage for which they might have to negotiate with the Native States.<sup>25</sup> They, therefore, wanted, for the present, that the Chiefs should be led to adopt the change in sperscription themselves, rather than that the Political Agents should bring it about by their arbitrary action.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime other Native States conveyed their willingness to change the device on their coinage. The Baroda Government, whose current coinage bore the superscription of the King of Delhi, expressed their consent to abolish it.<sup>27</sup> They issued an order for its discontinuance and the preparation of another die substituting in its place the name and title of the Gaekwar.<sup>28</sup> The

21. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 26 Mar. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 152. The Sirdars were of the view that the coinage should bear the stamp of the British Government but solicited that the name of their Rajah should be impressed on the new rupee.

22. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 29 July 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 163.

23. Political Agent, Bharatpur to Secretary, Government of North Western Provinces: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Prog. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 68. 24. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858; Pol. A: No. 140

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Sir R. Shakespeare, Resident at Baroda to Secretary, Government of India Foreign Department: 13 Mar. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 88

28. Sir R. Shakespeare, Resident at Baroda to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 13 Mar. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. No. 88. The new superscription read:— Khande Rao Gaekwar Sena Khel Shumsheir Bahadur — with the outline of a sword.

sident ief of State, of the

ge the

at all

lated

had

aipur

mpe-

at of

new

The

Iaha-

nage,

, pre-

araja

gested

on its

e for

at the

d and

20 It that Punch

1858:

1858:

1 1858, — Sun Sun —

i, Raj-

4 Sept.

Nizam's Minister felt that there could be no object in continuing the impression of the name of the King of Delhi whose sovereignty had ceased to exist and that there should be no difficulty in its removal.29 The Maharaja of Indore, Tukaji Rao Holkar, also expressed satisfaction at the proposition to alter the device on the coinage of the Native States and agreed to change the stamp on the Indore Rupee.30 He wanted to adopt the name of Ahalya Bai and to retain the intrinsic value of the 'Halee Rupee' so that the change would not affect commercial transactions.31 Secunder Begum, the Regent of Bhopal, also readily agreed to change the superscription and forwarded a specimen of her coin with a new stamp.32 The Regent adopted the device "Zarubhool Bhopal"coined at Bhopal - because it would serve during any reign and get rid of the difficulty which might be experienced from the names of the rulers of Bhopal being similar to those of the Kings of Delhi.33 The Government of India accepted their proposals, both as regards the change of the devices in their coinage, and the withdrawal of the existing currency and approved of the devices proposed to be substituted.34

No suggestion was made to any of these States—Baroda, Hyderabad, Indore and Bhopal—for sbstituting the name of the Queen of England for that of the Mughal Emperor; in the first instance, because the instructions of the Government of India in their letter of 18 February 1858 had made no mention of this proposition and secondly, because the Residents at Baroda and Hyderabad were, probably, not aware of the changes being introduced in Jaipur and Bharatpur.

ciatin tion ( the E in Raj who s cription "Dost Chief. to rer also t May, tion t June name the w that satisfi that, muni

T

the cl at th Gove that sever mine

35. Pol. A 36. Pol. A 37.

1859 S 38. June

39. 1858):

40.

<sup>29.</sup> Lt. Col. Davidson, Resident at Hyderabad to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 11 Apr. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 96.

<sup>30.</sup> Hamilton to Edmonstone: 11 Apr. 1858: For. Progs. 6 9ug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 164.

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid. The new device was:— First side:— Long may live the name of Ahillia, a devotee of Shunkara. Second side:— coined at Holker's city of Indore. (Cons. No. 166).

<sup>32.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24.</sup> Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, to Agent to Governor General, Central India: 29 July 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 167.

.1

## SUPERSCRIPTION ON COINS OF NATIVE STATES 547

ing

nty

its

exthe

on Bai

the

der

the

ew

"\_\_

ind

nes

of

oth

the

ces

de-

en

ce,

ter

ind

re.

nd

ent

ol.

58:

me

to 58:

The report from Rajputana was more encouraging. The Officiating Agent was confident that any suggestion for the substitution of the superscription of the British Government in place of the Emperor's would be readily and eagerly accepted by all Chiefs in Rajputana.35 The matter was placed before the Vakils in Durbar, who showed readiness to accept the proposed change in the superscription and replace it with such mottos as "Dosti London" or "Dosti Angrez", and were asked to ascertain the wishes of their Chiefs.36 As a result, many States of Rajputana agreed not only to remove the name of the Ex-King of Delhi from their coins, but also to inscribe the name of the Queen of England in its place. In May, 1858 Alwar showed willingness to substitute any superscription the British Government considered proper, on its coins.37 In June the officials of Bikaner became desirous of having the British name on their coins instead of that of Delhi.38 Kotah expressed the wish, in August, to replace the superscription on its coins by that of the Queen.39 But the Government of India did not feel satisfied with merely consulting the Vakils and instructed Lawrence that, in an important matter of this kind, it was necessary to communicate directly with the Chiefs themselves. 40

The Government of India reiterated their general policy about the changes in the superscription of the coinage of the Native States at this stage. It was once again pointed out that the British Government claimed no right to give orders in this matter and that the most they could do was to submit the proposal to the several Chiefs, leaving it to them, if they would consent, to determine the device which the future currency of their States should

<sup>35.</sup> Lawrence to Edmonstone: 26 Mar. 1858: For, Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 152.

<sup>36.</sup> Lawrence to Edmonstone: 26 May 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 159.

<sup>37.</sup> Khureeta from Maharaja of Alwar: 30 May 1858: For. Progs. 30 Dec. 1859 Supp. Pol. A: No. 1002.

<sup>38.</sup> Kyfeeut from Bikaner Vakil. (Encl. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 29 June 1859): For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A. No. 162.

<sup>39.</sup> Note from Kotah Vakil (Encl. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 20 Aug. 1858): For. Progs. 19 Nov. 1858: Pol. A: No. 449.

<sup>40.</sup> Secretary, Government of India to Agent to Governor General Raj-Patana: 29 July 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 163,

bear, and the time when, as well as the means by which they should withdraw the current coins.41

This cautious approach of the Government of India was regretted by Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State. 42 He felt that the ready acceptance, by the Rao of Kutch and the Maharaja of Jaipur, to strike their coins in the Queen's name, demonstrated that probably there would have been no difficulty on the part of other Princes also in adopting a similar course if it had been suggested to them.43 An opportunity was thus lost, of denoting, by this procedure, the recognition of the great fact, that the sovereignty over India was now vested in the Queen of England.44 He wanted the Government of India to bring the subject to the notice of the various Chiefs, as it was not too late to repair the omission.45

A suggestion had been made to the Governor General, before the letter of the 18th February 185846 was drafted, that States which coined in the Mughal Emperor's name should now have the Queen's head or something else to show that the British were the paramount power and that the States which had their own coinage should continue to do so.47 Lord Canning, however, wanted to know first as to which of the coining States bore the superscription of the King of Delhi, and, therefore, no mention was made in the letter about the desirability of replacing the Emperor's name by that of the Queen.48 In their views on the question of the change of the superscription of the Dholpur State, the Government of India made their attitude clear.49 They wanted to keep their special efforts reserved for the assimilation of the coins of the Native State for a

the I ing t their as th to re atten the ] not y

> ful w accer they with took

State

not v

and 1

tion from to in sent cular Rajp pure: Briti

50. 51. A. N

52. inscri 53.

May 1 54 30 Der

J. 33

<sup>41.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42.</sup> Political Despatch from Secretary of State: No. 39: 15 Sept. 1859.

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46.</sup> For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 70.

<sup>47.</sup> Office Note: 15 Feb. 1858: K. W.: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A.: No. 67.

<sup>48.</sup> Note by Canning: 15 Feb. 1858: K. W.: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A. No. 67.

Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858.
 A. No. 149 Pol. A. No. 149.

.)

States with that of the British coinage and did not want to exert for a mere change of the device. 50

The Government of India was even less anxious about getting the Native States to put the Queen's name on their coinage. Asking them to remove the name of the Ex-Emperor of Delhi from their coins might appear reasonable to the Native States, but, as the right of coinage was a vestige of sovereignty, any effort to replace it with the name of the Queen might be considered an attempt to interfere with their prerogative and might endanger the British influence in these States. The uprising of 1857 had not yet been suppressed and the Governor General, probably, did not want to take any step which would offend the Native States and make them suspicious of the British designs. It is also doubtful whether the Gaekwar, or the Holkar, or the Nizam would have accepted to print the name of the Queen on their coins, since they considered themselves as sovereigns and had signed treaties with the British as equals. The Government of India, therefore, took no steps to bring this subject to the consideration of the Native States.

By 1872, almost all the Chiefs and Princes, with the exception of Scindia, removed the superscription of the Mughal Emperor from their coins,<sup>51</sup> but only two new Native States had decided to inscribe the name of the Queen.<sup>52</sup> Jaisalmer conveyed its consent to put the Queen's name on its coin<sup>53</sup> in response to the circular Khureeta of 18 August 1858 from the Officiating Agent in Rajputana.<sup>54</sup> The Begum of Bhopal decided to issue a coin of purer silver and greater weight and, as a mark of allegiance to the British Government, changed its superscription by inscribing the

they

re-

felt araja

ated

rt of

sug-

s, by

gnty

nted

f the

efore

hich

een's

oara-

nage d to

ption

1 the

e by

ange

nt of

spe-

ative

9.

A .:

1858:

1858:

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51.</sup> Note by Aitchison: 19 July 1871: K. W. For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A. Nos. 15-24.

<sup>52.</sup> Kutch, Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur, Kotah and Bikaner had already inscribed the Queen's name on their coins.

<sup>53.</sup> Khureeta from Maharaja of Jaisalmer: 19 Mar. 1860: For. Progs. May 1860: Pt. B. No. 141.

<sup>54.</sup> Circular Khureeta to Chiefs of States in Rajputana—For. Progs. Dec. 1859. Supp. Pol. A: No. 1005.

name of the Queen on the new coin.<sup>55</sup> The lack of porgress, in the recognition of the suzerainty of the Queen, by having her head or name inscribed on the coins of the Native States, made the Secretary of State, Duke of Argyll, express his concern.<sup>56</sup> He felt that the mere removal of the name of the Ex-King of Delhi was not sufficient to signalize the assumption by the Queen of the direct government of India and recommended that the various Political Agents, accredited to different courts, should point out, by exerting legitimate influence, the advisability of some recognition of the Queen's suzerainty by the Chiefs.<sup>57</sup>

The Government of India considered this question in detail and came to the conclusion that it would not be advisable at that time to adopt any measures of a general kind to secure that end.<sup>58</sup> They felt that if any of the States were to object to the suggestion, the effect would be harmful to the British interests.<sup>59</sup>

A variety of factors contributed to this decision of the Government of India. They considered the British supremacy in India so universally and unquestionably admitted that any agitation of a mere form might do more harm than good. Then, the Government had to use their authority so often in matters of real importance, that they would only weaken it by calling it into play in a matter of no great significance. They would only be catching at shadows when the British Government already possessed the substance. The Government of India was, however, most concerned about the possibility that some of the most powerful Princes like the Nizam or Scindia might refuse while others agreed to the

63. Fin. 4

65.

prop

It wo

ernm tion

be in

to le

matte

coins

gradi

Chie

<sup>55.</sup> Yaddasht from Shah Jahan Begum of Bhopal: 16 Aug. 1870: For. Progs. May 1871: Fin. A: No. 14. The new inscription was:—On one side—Aheli Mulkai Mouzzamah-Sheen. On the 2nd side—Suni Hijri Koodsee 1287, Zurbi Darool-ikbali Bhopal.

<sup>56.</sup> Political Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 24: 16 Feb. 1871.57. Ibid.

<sup>58.</sup> Political Despatch to Secretary of State No. 4: 17 June 1872: For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A: No. 23.

<sup>60.</sup> Note by Aitchison: 19 July 1871: K. W. For. Progs. June 1872: Fin.

<sup>. 61.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62.</sup> Ibid.

.

## SUPERSCRIPTION ON COINS OF NATIVE STATES 551

the

ead

the

felt

vas

the

euc

out,

ion

tail

hat

1.58

on,

ovdia
of
of
ortin
ing
the
ces
the

or.

or.

in.

proposal.<sup>63</sup> The effect of such an eventuality might not be healthy. It would make the more powerful Chiefs feel superior to other Chiefs in India and claim special treatment from the British Government.<sup>64</sup> They would get a notion of distinction as to their position vis-a-vis the British and a recognition of this fact would not be in the best interests of the Government of India.<sup>65</sup> It was primarily this possibility which made the Government of India decide to leave the subject alone and use great care and caution in this matter. The object of having the Queen's name inscribed on the coins of the Native States was, therefore, not to be sought by a general directive to the Political Agents but was left to be attained gradually by the willing acceptance of the various Princes and Chiefs of India.

<sup>63.</sup> Note by J. F. Stephen: 2 Aug. 1871: K. W. For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A: Nos. 15-24.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.

Tri

Th who le Born i tury, t closing the risi a nece in sup field. of a s enrich of the as the over t] role. But, w Panipa Virtua and pl the 18loving

on decomenace Compatheir a face to sub-co

to cru

# Trial of Pindari Prisoners: A Legal Wrangle

the forest war of The case BY same I consider a rest of the forest of

Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee, Visva-Bharati University

The Pindaris were those lawless, rapacious bands of marauders who left a trail of blood and devastation in the 18th century India. Born in the general confusion and degeneration of the 17th cenury, the Pindaris gradually rose to power and strength in the closing years of the 18th century and offered a serious challenge to he rising British imperialist power in India. At first they formed a necessary adjunct to the Maratha army and played a vital role n supplying provisions to the Maratha soldiers in the battlefeld. They generally came in the wake of the Maratha invasion of a state and looted and plundered the civilian population to enrich their Maratha masters. They, of course, used to get a part of the booty by which they could maintain themselves. As long as the Maratha power was strong enough to maintain their control wer the Pindaris, these marauders could not assume a menacing tole. They remained under the thumb of their Maratha masters. But, when the Marathas received a crushing blow in the battle of Panipat, 1761, that effective fetter on the Pindaries was removed. Virtually independent of the Maratha control, they converted loot and plunder into a regular, organised sytsem in the latter half of the 18th century. In a word, they became a scourge to the peaceloving common folk of the country.

The Pindaris ravaged not only the princely states, but carried on deep inroads in the East India Company's territories. The menace of the Pindaris grew into such a huge proportion that the Company's authorities were provoked to adopt a general plan for their annihilation. Moreover, British imperialism in India stood face to face with the Maratha ambition to dominate over the Indian sub-continent in the first quarter of the 19th century. The suppression of the Pindaris became but a part of the English attempt to crush the Maratha power and establish their own Raj. Any-

way, since 1816 the Company began large-scale preparations for weeding out the Pindaris.

As the hostilities between the Company and the Pindaris increased and as more and more of them fell into the English hands, a very intriguing problem cropped up. The general question was what should be done with the Pindari prisoners? Were they entitled to the privileges usually enjoyed by the prisoners of war? If not, how could they be effectively brought to book? These were some of the questions that bothered the British authorities in India. A very interesting case occurred in Madras which may be referred to while discussing the above questions.

In 1816, several bands of the Pindaris crossed the Narmada, ravaged the Nizam's territories and then invaded the Company's territories under the jurisdiction of the Madras Presidency. They devastated Coimbatore and gradually proceeded upto Ganjam. At the time of that incursion a Pindari named Kalaram was apprehended by the Magistrate of Cuddapah in May, 1816. Kalaram was seized by three police peons near Markapur in the Dupad Taluk! Kalaram was alleged to have confessed that he belonged to "the other side of the Narmada" and came along with those Pindaris who plundered Guntur, Kumbum and other places.<sup>2</sup> He was committed by the Magistrate of Cuddapah to be tried by the Court of Circuit. This proceeding on the part of the Magistrate was, however, adopted without a previous communication of his intention to the Government of Fort St. George.3 The Futwa of the Law Officer of the Court of Circuit having no doubt of his guilt, referred the case for final orders to the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat of Madras.4 Kalaram was charged "with having belonged to a body of predatory horse who carried the flag of no state, of having in March 1816 entered the territories of the Honourable Company when they were at peace with all neighbouring states and of having in conjunction with the said predatory horse plundered and burned houses and wounded and murdered and robbed different people,

3. Ibid. No. 42 of 28th Feb. 1817.

and vice Dupad, aid Ho

The imployed inces) is inces in inces i

equitte The ngs in f the I roceed risone ions for hey, C Bengal, Govern elating pinion While c of the ation o Ir. Wri ation o nedan ] lis argu

> 5. Be 6. Ib 7. Ib 8. Ib

8. Ib

Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 43 of 28th Feb. 1817.

<sup>4.</sup> Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal (Judicial), 8th May, 1822.

violated women in the ditsricts of Guntur, Mangalagherry, Dupad Kumbum and in other places within the dominions of the aid Hojourable Company."5

The prisoner in his defence stated that he was a Harkara mployed by Jean Baptiste (the European commander of Sindhia's orces) to carry a letter to Mr. Newnham, the Magistrate of Cudlanah. While on his way to Cuddapah, he fell in with the Pindaris gar Nagpur and was plundered. Kalaram pleaded that for his wn security he had to accompany the Pindaris subsequently to ifferent places. But, ultimately, he had left them and was on his ray to Cuddapah when he was apprehended. Having stated all hese, the prisoner pleaded not guilty and by the Futwa of the Johamedan Law Officer he was acquitted. The Futwa declared - "the prisoner Kalaram denies the charge — by the evidence e is not convicted of highway robbery. Hence the prisoner is equitted."

The Madras Government was not satisfied with the proceedigs in the case. Moreover, they were not sure about the status the Pindaris. They instructed the Court "to suspend all similar roceedings and to consider the captured Pindaris in all cases as risoners of War until they shall be furnished with other instrucions for their guidance." For the necessary guidance, Mr. G. Strahey, Chief Secretary of Madras, wrote to his counter-part in engal, Mr. C. M. Ricketts, on 5th October, 1816.<sup>7</sup> The Madras overnment also wanted instructions on certain points of law elating to the case of Kalaram as there was a sharp difference of pinion between the Mohamedan Law Officer and the trying judge. hile confirming the Futwa, Mr. W. E. Wright, Acting 3rd Judge the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat did not agree with the interpreation of Mohamedan Law by the Indian Law Officer in Madras. r. Wright asserted, "He who acknowledges a crime and in exoneation offers a plea must prove it, — is the maxim of the Mohaledan Law."8 According to Mr. Wright the plea was not proved. is arguments were mainly,9 —

is for

ndaris

lands,

n was

y en-

war?

were India.

erred

mada,

any's

They

. At

hend-

1 was

aluk.1

"the

ndaris

com-

art of

how-

ntion

Law

t, re-

lat of

body

ng in

ipany

aving

1:ned eople,

Bengal

<sup>5.</sup> Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 44 of 28th Feb. 1817.

Ibid. No. 42 of 28th Feb. 1817.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid. No. 44 of 28th Feb. 1817, 9. Ibid.

- (1) The prisoner had confessed that he had joined a body of Pindaris, accompanied them to different places, and received some clothes of Madras origin from those horsemen.
- (2) He did not pretend that he was forcibly detained by them.
- (3) He was apprehended when the plunderers were in sight and was endeavouring to escape with them.
- (4) He had not proved that his defence was true or had not shown any probable grounds for the belief that it was so. On these grounds, Mr. Wright had no hesitation to comment that "according to the Mohamedan Law he (Kalaram) should have been convicted on the strong presumptive evidence, which the proceedings afford of his guilt."10 In spite of this difference of opinion, Kalaram had to be released as the verdict of the Mohamedan Law Officer was final in the case of the interpretation of Mohamedan Law. Though the Judge had to acquiesce in the interpretation of the Law Officer, he gave a note of warning. "If this should be ascertained to be correct exposition of the Law as applicable to the case," Mr. Wright wrote, "I conceive the Government will see the necessity of enacting a Regulation for bringing to punishment foreign predatory freebooters caught within the territories under this Presidency; they are proper objects for the infliction of summary justice and should be declared liable to be carried before a military tribunal and to be put to death."11

The Supreme Government was thus faced with two difficult questions:—

- (1) What should be done with regard to the Pindari prisoners in general?
- (2) How could the wheel of law be successfully operated against the Pindari offenders?

A so the Mil.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

As Preside the Go

the Go
would
troops
in most
convict
tases at
the com
teeding
tersally
trocess
teign b

brce.

Localized irecums

le had laving rial, it lay a legestigat

In a legestigat

s priso
a this of
tere accular st
ome kin
hey we
indhia
laratha
ation.

ourt, t e detai

12. Go 13. Be

### TRIAL OF PINDARI PRISONERS

ody of

nd re-

horse-

them.

sight

ad not

it was

ion to

aw he

strong

ord of

Kala-

nedan

ion of

uiesce a note

orrect " Mr.

ee the

ng to

within

oroper

hould

y tri-

fficult

soners

erated

557

As to the first question, circulars were issued to the different presidencies and Residencies informing the following decision of the Government: 12

"With regard to Pindaris in general falling to our hands, the Governor-General in Council is decidedly of opinion that it would be competent to the Commanding Officer of any body of roops by whom they may be captured, and should be indicated as in most instances his duty to bring them to summary trial. On conviction immediate execution should follow the sentence. in asses attended with aggravation, in others capital punishment may be commuted into prisonment and hard labour. The mode of proteeding above stated rests upon the principle and practice unitersally recognised in Europe of punishing capitally by summary process in the field all persons who unacknowledged by any soverign band themselves in gangs and commit depredation by open force.

Looking forward, however, to possible cases where, from the ircumstances of capture or from any other cause, resort may not e had to this summary proceedings and the person charged with aving been one of the Pindaris may be reserved for more regular ial, it will be necessary to supply the defects of the existing law y a legislative enactment, calculated to provide for the due inestigation and eventual punishment of such offences."

In other words, the captured Pindaris would not be regarded prisoners of war. The decision of the Company's Government at this case cannot be said to have been arbitrary. The Pindaris are actually a band of freebooters, and did not belong to a particular state, nor did they form a state themselves though having the were divided into two broad groups owing allegiance to india and Holkar. But they were not subjects of those two laratha leaders, and did not abide by the Maratha laws and regulation. With respect to Kalaram, who had been acquitted by the ourt, the Governor-General in Council directed that he should detained as prisoner of state until further orders. 13

<sup>12.</sup> Govt. of India Foreign (Secret) Cons. No. 3 of 16th Nov. 1816
13. Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 42 of 28th Feb. 1817.

To examine the legal aspect of the problem, the Supreme Government referred the case to the Sudder Nizamat Adalat. After going into the details of the case, the Sudder Nizamat Adalat could not, however, categorically opine that the exposition of Mohamedan Law by the Madras Law Officer was incorrect, Though the Indian Law Officer of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat of Madras had no doubt about the guilt of Kalaram, he acquifted him on the ground that "the evidence of the witnesses against the prisoner was inadmissible, because they were police peons." The Law officers of the Sudder Nizamat Adalat did not agree with the Madras Law Officer on this point. They stated that "police peons in common with other officers of Government are competent witnesses according to the received authorities of Mussalman Law, provided their credit be not impeachable from their character and general conduct."14 But they could not say that the character and conduct of the police peons who seized Kalaram were unimpeachable and hence, could not annul the interpretation of the Law Officer of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat of Madras.

The Governor-General and his Council were not satisfied with these explanations. They remembered the warning given by Mr. Wright, Acting 3rd Judge of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat, and were now determined to plug the loop-holes of the legal system for punishing the Pindari prisoners. The Governor-General in Council still emphasised that the Futwa given by the Law Officer of the Fauzdari Adalat at Madras was "an erroneous exposition of the Mohamedan Law."15 They could not accept the contention that that evidence given by the police peons concerned was inadmissible, as they "could not be suspected of any other interest than that of showing the value of their own activity."16 In order to meet the defects of the legal system, the Governor-General in Council passed Resolutions on 28th February, 1817. Under those Resolutions it was proposed that "the Judges of the Courts of Circuit and of the Nizamat Adalat should be vested with the power of determining the guilt or innocence of prisoners charged with criminal offense minal offences, instead of leaving the sufficiency of the proof to

the ju This w believe of the posed ence w of the Nizam

St the ad volved crimin to the an alte which contin Officer with 1 prison or to cases

> T In the the G necess groun been did n Many dered be pr Kalar

witho

17. ber, 18

to the

18. 19.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid. No. 49 of 28th Feb. 1817.

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid.

preme

dalat.

Adalat

on of

orrect.

alat of

d him

The

th the

peons

it wit-

Law,

er and

mpea-

e Law

d with

y Mr.

1 were

m for council

of the

of the

n that

lmissi-

n that

meet

ouncil

Resolu-

Circuit

wer of

th cri-

oof to

the judgement and discretion of the Muhamedan Law Officers."<sup>17</sup> This was proposed because the Governor-General in Council firmly believed that "the experience and knowledge which the judges of the Courts of Circuit and of the Nizamat Adalat must be supposed to possess, qualify them to decide on the sufficiency of evidence without the assistance of the Law Officers."<sup>18</sup> The suggestion of the Supreme Government was, however, referred to the Sudder Nizamat Adalat for opinion.

Surprisingly, the Sudder Nizamat Adalat could not recommend the adoption of the measure proposed. To them, the measure involved "a material alteration in the constitution of the principal criminal courts." "Under these circumstances," the Court wrote to the Supreme Government on 14th August, 1817, "so material an alteration in the Constitution of the principal criminical courts, which have now been established nearly 27 years, as that of discontinuing all participation on the part of the Mohamedan Law Officers in determining the guilt or innocence of persons charged with heinous offences, and leaving the conviction or acquittal of prisoners to a single judge holding the sitting of a Court of Circuit, or to the decision of one or more judges of the Nizamat Adalat in cases referable to that Court, should not, we think, be adopted without strong and manifest reasons of necessity or expediency." 19

The Supreme Government was now faced with a dilemma. In the letter to the Court of Directors, dated 29th October, 1817, the Government supplied all the details of the case for the Court's necessary direction. Meanwhile, the political and military background in India had changed to a great extent. The Pindaris had been annihilated by an all-out effort of Lord Hastings, and they did no longer pose to be a serious threat to the British empire. Many of the Pindari leaders along with their followers, surrendered to the Company's government on condition that they would be properly rehabilitated. Thus, the perspective of the case of Kalaram had changed quite a lot. The Court of Directors wrote to the Supreme Government on 8th May, 1822: "The propriety of

19. Ibid. No. 71 of 16th Sept. 1817.

<sup>17.</sup> Letter to the Court of Directors from Bengal (Judicial), 29th October, 1817.

<sup>18.</sup> Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 51 of 28th Feb. 1817.

confining a person, so situated, is at least extremely questionable and should have been accompanied by explanation: and at all events, as the necessity of Kalaram's detention must now have ceased, we direct that if he has not already been released, he be kept no longer in confinement, unless some satisfactory reasons should exist for the interference of your government, and for his subsequent detention which we desire, may be communicated to us without delay." But poor Kalaram was not destined to enjoy freedom any more in his life. He had died of cholera on 27th November, 1818, while he was still confined in the jail at Cuddapah. The controversy relating to the trial of the Pindari prisoners ended no doubt but the legal problem was not solved. It was only shelved for the time being, to be taken up later for decision. This controversy proves that the criminal law procedure as introduced by the Company's government was still in a fluid state. Another important feature is that the native law officer had still a prominent role in the administration of justice in British India,

Exp

collea in Di 35 kh ed G Ware to ligh

I would archa the rivers in but for the

F

were conce. (Sans explores studies After the h

1.

## Exploration along the Right Bank of River Sutlej in Punjab

iable t all have

le be

asons r his ed to enjoy

27th

ipah. nded elved

ntro-

the the

por-

role

BY

K. N. DIKSHIT,

Archaeological Survey of India

The present exploration was conducted by me and my colleague Shri H. K. Narain, on the right bank of the river Sutlej in District Jullundur, from Apra to Nurmahal, a distance of about 35 klms, and sites of different categories, namely. Harappan, Painted Grey Ware, Black Slipped Ware, Black-and-Red Ware, Grey Ware, Sunga-Kushan Red Ware, and Muslim Ware, were brought to light.

Before I discuss the archaeological potentialities of the exploration and assess their importance in furtherance of our knowledge, I would like to give in the first part, a brief account of the previous archaeological work done in this region, offering comments about the riverine courses of the Puniab rivers, commonly known as the rivers of the Indus system, as they have played an important role in building up the topographical features of this region suitable for the growth of cultures.

T

It appears that in earlier times the courses of the Punjab rivers were very different from what they are today. This article is concerned only with one of the rivers of the Punjab, i.e. Sutlej (Sanskrit, Satadru or Satudri) on the right bank of which the exploration was conducted. The course of this river has been studied historically and in relation to other systems of drainage. After crossing the Dhauladhar range near Rampur, Sutlej leaves the hills near Rupar and traverses the territories of Patiala and

<sup>1.</sup> I. A. — A Review, 1963-64, pp. I 51-52.

Ě2

Valle

from

culti

tion

Bara

hori

phas

1954

(Va The

and

rece

tan

duri

Rup

besi

reig Har

new

of a

700

Was

belo

that

it fo

at I

1

1

nolo

catic

• 1

then in ancient times, there is evidence, that it passed by Malaut and Abohar (District Ferozpur) and joined the ancient Saraswati near Phulera, now known as Fort Abbas, in Bahawalpur (Pakistan) and then the combined rivers passed through the middle of Bahawalpur District. The river Beas also did not meet the Sutlej at Hari Ke Pattan near Sultanpur Lodhi as it does now. The ancient course of this river can still be traced near Patti, Kasur, Cliunian and Dipalpur through Lahore and Montgomery Districts, now both in Pakistan, where it originally used to join the Chenab near Shujabad.2

The tract lying between Saharanpur and Ludhiana, about 274 metres above sea level, is the present water-shed which divides the drainage of the Ganges system from that of the Indus system.3 But there are also reasons to believe that in ancient times Yamuna was the river of the Indus system and shared its water with the sacred Saraswati, which was again connected with Sutlej. The dry stream connecting Saraswati can be traced north-eastward from Hanumangarh to Yamuna Nagar, but in the times of Manu and the Mahabharata the upper course of Saraswati had dried up probably because of the easterly diversion of the waters of

The earliest culture within the chronological span on the Sutlei and its tributaries is represented by the occurrence of early palaeolithic tools of Sohan variety from Nalagarh<sup>5</sup> and Bilaspur.<sup>6</sup> The tools made on rounded pebbles include primarily choppers and scrapers. A late industry of Sohan tradition was also discovered. A few Harappan and other settlements of the early historical period were also noticed in this valley by M. S. Vats, Y. D. Sharma, Olaf Prufer, B. B. Lal, B. K. Thapar, R. P. Das, M. N. Deshpande and Chandigarh University:

3. Wadia, D. N., Geology of India, 1953, p. 389.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>2.</sup> Cunningham, A., Arch. Surv. of Ind. Vol. V, p. 147, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 143-44 and Krishnan, M. S., Geology of India and Burma, 1960, p. 24 ma, 1960, p. 24.

<sup>4.</sup> Krishnan, M. S., Geology of India, and Burma, 1960, pp. 25-28. 5. Explored by Olaf Prufer in 1951 and Sen, D., Nalagarh Palacolithic ture, Man In India, V. 1 Culture, Man In India, Vol. 35 (1955), pp. 177-184.

<sup>6.</sup> I. A. - A Review, 1961-62, p. I-56. 7. I. A. - A Review, 1954-55, p. 58.

# EXPLORATION ALONG THE BANK OF RIVER SUTLEJ 563

laut

vati

an)

ha-

jat

ient

nian

ooth

near

274

ides

em.3

una

the

The.

anu

ried

s of

ıtlej

aeo-

The

and

ed.7

riod

Olaf and

Geo-

Bur-

ithic

The excavations at Kotla Nihang Khan, near Rupar in Sutlej Valley revealed matured Harappan occupation. At Rupar, 95 kms. from Ambala, in the lower phase a late stage of matured Harappan culture was noticed, but in the upper phase a new ceramic tradition has been found. This upper phase is again represented at Bara, and is marked by the presence of new pottery shapes having horizontal or wavy incised lines completely unknown to the lower phase of Rupar. A few painted designs of Bara (I.A-A Review 1954-55 Pl. X and XI) are similar to those on the cemetry-H Pottery (Vats, Harappa, Pt. II, Pl. LVIII b and c, LXII, Fig. 15 and LXV). The whole Harappan phase at Rupar is dated between circa 2000 and 1400 B.C., but it is now subject to revision. On the basis of recent C-14 dates available for the Harappan sites in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, it seems that the Harappans flourishd only during circa 2300-1750 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

The excavations carried out at Dher Majra, 12 11 kms. north of Rupar, yielded pottery identical with cemetry—H at Harappa, besides the Harappa ware in the lowest levels.

The next period of succession is Painted Grey Ware. In this reigon, Painted Grey Ware folk occupied the deserted sites of the Harappan as revealed from the excavations at Rupar as well as new sites like Salaura<sup>13</sup> and Dher Majra (Mound-2) after a gap of a few centuries. This period is dated between circa 1000 and 700 B.C. at Rupar and is succeeded by Northern Black Polished Ware and Sunga-Kushan periods. The last occupation in this region belongs to Muslim, as is evident by their standing monuments of that age.

The importance of this region lies in its position. Traditionally it forms the part of an ancient kingdom of Trigartta or Traigartta-

<sup>8.</sup> Excavated by Dr. Y. D. Sharma.

<sup>9.</sup> I. A. — A Review 1953-54, pp. 6-7 and Sharma, Y. D., Excavations at Rupar, Lalit Kala Nos. 1-2 (1955-56), pp. 121-129.

<sup>10.</sup> I. A. — A Review, 1954-55, p. 11.

<sup>11.</sup> Agarwal, D. P., Harappa Culture; New Evidence for Shorter Chronology, Science, Vol. 143, pp. 950-952.

<sup>12.</sup> Prufer, Olaf., Excavations at Dher Majra, Jamia Milia Univ. Publication, New Delhi.

<sup>13.</sup> I. A. — A Review, 1953-54, p. 38.

Desa, 14 embracing the country between Sutlej and Ravi founded by Susarma of the Katoch dynasty, who fought against Arjun and retired with his followers to this region. Puranas, Mahabharate, historians of the Alexander's campaign, Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveller and Rājatarangini, all have referred to this region. It is also given as synonymous of Jalandhar by Hem Chandra; 'Jalandharas Trigartah Syuh.' This region also falls on the important migrational route followed by different hordes from time immemorial from the passes in the north-west of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In the historical times it was well-connected by the caravan routes with ancient cities of India.

#### II

Coming to the details of explorations, Kat-Palon, a Harappan site about one and a half kms. from Nagar and 9 kms. from Phillaur, is situated on the right bank of river Sutlej, and contains a mound which is about 10 metres high and measures approximately 350 metres east-west and 150 metres north-south. An examination of rain gullies revealed ceramics of the different periods. The earliest group of ceramics, namely, Harappan is dominated by an incised pottery consisting of a series of horizontal lines over which oblique lines are drawn in sets of two, three or four dividing the whole surface into compartments, wavy lines in sets of two or three and other patterns as reported from Bara (I.A.-A Review 54-55, pl. No. XI B).15 This decoration is probably confined to large vases and is absent at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, but incised wavy lines can be noticed at the Harappan sites in Western Uttar Pradesh. The compartmented designs are at present only restricted to East Punjab. The other pottery of this group is a well-burnt sturdy painted and plain red ware with distinctive shapes, like dish-on-stand, a cylindrical vase, perforated jar, goblet etc. The painted motifs on the pottery are of leaf pattern and other miscellaneous designs. Some sherds also have rusticated surface with raised horizontal bands. An ochre-coloured sherd probably of dish-

<sup>14.</sup> Cunningham, A., Arch. Surv. of Ind., Vol. V, p. 148.
15. Recently Shri M. N. Desphande has also discovered a Harappan site of this pattern at Madiala Kalan, situated 27 kms. south on the main G. T. Road, in District Ludhiana

by

re-

his-

iese ion,

lra; orime tan

by

ur, ind

of

aran ich

he

or

ew to

ed ar ed

nt

ke he

th h-

te T.

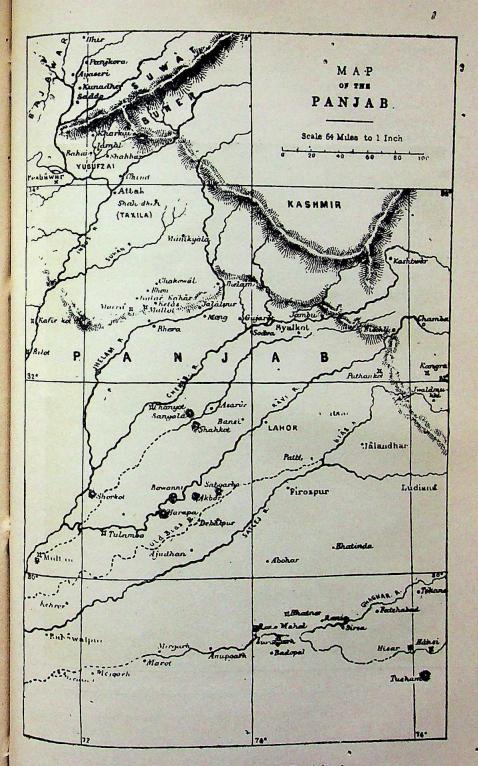


PLATE I: Ancient courses of Punjab rivers

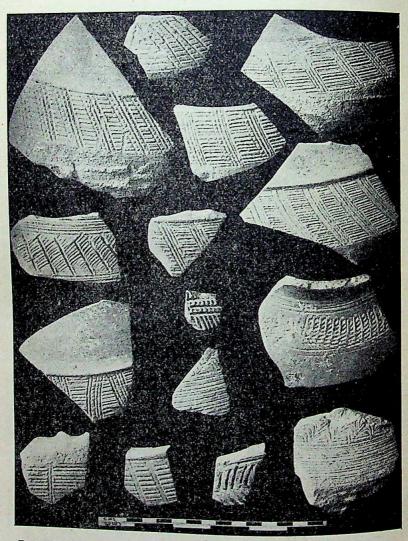


PLATE II: Kat-Palon Dist. Jullundur. Incised sherds (Surface Collection)

EXP on-star

of the along v of the ploration wares industrial

Th ball ar Th

levels

Grey ther co and its ture the

A: cient

The si The e which motifs tery o ware, during leta is

a km.
skirts
res.
is rare
it has
coal,
posed
ning

Sunga

16. J, 33

# EXPLORATION ALONG THE BANK OF RIVER SUTLEJ 565

on-stard was also encountered. Specimens of the bowls and dishes of the Painted Grey Ware varying in fabric were also collected along with the black slipped and black-and-red wares. No sherds of the Northern Black polished ware was encountered in the exploration, except plain and coarse grey ware and other associated wares of this period. The next ceramic is exclusively a red ware industry assignable to the Sunga-Kushan period. The upper-most levels yielded Muslim glazed pottery.

The antiquities include fragmentary stone pestle, terracotta ball and dabber. Iron slags also have been seen.

The next Harappan site is Nagar<sup>16</sup> already known for Painted Grey Ware, but its Harappan potentialities, however, require further confirmation. Traditionally this town is known as Dhanaura and its limits were extended upto Talwan near Nurmahal. In texture the explored pottery is similar to Harappan.

Another site near Kat-Palon, Asha' Ur is situated on the ancient Kagar of the Sutlej and extends upto the village Kariana. The site is partly under occupation and partly under cultivation. The earliest ceramic industry of the site is Painted Grey Ware, which varies in the fabric from coarsed to fine grained. The usual motifs are simple bands and rows of dots and dashes. The pottery of other successive periods like Grey Ware, black-and-red ware, Sunga-Kushan red ware and Muslim Ware, were also seen during the exploration. The next Painted Grey Ware site at Dhuleta is completely under occupation.

The mound at Apra covers an area measuring over quarter a km. in length and breadth, and is situated on the northern outskirts of the village with an occupational thickness of about 4 metres. It yielded pottery similar to Dhuleta but Painted Grey Ware is rare. A rain-gully has cut the mound into two parts and now it has become a regular path of the villagers. Bones, ashes, charcoal, mud and burnt bricks can be noticed frequently in the exposed sections. A prominent burnt layer, reddish in colour, running in the middle of the exposed sections seems to overlie the Sunga-Kushan deposits. Probably the city was completely burnt

<sup>16.</sup> Lal, B. B., Ancient India Nos: 10 and 11, p. 140. J. 33

and plundered towards the end of the Sunga-Kushan period. It was reoccupied in the Muslim time as is evident by the late, Muslim graves.

The mounds at Bir Basian and Saprota, both about 4 metres high have become the target of villagers as they are cutting it actively for want of fertile soil. In a 3 metres section at Bir Basian exposed by rain and villagers, mud-brick structures and burnt bricks were noticed. The pottery included specimens of the plain grey, black slipped and black-and-red wares. A red ware industry of Sunga-Kushan period was also noticed. The last occupation is characterized by Muslim pottery and a standing tomb of the late medieval period. The mound at Saprota, which is by the side of G.T. road has yielded only one sherd of the Painted Grey Ware. The other ceramic industries are similar to those at Bir Basian.

The mound at Haripur (near Phillaur) is about 5 metres high, but it has yielded only Sunga-Kushan and Muslim red wares.

#### III

An assessment of the explored Harappan material revealed that Harappa culture in Sutlej Valley belongs to a late mature phase in comparison to the mature phases of that culture in Indus and Ghaggar basins. An unique feature of this culture in this region is the introduction of incised decorations on the pottery, but how, when and wherefrom this new trait penetrated is a matter still to be decided, for at the mature sites like Mohenjodaro and Harappa incised pottery was not used and the Harappans living in northern Rajasthan from where they possibly migrated to Upper Sutlej basin also did not like to use the incised pottery of their ancestors (Sothi people)?

The area of eastern Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh was not a cultural vacuum before the arrival of the Harappans, but the position of the other pre-Harappan or contemporary cultures is yet to be determined. A few isolated cultural pockets like the users of the incised ochre-coloured-ware in their early stages as witnessed

at Atrinflueri
explore
were a
The tr
outlet
cultura
rivers
of vari

EXI

for a lotures lin the gaon (has complored arrive

the out

Yamur

Re

Th Kat-Pa ar pot Yamun Ware i

ind-red irom the direction East Pa

18. G 964. No if this v ations a ites are 19. Si ake tool kience,

20. I. 4. N. De

<sup>17.</sup> During my recent visit to Europe, I had an opportunity to discuss 'Harappa Culture' with Dr. J. M. Casal in Paris. He is of opinion that the site of Harappa itself represents the late mature stage of Harappa Culture.

### EXPLORATION ALONG THE BANK OF RIVER SUTLEJ 567

at Atranjikhera, 18 possibly representing an indigenous culture uninfluenced by the late Harappa, and neolithic implements recently explored from the foot of the Siwalik in District Kangra at Ror, 19 were already in existence whose economy was not much advanced. The tract lying between Saharanpur and Ludhiana is the only outlet for the people living in upper Ganga Doab to exchange the cultural thoughts with the people living in the Indus system of rivers and it is not unlikely that this area was the meeting point of various cultures, and incised decoration technique is probably the outcome of this fusion.

d. It

uslim

i-tres

ng it

asian

burnt

plain

ustry

ion is

e late

de of

Ware.

high,

I that

ase in

and

egion

how,

still

appa

orth-

utlej

stors

s not

t the

s yet

users

essed

iscuss it the

an.

Recent excavations and explorations in the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab<sup>20</sup> confirmed that Harappans survived in this region for a longer time and came in contact with the post-Harappan cultures like Cemetry-H, whose presence had been already noticed in the excavations at Dher Majra in the Sutlej valley and at Bargaon (Distt. Saharanpur) in the Yamuna valley. Now the time has come when more sites of the Cemetry-H culture should be explored in the tract lying between Yamuna and Sutlej in order to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The presence of a solitary sherd of Ochre-coloured Ware at Kat-Palon in Sutlej valley has posed a new question because similar pottery had been also reported from the left bank of the river Yamuna and its tributaries but in texture this Ochre-Coloured Ware is different from that of Ganga valley.

The exploration has revealed a number of sites with black-ind-red ware which has been previously reported in excavations from the different chronological horizons in North India. In this direction a systematic exploration corroborated by excavations in last Panjab should be taken up in order to trace the migrational

19. Sahani, M. R., and Mohapatra, G. C., The First Record of small ke tools and polished stone celts in District Kangra, East Punjab, Current tence, Vol. 33, No. 6, March 20, 1964, pp. 178 to 180.

20. I. A. — A Review 1963-64, pp. I-84. See also the comments of Shri N. Deshpande on Shri A. Gosh's lecture: The Indus Civilization, Poona,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

<sup>18.</sup> Gaur, R. C., Proto-historic Industries at Atranjikhera, Poona Seminar, 18. Now it is no more an isolated pocket. In recent years, a few sites at this ware but devoid of incised designs, have been reported in exacations and explorations from the Ganga-Yamuna doab. Sometimes these are associated with late Harappan material also.

route of these people in North India. If possible the cooperation of West Pakistan Government may also be sought for solving this problem.

The foregoing discussion shows that this region had been under continuous occupation right from the beginning of the palaeolithic times upto the present, but in spite of this there are still some gaps in the chronology which require the spade of the archaeologist to go into action.

### Acknowledgments

Rus

hon

Thr

the

Ind

forr

cha

gro

Rus

abo

of !

sec

Ind from edit Wes man Sāk

N. she: 1965

was

v

late

I am highly grateful to Shri M. N. Deshpande, Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, who allowed me to explore the region and also gave me valuable suggestions and guidance. Thanks are also due to Shri H. K. Narain of the Survey, who accompanied me on exploration and to Shri Gurdial Singh Rehill, retired Post Master of village Rajpura, for his cooperation and help during the exploration.

The photographs in the article are by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

#### LIST OF THE EXPLORED SITES

Tehsil Phillaur, Distt. Jullundur. H—Harappan, OC—Ochre Coloured, PG—Painted Grey, G—Grey, BS—Black Slipped, BR—black-and-red, SK—Sunga-Kushan Red Ware, and M—Muslim.

, Canga Izasian Isaa II aray		
S.No.	Name of site	Wares
1.	Apra	PG, G, BR, SK, and M.
2.	Asha 'Ur	PG. G, BR, SK, and M.
3.	Bir Basian	G. BS. BR. SK, and M.
4.	Dhuleta	PG, G, BS, BR, SK and M.
5.	Haripur	
6.	Kat-Palon	SK and M. H, OC, PG, G, BS, BR, SK and M.
7.	Laliana	M.
8.	Mulla-Walan	M
9.	Nagar	H. PG, G, BS, SK and M.
10.	Nir	SK and M.
11.	Rajpura*	
12.	Saprota	SK and M.
13.	Tehang	PG, G, BS, BR, SK and M.
The state of the s	a challe	Τ/Γ

<sup>\*</sup> A fragmentary sculpture was also reported from this place about 20 years ago. It looks as if it was an upper part of a big slab. The figure which is in fragment looks like a flying Gandharva having a beaded necklace. Artistically it belongs to the post-Gupta period.

14. Nurmahal

### Indian Studies in Russia

BY

SURENDRA GOPAL Patna University

Afanasi Nikitin in the XVth century was probably the first Russian to have carried first-hand information about India to his homeland.1 The interest which he kindled did not die down. Throughout the XVIth, the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries the Russian Government continued to collect information about India from Indian traders, who had from the mid-XVIIth century formed colonies in Russia, or from Persian or Central Asian merchants with whom the Russians came in contact.2 Meanwhile, the growth of international trade from the XVIIth century and the Russian desire to participate in it by promoting direct commerce with India prompted Russia to try to learn as much as possible about India. Russian interest in India grew with the development of her eastern trade from the XVIIth century onwards. By the second half of the XVIIth century the first book in Russian on Indian manners, customs and morals appeared. It was translated from French and within a quarter of century it underwent four editions.3 Fragments from classical Sanskrit text translated from Western European languages were also printed. The Russians thus made acquaintance with the Bhagavad Gita and Kalidasa's Sākuntala.4

1. Afanasi Nikitin was in India during 1469-1472.

2. Russko-Indiiskiye otnosheniya v XVIIv., ed. by K. A. Antonova, N. M. Goldberg, T. D. Lavrentsova, Moskva, 1958; Russko-Indiiskiye otnosheniya v XVIII v., ed. by K. A. Antonova and N. M. Goldberg, Moskva,

3. The translators were Igor and Pavlov Tsitsianiv. The first edition was published in 1765 from Moscow and the fourth came out in 1791. Quoted in E. Y. Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye ekonomicheskiye, nauchniye svyazi v XIX v., M., 1966, p. 109.

4. Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye-v XIX v., p. 109. A. A. Petrov trans-

lated fragments of Gita and N. M. Karamzin from Sākuntaļa.

ration g this

under olithic some ologist

rector re the dance. , who Rehill, n and

Ochre BR-

im.

of the

nd M.

pout 20 which ecklace.

Gerasim Stepanovich Lebedev was the real founder of Indian studies in Russia. He had lived in India for twelve years (2785-97) of which he spent ten (1787-97) in Calcutta. Here he learnt Bengali, Hindustani and Sanskrit and translated two plays from English into Bengali and put them on stage in 1795. This marked the beginning of the modern Bengali theatre. Gerasimov left India in 1797 and published in 1801 a comparative grammar of Hindustani, Bengali and Sanskrit. Soon after his return to homeland he began agitating for the introduction of the study of Indian languages and also setting up of a typography. He published another book on India which dealt not only with religion, morals and customs of Indians but also with the British rule in India.5 Lebedev's efforts were rewarded. In 1802 he was appointed the Professor of Oriental languages, elected a member of the Russian Academy and a Press for Indian languages was also set up. This was the first Press in Europe with Indian letters.6 Before his death in 1817 Gerasimov had securely laid the foundations of Indian studies in Russia.

While Lebedev was busy promoting Indian studies, certain other facts strengthened his hands. The campaigns of Napoleon when the French had been expected to attack India and the consolidation of the British rule had focussed European attention on this eastern country. Indian studies had become popular in western Europe. So the Russians could not ignore India. Academician Pallas did some fieldwork about Indian languages among Indians living in Astrakhan. The Russians also knew something about regional Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Hindustani and Bengali. Some Tamil manuscripts had found their way into the library of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

Thus till the twenties of the XIXth century Russian interest was confined to the study of Indian languages, particularly, Sanskrit. Academician F. P. Adelung wrote a book about similarities between Sanskrit and the Russian language. It was hailed by the scholarly world. He prepared a list of 270 languages and dialects of India, Afghanistan, Burma and other countries of South-East

Asia in the the ed b lang dent

Muh
the
cure
acad
grap
the
Orie
publ
the
in tl

demi Sans class logis them part as th of th

inter

8. 9. 10. 11. papers of the

story

of Sar the Jo 13.

Russia

<sup>5.</sup> Russko-Indiiskiye-v XVIII v., p. 21. Lebedev's book came out from Petersburg in 1805.

<sup>6.</sup> Ibid

<sup>7.</sup> Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye—v XIX v., p. 109.

## INDIAN STUDIES IN RUSSIA

571

Asia. In another manuscript completed about 1830 he described, in the first part, the ancient Indian languages and, in the second, the modern. However, these were mainly philological studies, guided by the desire to look into the comparative structure of different languages. A change soon came about, and there began independent studies of Indian languages and literature.8

An important step in this direction was the appointment of Muhamad Khalil ibn Gafran Ally of Peshawar as correspondent of the University of Kazan in 1827.9 The University hoped to procure through him Indian manuscripts for its library and other academic information. Academician Adelung published a bibliography of ancient Indian works.10 At the same time some of the Universities and institutions of Russia became members of the Oriental Translation Fund published from London, half of whose publications were devoted to India. All these efforts resulted in the publication of some papers on Indology by Russian scholars in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, which marked the international debut of the Russian Indologists. 11

A systematic teaching of Sanskrit began in Russia when Academician Lenz started delivering a course of regular lectures on Sanskrit from 1836 at the Petersburg University. 12 From these class-rooms went out famous Russian Sanskritologists and Indologists of the XIXth Century. The most honoured name among them is that of P. Y. Petrov (1814-1875), who translated the first part of the Rajatarangini into Russian and came to be respected as the greatest Sanskritologist of his age. 13 Petrov published a part of the Mahābhārata into Russian and Zhukovsky brought out the story of Nala-Damayanti.14

lian

85-

rnt

om

ked

left

of

ne-

ian

ned als

ia.5

the

ian

his

ath

ian

ain

on

on-

on

ern

an

ins

ut

1S-

ay

est 15-

ies

he

ets

ast

m

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., pp. 112-113.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid., p. 16. Prominent Russian Orientalists who published their papers were Prof. A. Kazem-Bek of the University of Kazan and Prof. Dorn of the University of Kharkov.

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., p. 117. Lenz had published a long review of the first volume of Sanskrit Dictionary, compiled by Raja Radha Kant Deb of Calcutta, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London in 1835.

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., p. 128. The translation was commented upon by the famous Russian critic Belinsky.

572

The work of the Russian Indologists soon came to be recognised. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal sent to Petersburg 28 volumes of its publications and requested Petersburg to send them the works of the Russian Orientalists. The Russian Government in its turn honoured the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by conferring upon it a gold medal. 16

Indological studies were getting popular in Russia, and the teaching of Sanskrit was started in the Moscow University in 1851. Petrov came over from the University of Kazan to take over this assignment. Kossovich, another noted Russian Indologist, was in charge of the teaching of Sanskrit at the Petersburg University. Kossovich published a Russian-Sanskrit dictionary in 1854. In 1852 a big Sanskrit-German Dictionary had already been planned by Russian scholars. The decision to bring out the Sanskrit-German Dictionary was taken so that it would be useful to scholars even outside Russia.

The growing interest of Russians in India began to be reflected in the fact that Russian scholars started investigating the problem of Russo-Indian relations in the past. The narrative of Nikitin was published with extensive comments. Articles devoted to Russo-Indian trade and trade-routes began to appear in the journals of learned societies.<sup>18</sup>

The great uprising of 1857 in India against the British rule found its echo in the contemporary Russian Press. Vehement debates raged between the apologists and the antagonists of the British Raj. Long articles were published analysing the nature and causes of the events taking place in India. Writers denied any Russian instigation or involvement in Indian happenings. India had become the burning topic of the day.<sup>19</sup>

15. Ibid., p. 118.

in all broug the store of Bernall broug the store of Bernall brought b

T

impulsifirst, tithe R render Russia establi in Indicontem philosogagrono more

Ar and ap tries. Viveka

by many hevsky, in 1881 and Proother comanusci burg Sa

J. 34

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid., p. 119. In 1856 the Petersburg Academy of Sciences conferred upon Raja Radha Kant Deb of Calcutta its membership for his seven volume dictionary of Sanskrit "Sabda Kalpadruma". He was the first Indian to have been so honoured. The second Indian to receive this honour was R. G. Bhandarkar.

<sup>17.</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>19.</sup> See L. I. Yurevich, "Indian Peoples' Uprising in the Assessment of Contemporary Russians" in Narodnoye Vosstaniye v Indii, 1857-59, M., 157.

The Russian society realised the necessity of studying India in all its aspects. The Russian expansion in Central Asia had brought it nearer to India. Therefore, an important step towards the systematic study of Indology was taken in 1858 when the Oriental Section of the Academy of Sciences was established, headed by Otto Betling. The newly organised section vigorously took up the compilation and publication of the monumental Sanskrit-German dictionary. Its final volume came out in 1875 and between 1879-1889 an abridged edition was also brought out.20 Thus by mid-fifties of the XIXth century Indian studies in Russia had been established on a firm footing. The Indian scholarly world also began to take note of Russian efforts in the sphere of Indological studies. The Rev. John Long wrote a paper "On Recent Russian Researches" dealing with the work of Russian scholars in the field of Indology for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1860.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided further impulse to the development of Indian studies in Russia. For the first, time direct sea-trade between the two countries, for which the Russians had been striving for nearly three centuries, was rendered possible. Trade increased and so did the contacts. Russian missions were opened in India and business houses established their branches. So the Russians got interested not only in India's hoary past but also in the preceding few centuries and contemporary situation. To the list of languages, literature, philosophy, history and religion were added geography, botany, agronomy and other subjects. Indian studies in Russia became more comprehensive and diversified.

An example of this new development is the mutual exchange and appreciation of ideas between the thinkers of the two countries. The Russian political thinker Prince Kropotkin and Swami Vivekananda met in Paris. Y. P. Popov translated some of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

28 em

con-

the 851. this in ty.17 In aned

cted olem

was

ISSO-

s of

Ger-

rule dethe ture

ndia

conseven

was

nt of 1957.

<sup>20.</sup> Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye—v XIX v., p. 120. Belting was helped by many Russian and German Sanskritologists such as F. Knawer, I. I. Srezin 1881 for two years to study under Prof. Rot of Tubingen University other centres of Sanskritology in Europe to acquaint himself with the burg Sanskrit-German Dictionary (Ibid., p. 150).

Vivekananda's writings.<sup>21</sup> The great Russian savant Leo Tolstoy was deeply, admired in India and he influenced the thinking of many Indian leaders of the freedom movement. His personal library at Yasnaya Polyana contained a large number of books and journals sent to him by his Indian admirers in and outside India.<sup>22</sup>

Minaev, Schroeder, Oldenberg and Tscherbatsky are the outstanding names in the field of Indian classical studies during this period. A great scholar of Sanskrit and Pali, Minaev visited India many times. He was present at the first session of Indian National Congress held at Bombay in 1885.<sup>23</sup> His travel diaries still remain a valuable source for the study of Indian society in the last quarter of the XIXth century.<sup>24</sup>

Schroeder, a teacher at the University of Tartu (1877-1884) in Estonia, devoted his attention to Sanskrit and Vedic studies. His analysis of the laws of Manu was hailed by his contemporaries. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal offered to publish his works in India. The plan could not mature owing to the weak financial position of the Society. Schroeder was considered to be an authority on Vedic studies in Europe along with Max Muller and others. Incidentally another Estonian, Arnold Nerling, lived in South India during 1862-66 and picked a fine knowledge of Tamil. South India during 1862-66 and picked a fine knowledge of Tamil.

Oldenberg and Tscherbatsky were ardent students of Buddhist philosophy and their contributions are still valued by students of Buddhism all over the world. Together they planned and published more than hundred volumes in Biblioteka Buddhica.<sup>27</sup> In fact, the greatest achievement of Russian Indology was in the field of Buddhology.

22. N. M. Goldberg, Ocherki po istorii Indii, M., 1965, pp. 159-85.

23. Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye—v XIX, v., p. 147. 24. I. P. Minaev, Dnevniki pyteshestvii v Indii i Birmu, 1880 i 1885-86, M., 1955. Its English translation is now available. Minaev wrote other books also on India of translation is now available.

books also on India of the XIXth century.

25. Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye—v XIX v., pp. 150-51; Some of Schroeder's works were published in German from Leipzig.

Ibid., p. 151.
 Hoid., pp. 173-75.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

drew
Amor
to Inc
compl
galler
draw
the h
perpe

T

in the

nued of th about

1

front

centu lution Krish bute India

India Russ study

28.
painti
famou
and V
29.

in 183 a boo agron visite Amor

Haffk

<sup>21.</sup> Prakticheskay Vedanta, Moscow, 1912; Bhakti-Yōga, Petesburg, 1914; Karma Yōga, second edition, Petersburg, 1916.

The growing contacts between the two countries were reflected in the visit of a host of Russian artists to India. Some of them drew inspiration for their creative work from the local scene. Among these artists the name of Vereshagin stands out. He came to India twice—1872-74 and 1882-83 and drew 150 sketches. He completed 34 pictures, some of which now adorn the famous art galleries of the world. His painting "Hanging by the British", drawn after the suppression of the Namdharis in 1872 portrays the hatred of the Indians for the alien rule and the cruelties perpetrated by the foreign masters. When the Indian revolutionaries abroad published their journal "Free Hindusthan" its front page carried this painting by Vereshagin.

Teams of Russian geographers, agronomists and doctors continued to flock to India for purposes of study.<sup>29</sup> On return some of them published travel impressions, and thus the knowledge about Indian affairs continued to grow in Russia.

An important feature of the opening decade of the present century was the establishment of contact between Russian revolutionaries and Indian freedom fighters. Gorky hailed Shyamji Krishna Varma as the 'Mazzini' of India and invited him to contribute to his journal, an article on the contemporary situation in India.<sup>30</sup>

Thus before the outbreak of the great November Revolution Indian studies in their manifold aspects had become a part of the Russian intellectual life. The Revolution gave a new turn to the study of Indology in Russia.

28. I. I. Petrov, Za Gimalayami, M., 1958, pp. 92-101. His other famous paintings on Indian subjects are, "Himālayan Height" and "Tāj Mahal". Other famous Russian painters to visit India were Saltikov, N. Karazin, N. Samokish and V. Batagin.

29. Ibid. Pashino published a travelogue "Po Indii" from Petersburg in 1885. Geographer Voyeykov arrived in Bombay in 1875. He published a book on agricultural products of India in 1898. A Russian expedition of agronomists headed by I. N. Klingen visited India in 1895. Krasnov also visited India to study the cultivation of tea, jute and other tropical products. Among medical men to visit India were V. K. Vysokovich, D. K. Zabolotny, Haffking etc.

30. Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiye-v XIX, v., p. 178.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

4

lstoy

lg of

sonal

oooks

tside

outthis isited indian iaries ty in

aries.
works
ancial
uthoand
ed in
mil.<sup>26</sup>

1884)

Budd by anned Budology

1914;

385 -86, other

chroe-

After the Revolution on account of factors such as the philosophy of international solidarity of the new regime and the important events taking place in India, Indian studies in the Soviet Union received great encouragement. But a significant change in method, technique and perspective had come about. The Soviet scholars adopted the Marxist philosophy and hence, the study of socio-economic history became their first concern. The history of Indian freedom movement and the role of the masses now engaged the attention of Soviet Indologists. Consequently, a vast amount of contemporary Indian literature began to be looked into and translated into Russian. In addition to ancient and modern periods, the study of medieval Indian history was undertaken. Thus the range of Indian studies was widened.

Marx's writings on India were published in Russian. The travel account of Bernier, the French traveller in India in the XVIIth century, was brought out in Russian version, because Marx had described it as a great book on socio-economic life of Mughal India.

Among the Soviet Indologists of this generation mention should be made of Reisner and Goldberg. Most of the present-day Soviet Indologists have been trained and nurtured by them. Reisner concentrated his attention primarily on the mass movements in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries. His book, "Peoples movements in India in the XVIIIth and the XVIIIth centuries", while analysing the causes of the Maratha, the Jat and the Sikh uprisings, also tries to determine the level of economic development attained by the Indian society. He did not agree that the germs of capitalism had appeared and the Indian society had crossed the stage of feudalism.<sup>31</sup>

Goldberg studied the freedom movement in India in the last quarter of the XIXth century. He evaluated the role of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.<sup>32</sup> Several other studies of contemporary Indian society were made. The study of contemporary Indian languages was started in Soviet Institutions. Academician Barannikov

of Tin the

men its torc

natu each take Mos stud Dusi Sans guid

subjective (and

bution sults a flow nection worth cover Kush with of Soulso pared

33. •34.

in th

<sup>31.</sup> I. M. Reisner, Narodniye dvizheniya v Indii v XVII-XVIII vv., M., 1961.

<sup>32.</sup> N. M. Goldberg, Ocherki po istorii Indii.

specialised in Hindi and Urdu and also translated the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>33</sup> of Tulsidās. Oldenberg and Tscherbatsky continued their studies in the field of Buddhism.

philo-

e im-

oviet lange

oviet

dy of

ry of

now

vast

into

dern

aken.

The

the

ause

fe of

ntion

senthem.

ove-

ook,

IIIth

Jat

eco-

not

dian

last

Bal

dian

ages

ikov

M.,

The Second World War somewhat interrupted the development of Indian studies because the country was then fighting for its very existence. However, Indologists at Tashkent kept the torch burning. After the war ended and as life returned to normalcy, Indian studies in the Soviet Union were revived.

Meanwhile, India had also become independent, and it was natural that these two big neighbours should try to understand each other. Indian studies in the Soviet Union were now undertaken on a much larger scale than ever before. Together with Moscow and Leningrad, Tashkent emerged as a centre of Indian studies, which also found place at some other cities such as Dushanbe, Yerevan and Tartu. The latter had a fine tradition of Sanskrit studies in pre-1917 Russia, it is being revived under the guidance of Prof. Nurmekund.

Indian studies in the Soviet Union now cover almost every subject, History (ancient, medieval and modern), Art and Architecture (ancient, medieval and modern), Philosophy (ancient, medieval and modern), Philosophy (ancient, medieval and modern), Anthropology, Economics, Geography etc.

As regards ancient Indian history, the most valuable contribution of the Soviet scholars has been the publication of the results of archaeological finds in Soviet Central Asia, which throw a flood of light on India's contacts with the region. In this connection Masson's book "Central India and the ancient East" is worth mentioning. It is primarily based on archaeological discoveries in this part. It is now evident to scholars that the Kushana period in Indian history cannot be properly assessed without taking into account the evidence unravelled in the plains of Soviet Central Asia. Certain ancient Indian manuscripts have also come to light in this area, and some of these are being prepared for publication by G. M. Bongard-Levin and his colleagues in the Institute of Peoples of Asia. Bongard-Levin has to his

<sup>33.</sup> A. P. Barannikov, Rāmāyaņa ili Ramcaritmānas, M-L, 1948.

34. V. M. Masson, Srednayaya Aziya i Drevnii Vostok, M. L., 1964.

credit important papers on social, economic and administrative history of ancient India.35 Professor Tolstov, Osipov and Ilyn also have made valuable contribution.

A large number of manuscripts bearing on medieval Indian history are lying in the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. The Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent has been publishing since 1952 descriptive catalogues of manuscripts in its possession, which total about 1,00,000. Some of these manuscripts pertain to the history of our country.36 Russian translations of a few of them such as those of ibn Shahryar's Wonder of India (M., 1959), Gyasuddin Ali's Diary of Timur's March to India (Moscow. 1958), Muhammad Kazim's March of Nadir Shah to India (excerpt from Tarikh-i-Alamara-i Nadiri) (M., 1961) etc. are available. Other medieval Indian primary sources which are now accessible in Russian are Alberuni's India (Tashkent, 1963), Babur Nama (Tashkent, 1958), and Gulbadan Begum's Humayun Namo. Moreover, two volumes of documents edited by K. A. Antonova on Russo-Indian relations in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries also have been printed.37 They tell us a lot about the activities of Indian merchants in Russia, Persia and to some extent in Central Asia.

Some light on medieval Indian history has been thrown by the study of Armenian sources by Soviet scholars. The Armenians have known India at least from the VIIth century, and the Library at Yerevan "Matendran" contains an unspecified number of documents and manuscripts dealing with India. Abramyan has translated into Russian eye-witness Armenian accounts of events in Bengal in the second-half of the XVIIIth century and Haidar Ali's fight with the English. He has also written some articles on Indo-Armenian relations on the basis of Armenian documents but much still remains to be done.38 He has recently discovered a textbook centi

the S

histo India villag K. A Akbo histo Alae this on I elem appe emei

> to e and one Pavl draw the been

cove

the

wage

out

39 stroy kapit 40 Indii

41 artic] 42 also

43 artic! 44 XVII

zami

<sup>35.</sup> G. M. Bongard-Levin, "Some features of the system of government of the Mauryan empire: sources and problems" in Istoriya i Kultura drevney Indii, M., 1963; "Parisad v sisteme gosudarstvennogo upravleniya imperii Mauryev": "Istoriah cali-Ashoki vlasti i edikt tsartsi"; "Drevneindiiskikh avadan (Legendi o "Indica" Megasthenese" etc. Megasthenese" etc.

<sup>36.</sup> To my knowledge five volumes have been published so far.

<sup>37.</sup> Quoted earlier.

<sup>38.</sup> R. Abramyan has published in 1963 a summary in Russian (Mosco<sup>(v)</sup>).

book of Sanskrit written in the Armenian language in the XVIIIth

Apart from making primary sources available in Russian, the Soviet scholars have published some books on medieval Indian The central theme has been the level attained by the Indian economy. Another point at issue has been the nature of village community. Reisner's conclusions have been supported by K. A. Antonova in her monograph Socio-Economic life in India in Akbar's time and in various other papers on Indian economic history in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries.39 Ashrafyan,40 Alaev,41 Chicherov,42 Pavlov43 and Komarov44 have controverted this thesis. Alaev and Chicherov have shown by their researches on Indian economy in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries that elements of capitalism in the feudal Indian society had already appeared in the form of detailed division of labour, specialisation, emergence of manufactories where the craftsmen worked for wages for their masters and in the form of their inability to get out of this situation because they were left with no other means to earn a living. Alaev has also worked on village communities and has concluded that the Marxian-type was not the universal one and money economy had penetrated the village-economy. Pavlov and Komarov have confirmed Alaev and Chicherov by drawing upon the facts of Indian economy in the late XVIIIth and the early XIXth centuries. The results of their researches have been adopted by the editors of the "New History of India", which covers the period from the second half of the XVIIth century to the First World War.

39. K. A. Antonova, Ocherki obshestvennykh otnoshenii i politicheskogo stroy mogolskoi Indii vremen Akbara (1556-1605), M., 1952; "O genezise kapitalisma v Indii"; "K voprosu o vvdenii sistemy raiyatwari v Indii", etc.

40. K. Z. Ashrafyan, Deliisky Sultanat, M., 1960; Agrarnoi stroy severnoi lndii, M., 1965.

41. L. B. Alaev, Yuzhnaya Indiya, M., 1963. He has written a number of articles on village community in India.

42. A. I. Chicherov, Ekonomicheskiye razvitiye Indii, M., 1965. He has also written articles on production-relations in the XVII-XVIII century India.

43. V. I. Pavlov, Formirovaniye Indiiskoi Burzhuazii, M., 1958, and some

articles. The book is now available in English.

44. Komarov, Bengalskay derevniya i krestiyanstboye v vo vtoroi polovine XVIII v; K voprosu ob ustanovlenii postoyannogo oblozheniya po sisteme <sup>2</sup>amindari v Bengalii, etc.

į.

tive Ilyn

dian

viet

oeen

1 its

ripts

of a

(M.,

cow,

erpt

able.

sible

ama

ore-

on iries

ities

t in

1 by

ians

rary

ocu-

anss in Ali's

ndo-

nuch

text-

ment

viley

perii

henii

dica"

(v.o.

The establishment of Portuguese supremacy in the Indian waters in the XVIth century had been the object of research by Antonova, Lyusternik and Bregel, who have shown its harmful effect on Indian economy chiefly on the basis of contemporary sources in Portuguese, Latin and other European languages.

Two books that have come out from Tashkent are of special interest to students of medieval Indian history. The first by Azimzanova is on Babur's early life and career<sup>45</sup> and the second by Baikova is on the role of Central Asia in the Russo-Indian trade in the medieval era.<sup>46</sup> The latter discounts the theory that Persia was the main link in the Russo-Indian trade during this era.

A strong point in favour of the Soviet historians has been their proficiency in several languages. This has enabled them to tap and analyse a wide range of primary and secondary sources.

Coming to the XIXth century India the Soviet scholars have tackled specific problems and specific regions. Nina Simeonova has extensively written on the history of the Sikhs and the Panjab.<sup>47</sup> Kuzmin has produced a monograph on the agrarian relations in Sindh in the XIXth century. Bankim's socio-political ideas have been commented upon by Paevskaya and Novikova in a number of articles. Novikova is at the moment preparing a monograph on Bankim Chandra, Some articles and monographs have as their subject plantation industries, labour-relations and labour-laws, the land system, the rise of capitalism and the penetration of foreign capital in India. Important social and political movements of the late XIXth and XXth centuries have been widely studied. Researchers working in these fields are Balabushevich, Dyakov, <sup>48</sup> Osipov, Ilin, Kotovsky, Levkovsky, Ulyanovsky, Gordon-Polonskaya, Gankovsky, Gurevich, Sofia

Melm Koma Devia in the freede

(ecor unkne Russi

informathey
Histor
"Cult
India"

I

been trans Kaly: bhārd text Sūdra availa being India Dham of the X

litera

49. 1964. 50.

Kotovi bibliog grafiya 51.

52. J. 35

<sup>45.</sup> S. A. Azimzanova, K istorii Fergany vtoroi poloviny XV v., Tashkent,

<sup>46.</sup> N. B. Baikova, Rol sredny Azii v Russko-Indiiskikh torgovikh svazey, Tashkent, 1964.

<sup>47.</sup> N. Simeonova, Gosudarstvo Sikhov, M., 1958; Panjab v period narodnogo vosstaniya v Indii 1857-59 gg., etc.

<sup>48.</sup> He has written a number of books and articles on India. He has also edited several works by Soviet scholars on varied aspects of Indian life. He is one of the oldest living Soviet Indologists. His most recent book, "Natsionalny vopros v sovremennoi Indii" has been translated into English.

Melman, Gordon, Babkina,<sup>49</sup> Aleksander Melnikov,<sup>50</sup> Pavlov, Komarov, Medvedev, Wafa, Litman, Drobishev, Sergei Levin etc. Deviatkina's researches on the activities of Indian revolutionaries in the Soviet Union are of special interest to students of Indian freedom movement abroad.

Lyusternik has published two books on Russo-Indian relations (economic and cultural) in the XIXth century, which reveal some unknown facts about Indian history; they are mainly based on Russian sources.

The Soviet scholars have also taken care to keep their readers informed of what the Indian historians write. For this purpose they have translated into Russian Panikkar's "A Survey of Indian History", D. R. Chanana's "Slavery in Ancient India", Luniya's "Culture of India", N. K. Sinha and A. C. Banerji's "History of India" etc.

In the field of literature and philology the Soviet scholars have been quite busy. Many ancient Sanskrit texts have been translated. The Mahābhārata has been rendered in verse form. Kalyanov has prepared an abridged prose version of the Mahābhārata, and has also translated Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. A short text of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa has only recently come out. Sūdrak's "Clay Cart", and the Pancatantra, have been made available in Russian. At the moment some of the Upaniṣads are being translated. Grintser has written a monograph on ancient Indian prose. Similarly, some Buddhist texts such as the Dhammapada are to be found in Russian. In fact the tradition of the study of ancient Indian literature founded in Russia in the XIXth Century is being maintained and developed.

Some work is also being done with regard to the Persian literature as it flourished in India during the Muslim rule.

dian

by

nful

rary

ecial

by

ond

dian

that

era.

een

a to

es.

ave

the

rian

ical

a in

g a

phs

and

the

and

ave

are

sky,

ofia

ent,

zey,

cd-

has

lian

ook,

. .

<sup>49.</sup> She writes on folk culture. Her book is "Narodny Teatr Indii", M., 1964.

<sup>50.</sup> He writes on peasant movement in India in the XXth Century. Kotovsky has specialised on agrarian problems of India and has edited a bibliography of-books on India in Russian and by Russian scholars—Bibliografiya Indica. Moskva. 1965.

<sup>51.</sup> Erman and Temkin, Ramayana, M., 1965.

<sup>52.</sup> Grintser, Drevney indiiskay proza, M., 1963.

As regards modern Indian literature the Soviet scholars have been working in practically all the regional languages of India. They have taken up both the language (its grammar and structure) and literature. They have touched Hindi, Urdū, Bengāli, Marātī, Panjabī, Telugū, Tamil, Malayālam, Kannada, etc. Short histories of Sanskrit, 53 Hindi, Urdū, Panjābī and Bengāli literatures have been published. In order to facilitate the task of research workers dictionaries of some of the major Indian languages have been compiled.

K

fathe

his a

an a

syste

of th

he r

the 1

the :

no o

Gove

Shah

Shah

Delhonce the find he wase i

recog Was

1827 €

Works of modern Indian writers of different Indian languages are regularly appearing in Russian. The list of Indian writers who have been translated into Russian is too long to be enumerated here. Rabindra Nath Tagore's complete writings have been twice published, and he is one of the most widely read foreign authors in Russia. It may be said that the translation of important Indian literary works is a characteristic of Indian studies in the Soviet Union. Some of the important researchers in the field of Indian languages and literature are — Chelyshev, Akseonov, Beskrovny, Novikova, Zogrof, Balin, Chernyshev, Pytagorsky, Pyotr Barannikov, etc.

In short, Indian studies in the Soviet Union are well established, and they cover many fields. In order to have indigeneous specialists there are arrangements for imparting instruction in Indian subjects at all levels of education.

<sup>53.</sup> I. D. Serebryakov, Drevneindiiskaya literatura, M., 1963.

Serebryakov, Penjabskaya literatura, M., 1963.
 Novikova, Ocherki no ista ii P.

<sup>55.</sup> Novikova, Ocherki po istorii Bengalsk oi literaturi, M., 1965.

## King Nasir ud Din Haider of Awadh (1827-37)

have india. struc-

ngāļi, Short gāļi<sup>55</sup> task

adian

lages

riters

erat-

been

reign

rtant

i the

ld of

onov,

rsky,

olish-

ieous

n in

BY

### Dr. A. MUKHERJEE Visva Bharati, Santiniketan

Nasir ud Din Haider ascended the throne on the death of his father, Ghaziud Din Haider on 20 October, 1827. A little before his accession the Resident at Lucknow had required him to sign an agreement binding him to introduce in his kingdom a better system of administration to be carried on according to the advice of the Company's Government. But at the minister's suggestion he refused to do so.¹ Of course, he obeyed the Resident when the latter asked him to drop "the objectional title of Ghazi" from the royal seal.²

He assumed the title of Shahjahan to which the Resident made no objection considering it "words merely metaphorical." But the Governor General objected to it suggesting a change of title from Shahjahan to Shah-i-jaman. This was done because the title of Shahjahan had been borne by one of the ancestors of the then Delhi Emperor, Akbar II and its assumption by the King of Awadh, once a hereditary vassal of the Mughul house, was likely to hurt the feelings of "that unfortunate and fallen prince." But Nasir ud Din insisted on retaining it. At last a compromise was made and he was allowed to bear the title within his kingdom but not to use it in his dealing with the Company's Government.

After this episode his succession to the throne was publicly recognised by the Company's Government and a public dinner was given him in honour of the occasion. Mr. A. Sterling, the

<sup>1.</sup> Foreign Political Consultation (F.P.C.) No. 38, the 2nd November. 1827 and also F.P.C. No. 15, the 16th November, 1827.

F.P.C. No. 39, the 2nd November, 1827.
 F.P.C. No. 32, the 7th December, 1827.

Persian Secretary to the Government at Fort William, wrote to him: -

"I entertain a well grounded hope that under your Majesty's auspices the affairs of the country will flourish, and the welfare ai.d interests of the ryots will be studied and promoted; and your majesty may rely with confidence that in the furtherance and enforcement of all such just and beneficial objects of policy the British Government... will ever be ready to afford its most zealous and cordial 

Nasir ud Din Haider in his turn assured the Resident that he would govern his kingdom according to the pleasures of the Company's government.

"This state (i.e., Awadh) is indeed.....a fragment of the British empire and its interests are inseparably interwoven..... with those of Great Britain", he wrote to the Governor General

Nasir ud Din Haider commenced his reign by calling back to the durbar his uncle, Nasir ud-Dowla, who had been in disgrace for some time. He and Badshah Begam, the Queen Mother had suffered indignities from the late King at the instigation of the Minister, Aga Mir. The popular expectation was that on being King he would avenge himself on Aga Mir but contrary to it he retained him in the ministerial office informing the Resident that he was fully satisfied with his conduct.7 He sought the Governor General's approval but the latter was aware of Aga Mir's bad conduct and of misrule and contempt of law which had prevailed in Awadh during his long and nearly absolute administration as King Ghazi ud Din Haider's Minister. Though he did not like that a man of Aga Mir's character should hold the rank of a Minister yet he preferred to give the King of Awadh freedom in the selection of his principal officers. He, therefore, simply recognised Aga Mir's official status and tried his best to prevent the idea from gaining ground among the people that he and his government had a hand in it.8 Simultaneously, the Resident was advised to bring to the

King outra whic of th Com ment by th of th dutie kinge

office

Lord Luck brou not s had his Rs. : the 1 Mir's ing 1 Nasi one Whic enjoy him comp Were said

> 9. 10. 10: Awad or Za 11.

12. 13. 14.

<sup>5.</sup> F.P.C. No. 61, the 9th November, 1827.

<sup>6.</sup> F.P.C. No. 23, the 16th November, 1827.

<sup>7.</sup> F.P.C. No. 21, the 16th November, 1827. 8. F.P.C. No. 25, the 16th November, 1827.

King's notice the disordered state on his country's frontier and the outrages committed within the Company's Districts by banditti which found refuge in Awadh and to ask him to arrest the progress of these evils. It was also clarified that if he failed to do so the Company's government would intervene. Moreover, the appointment of an efficient officer who would listen to the complaints made by the Company's sepoys against his guilty subjects, the reform of the police establishment, the cessation of illegal levy of custom duties and a change in the mode of revenue collection in his kingdom were proposed and he was asked to fill the principal offices of the State with experienced and respectable persons. In

After all these were communicated to the King of Awadh. Lord Combermere, the Company's Commander-in-chief, visited Lucknow on 11 December, 1827.12 His Lordship's visit indirectly brought about the dismissal of Aga Mir. Nasir ud Din Haider had not stopped with reinstating Aga Mir in the Minister's office. He had shown an increasing regard for him by granting to him and his heirs in perpetuity a jagir yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 5,82,210-14-0.13 When Combermere paid his visit to the King the latter chose the occasion for performing the ceremony of Aga Mir's investiture. He asked Combermere to assist him in decorating Aga Mir with a robe of honour which was refused outright.14 Nasir ud Din Haider's real feeling towards his Minister was not one of regard for or confidence in him but of fear and hatred which he concealed possibly because he thought that Aga Mir enjoyed the favour of the Company's government and could do him harm. But Combermere's refusal opened his eyes and he complained to him that the Minister had assumed all powers; all were his creatures and yet nobody obeyed his orders. He further said that the Minister had dishonoured his seraglio in a manner

te to

your

and

that

and

rdial

at he

the

eral.6

the

for

ffer-

ster,

g he

ined

was

ral's

and

radh

hazi

n of

he

n of Air's ning

and

the

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>a. Quite a large number of the Company's sepoys in Bengal hailed from Awadh. Sometimes they were involved in quarrels with their fellow-villagers or Zamindars and petitioned against them to the resident for redress.

<sup>11.</sup> F.P.C. No. 30, the 7th December, 1827.

<sup>12.</sup> F.P.C. No. 18, the 4th January, 1828.

<sup>13.</sup> F.P.C. No. 31, the 7th December, 1827.

<sup>14.</sup> F.P.C. No. 18, the 4th January, 1828.

that he was ashamed to mention. 15 Asked by Lord Combernere why he did not dismiss him Nasir ud Din replied that he was inexperienced and knew not how to do it telling further that he could do the same within two months provided he got help from the British. Whether Nasir ud Din received such help from the Company's government or from any other quarter is not known, But within less than two months he threw Aga Mir out of office putting him under arrest and demanding from him a satisfactory account of the receipts and disbursement of public revenue.16 This attitude of Nasir ud Din brought about a controversy between him and the Company's government; for the late King, Ghazi ud Din Haider had placed Aga Mir under the protection of the Company's government by his Deed of Agreement on the loan of a crore of rupees he had given in perpetuity to them in August, Besides, by his last will he had absolved him from accountability for all acts done by him in his ministerial capacity.17 The Governor General in Council, therefore, argued that Nasir ud Haider could not with justice and equity hold him responsible for his acts done during the regime of his father nor could he demand from him an account of the receipts and disbursement of public revenue of the former regime. 18 But Nasir ud Din Haider was of opinion that Aga Mir was responsible to him for all acts done by him during the past as well as the present regime, and that the Deed of Agreement did not exempt Aga Mir from rendering accounts for the receipts and disbursement of public revenue nor did it stipulate that he was not to satisfy private claims. He further argued that the true intent and spirit of the Agreement was that the English Company should protect him, if any body were to unjustly attempt to disgrace him or seize his property.19 The controversy continued for some time and at last the Company's government stood forth as his protector and Aga Mir escaped to Kanpur with their assistance. 19a Nasir ud Din Haider as Dr. Sprv

(Ag

sion

was ener Mir Itim inter police long

Nasi his fatho 1815

over

Com

police subo the I were juris venti prope taken them

send hone: Tahsi crimi

> 20. 21.

22.

23. 24.

F.P.C. No. 26, the 11th January, 1828.
 F.P.C. Nos. 35 & 36, the 11th January, 1828. Also F.P.C. No. 13, the 18th January, 1828.

<sup>17.</sup> F.P.C. Nos. 15 & 18, the 18th January, 1828.

F.P.C. No. 20, the 18th January, 1828.
 F.P.C. Nos. 6 & 7, the 16th May, 1828.

<sup>19</sup>a. Foreign Political letter to the Court of Directors, the 4th March, 1831, para 170-72.

587

### KING NASIR UD DIN HAIDER OF AWADH

(Aga Mir's family physician) puts it, demolished Aga Mir's mansion at Dowlatpura to vent his spleen on him.<sup>20</sup>

nere

Was

t he

the

own.

ffice

tory

ue.16

veen

i ud

the

n of

gust,

rom

ty.17

e ud

for

and

s of

by

the

ac-

nor

ther

to

The

ny's

1 to

pry

13,

rch,

After Aga Mir's dismissal his friends and accomplices were arrested. Amrit Lal, a favourite Arz Begee of King Ghazi ud Din Haider, was disgraced and tortured; he committed suicide as a result.21 Mufti Khalil ud Din, the King's ambassador at Calcutta. was replaced by Munshi Ashiq Ali.22 The old exiles and the enemies of the ex-Minister were recalled to the court and honoured. Mir Fazl Ali was raised to the office of Minister and the title of Itimad ud Dowla was conferred upon him.23 He was bold, wellintentioned and anxious to introduce that system of reform in the police and revenue administration of the country which had so long been unavailingly pressed upon the King of Awadh by the Company's government. It was perhaps under his influence that Nasir ud Din Haider agreed to reform the civil administration of his country and wished to adopt the measures proposed to his father by the Company's government in 1222 Fasli (roughly 1815 AD) 24

Accordingly Awadh was to be divided anew into districts; over each district an officer (Called Nazim) with judicial and police powers was to preside. He was to be assisted by such subordinate officers as Tahsildars and Darogas. The judiciary and the police were to be reorganised. Zamindars and revenue-farmers were to be responsible for crimes committed in their respective jurisdiction. Negligence on their part in the detection and prevention of crime was to be punished with confiscation of their property. Immediately on receipt of information that robbers had taken shelter in his division a Tahsildar was to arrest and send them to the Nazim under proper guard. He was also to seize and send to the Nazim such men who earned their livelihood by dishonest means and who had no ostensible means of livelihood. Tahsildars and Darogas were to be rewarded for apprehension of criminals. Female infanticide, prevalent among the Rajputs of

<sup>20.</sup> Modern India by Dr. Spry, p. 257.

<sup>21.</sup> F.P.C. No. 30, the 8th February, 1828.

<sup>22.</sup> F.P.C. Nos. 32-33, the 8th February, 1828.

<sup>23.</sup> F.P.C. No. 17, the 22nd February, 1828. 24. F.P.C. Nos. 31 & 32, the 10th April, 1829.

Awadh, was to be stopped. As a preliminary step towards the adoption of these reforms Nasir ud Din Haider introduced the Amani<sup>24a</sup> system of revenue-collection in the District of Mullawan, Bangurmau, Sandi-Pali, Shahabad, Bahraitch and Gonda, making a quinquennial settlement with the landlords. But it failed on its objective and the Ijara<sup>25</sup> system of revenue collection was resorted to in those districts.26 No effort was made by the King to adopt the reforms detailed above. This was because the young King of Awadh soon allowed himself to be dominated by a party of counsellors who were worthless flatterers, vicious and selfish: their aim was personal aggrandizement rather than the betterment of the country's internal condition and administration. Their hold over the King was so strong that the Minister, Itimad ud Dowla. became unpopular with him. His powers, functions and responsibilities as a Minister were successively curtailed and he found the office irksome.<sup>27</sup> The royal favourites were not satisfied with it. They wanted his removal and the disgusted Minister himself resigned his office.28 But his resignation was not accepted and he continued as a titular Minister too eager to be relieved of his office and too afraid of being arrested after his relief.

Nasir ud Din Haider was mortally afraid of having a Minister whose power might eclipse his own. His grandfather, Saadat Ali Khan, had no Minister to assist him. He pretended to emulate him though he had not even the shadow of his talents. He was encouraged in his pretension by his worthless companions whose

24a. Under this system land was put in charge of a trustee who collected revenue on behalf of the government. 25. Under this system land was farmed out to the highest bidder for

revenue collection.

26. F.P.C. Nos. 33 and 34, the 10th April, 1829. Also F.P.C. No. 34, the 18th September, 1829.

27. F.P.C. No. 18, the 6th March, 1829.

28. Ibid. The immediate cause of his resignation, as the resident put it, was somewhat ludicrous in nature. Nasir ud Din Haider along with his attendants had gone for an outing in the Gomati; Itimad ud Dowla was also with him. A Figure 1 of driftwith him. A European servant of the King who was in a state of drunkenness lost his best as state of drunkenness lost his best as lost him bes kenness, lost his hat and nearly lost his life in an accident but was saved.

The King who was that the lost his life in an accident but was saved. The King who watched this incident asked the man to supply his lost hat with the turbon of with the turban of any of his attendants. The drunkard—possibly at the mischievous direction of the possibly at the possibly at the mischievous direction of the possible at the mischievous direction of the possible at the mischievous direction of the mischievous d mischievous direction of the King-transferred to his heal Itimad ud Dowla's turban who felt badly insulted and resigned his office.

inter pons

a C obje men ud I pate and deat Dow Rair Only com

after

and

Day

give unec was ther conc a ha phar such a po Capt treas His the : His cour

> > J, 3

Ali .

interest it was to prevent the appointment of a strong and responsible man as Minister.29

Nasir ud Din Haider constituted some of his associates into a committee of advisers "originally for the professed unobjectionable purpose of ameliorating the fiscal and judicial government of his country." The members of this committee were Ighal ud Dowla, son of Fatah Ali, the faithful treasurer and an emancipated slave of the royal family, Ram Dayal, a banker of Lucknow. and Raja Mewa Ram who some time before Ghazi ud Din Haider's death had succeeded his father to the Diwan's office. Igbal ud Dowla was His Majesty's companion during his festive moments, Rain Dayal a great personal favourite but completely unlettered. Only Mewa Ram had some administrative experience. Thus the committee was incapable of improving the administration.31 Soon after its formation the King drove Itimad ud Dowla out of office and himself assumed the reins of administration leaning on Ram Dayal for assistance.31

Nasir ud Din Haider was fickle, wayward and completely given up to pleasure and amusement. He was "very young, very uneducated and from his long seclusion in the recesses of a zenana" was utterly ignorant of the world and all its concerns. Moreover, there was no man of character and ability to "advise him or to conduct the ordinary details of public affairs." His associates were a handful of worthless intriguing domestics and mercenary sycophants who were despised by everybody in the country. Under such a King the administrative power slipped into the hands of a powerful junta.32 The members of this faction were five in all, Captain Fatah Ali being the most influential; he held the office of treasurer. Other members were his two sons and two sons-in-law. His eldest son, Iqbal ud Dowla, was the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal army, his second son, Majid ud Dowla, their paymaster. His first son-in-law, Muhammed Mir, was the head of the two courts of civil and criminal justice and his second son-in-law, Mir Ali Akbar was in charge of the third park of artillery. Of these

the

the van,

king

on

was

King

ung

arty

fish;

nent hold

wla,

nsi-

und

with

self

and

his

ister

Ali

late

was

hose

ected

for

. 34,

it it,

his also

runved. hat

the

wla's

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid. Also F.P.C. No. 34, the 18th September, 1829.

<sup>30.</sup> F.P.C. No. 34, the 18th September, 1829.

<sup>31.</sup> F.P.C. No. 44, the 18th September, 1829.

<sup>32.</sup> F.P.C. No. 51, the 18th September, 1829.

590

five persons none could speak or write Persian possibly with the exception of Fatah Ali.

Fatah Ali had the reputation of being an honest man and had never been accused of abusing his trust. But his sons were heavy drunkards, notorious for profligacy of manners, low propensities and debauchery and devoid of all sense of shame. They sent their wives to one of the royal palaces and allowed them to live in open adultery with the King in order to gain power and high offices of the State. Such was the great court cabal, as the Resident pointed out, which made use of the King's name and power to promote its own schemes of ambition and in which was actually vested the supreme authority of the State. Associated with this cabal were two equally vicious persons, namely, Muzaffar Ali Khan, the Daroga of Diwankhana and his son, Jafar Ali Khan, the commander of Topkhana. The latter frequently acted as a pimp to the King and was as much debauched though not so degraded in character as the two sons of Fatah Ali. There were also two boons companions of the King-Qamar Ali who as Daroga of the kitchen, supplied him with wine and Mumun who was in charge of his dancing girls.33 The influence possessed by these degraded persons over the King was absolute, and under their control the policy of the court of Awadh soon came to be based on a system of intrigue, bribery and corruption which gradually extended itself to every department of the State and to almost every individual in it. The King himself and all acting under his authority practised this without any attempt at concealment. There was not perhaps a single individual attached to the Residency who did not come under its influence and was not in the constant habit of receiving bribes from the King, the Queens or some of the intriguing parties at the court. Many of the Residency servants were in the regular receipt of fixed monthly salaries from the court of Awadh. Ghulam Hasan, the Head Munshi of the Residency, and Indra Narayan, the treasurer were deeply implicated in these corrupt transactions. Mr. Hare who had been appointed Persian translator in the Residency fully admitted that he had received small sums of money from one of the Begams,34

the Vaki end . a br mear pecu gaine a con Mah: conse Mr. the 1 had . his n disho cleve sister the I of th throu vakil hard his r such produ and a But I for so the R by th

> admin degen

public

35,

36. 37.

<sup>33.</sup> F.P.C. No. 56, the 18th September, 1829.

591

# KING NASIR UD DIN HAIDER OF AWADH

the

had

eavy

ities

sent

live

high

the

and

was

ated

affar

han,

as a

t so

vere

roga

s in

hese

heir

ased

ally

nost

his

ent.

the

t in

eens

the

thly

**Iead** 

vere

who

ully e of

Ram Dayal, the chief among the King's advisers, believed in the omnipotence of bribery. His ambition was to be the King's Vakil or representative at the Residency. In order to achieve his end he offered to Mr. A. Lockett, the acting Resident of Lucknow, a bribe of 20 lacs of rupees which was refused. He was by no means competent for such an office; he was illiterate but had a peculiar talent for intrigue, sycophancy and pimping. He had gained royal favour by sending his sister to the palace who became a concubine of the King and was honoured by the name of Raj Possibly as a result of Raj Mahal's entreaties the King consented to appoint Ram Dayal his Vakil at the Residency but Mr. Lockett refused to admit a man of Ram Dayal's character into the Residency. Soon after this the King found that Ram Dayal had taken large sums of money on false pretences.35 He changed his mind and informed the Acting Resident that Ram Dayal was dishonest and should not be trusted. But Ram Dayal was too clever for the King. Apart from the support he derived from his sister, Raj Mahal, he won over to his side the favourite wives of the King. He contrived to identify his own interests with those of the King's favourite Begams by convincing them that it was through him that they received their large allowances and that their vakils were all his relations.36 The King was perhaps pressed hard by these ladies to accommodate Ram Dayal in the office of his representative at the Residency and "the united influence of such a female phalanx over a mind so constituted as the King's" produced the desired result. The King suddenly changed his mind and appointed Ram Dayal his representative at the Residency. But Mr. Lockett remained obdurate and the controversy continued for some time during which every corrupt art was tried to make the Resident receive Ram Dayal. Even a direct offer was made by the King to send to the Residency two of the most beautiful public women of Lucknow but he remained unmoved.37

The result of all these was the speedy decline of the internal administration of the country. The system of administration degenerated into one of rapacity and extortion. Its object came

<sup>35.</sup> Ibid. Also F.P.C. No. 50, the 18th September, 1829.

<sup>36.</sup> F.P.C. No. 38, the 2nd October, 1829.

<sup>37.</sup> F.P.C. No. 18, the 27th November, 1829.

and i

Murv

Bahr

tions

robbe

Murv

to co

the :

anno

in A

Ahir:

tives

for t

find

Resid

the

the a

upon

Raja

incre

the :

Gove

41

forcil

kept

plain

alluv. men.

garh

mitte

of Et

were Gula men and some

(Tah haba

42

to be to collect as large a revenue in as short a time as possible The good name and character of the government were matters of secondary importance. The revenue-farmers or the Chakledars on whose vigilance and activity depended the efficiency of the police were men mostly unqualified for such charge "some of them being of the lowest extraction and others military adventurers and all holding the farm as a speculation" which they were determined to make as profitable as possible. Besides, the Chakledars were all powerful within their jurisdictions and the King was best satisfied with those who most punctually paid their rents. The state of their districts was never made the criterion of good or bad management. The King from time to time issued Farmans to them at the Resident's request for apprehension of criminals but they paid scant attention to such mandates.38 The country's finances were also in a disordered state. Mr. T. H. Maddock, the Resident at Lucknow, wrote to the Deputy Secretary to the Government at Fort William on the 26th March, 1830: "...... the expected income of the remainder of the current year is not likely to amount to more than one-fourth of the demands upon the treasury during the same period. The pay of the large portion of troops is still greatly in arrears and as a natural consequence, great discontent prevails among them."39 In the Revenue Department the resources were so much diminished by exactions and mismanagement that several Districts had to be farmed at reduced rates. The police in Awadh was hopelessly inefficient. The Kotwal of Lucknow was an active officer but his control was not allowed to extend over the King's personal servants. The Begams' and the King's favourites frequently resented the Kotwal's action against their guilty domestics. Consequently his efforts for the prevention of crimes were fruitless and there was an unprecedented increase in lawlessness.40 The King's officers in the country's interior and their retainers became extremely oppressive to the people. They and the talukdars of Awadh trespassed the frontiers and crossing into the Company's districts forcibly seized persons

<sup>38.</sup> F.P.C. No. 12, the 7th May, 1830.

<sup>39.</sup> F.P.C. No. 17, the 7th May, 1830.

<sup>40.</sup> Ibid.

ble.

s of

on

lice

eing

all

ined

vere

best

The

l or

s to

but try's

the

the

not

ipon

tion

nce,

part-

and

twal

and

etion

the

lent-

try's

the

tiers

sons

and their property. A tribe of free-booters, called "Siyār Murwahs" came out of its jungle-abode in the Districts of Bahraitch, Balrampur and Atrowla and carried on their depredations in the neighbouring British Districts. There were also robbers of a different class entirely unconnected with the "Siyār Murwah" tribe. They went as far as the British District of Patna to commit robbery. They were, as Mr. J. B. Elliot, the Judge of the Patna Court of Circuit observed, of much more serious annoyance to the district. They lived in the Pargana of Bahmani in Awadh and comprised all classes of persons, the majority being Ahirs. The heads of the gang were generally three or four relatives who employed five or six servants at a small monthly salary for the purpose of docoity. 42

Coming back to the description of the court of Awadh we find that though Lockett, the Acting Resident and Maddock, the Resident had refused to admit Ram Dayal into the Residency as the King's representative yet his star had continued to be in the ascendant. The title of Mukhtar ud Dowla had been conferred upon him by the King and he had been appointed along with Raja Mewa Ram to the charge of Diwani. His power went on increasing till he became the de facto Prime Minister. Mr. Maddock, the Resident at Lucknow, informed the Deputy Secretary to the Government at Fort William:

41. Jodhram Misir, a servant of the Tahsildar of Pratapgarh (Awadh) forcibly seized the person of Ishwari Prosad, the Qanungo of Mirzapur, and kept him confined at Dalip Pur in Awadh. The collector of Kanpur complained that the Tahsildar and some Zamindars from Awadh forcibly seized alluvial lands belonging to the pargana of Bithur, and with a body of armed men, cut down and carried off the kharif crop. The commissioner of Fategarh informed the Resident at Lucknow about a dacoity which had been committed by a gang of robbers from Awadh at the house of Dilkush Roy, banker of Etawah. Mohkum and Sheodeen, two zamindars of Mouja Piyari in Awadh, were charged with having cut loose and carried off a ferry-boat from Bithur. Gulap Singh Thakur, a subject of the King of Awadh, with a body of armed men made a violent attack on the village of Katri in the District of Kanpur and illegally collected the rents from the ryots of that village. Moreover, some horsemen in the service of Incha Singh, brother of Raja Darshan Singh (Tahsildar of pratapgarh), attacked the village of Sangampur in the Allahabad District and plundered several houses.

42. F.P.C. No. 64, the 30th May, 1830.

"Ram Dayal has in fact became Prime Minister and the Government of Oudh must be considered vested solely in him."43

King

revis

scale

const

The

in A dars

lands

Since

had

and :

at ar

Ali

num

by t

zama

incor

26 la

mism

incor

ed to

with

All i

regar

all th

ment what throu

illega

holde accor Britis

treaty in 18

for c

Britis

anom

duties

But Ram Dayal could not long retain the favour of the King. The latter's eyes were at last opened to his demerits. He was caught red-handed while breaking open some confidential letters addressed to the Resident and dismissed by the King from his court.44

After Ram Dayal's removal the King decided to form a new Ministry. At first his choice fell upon Akbar Ali Khan, the eldest son of late Haider Beg Khan (a distinguished Minister of former times), Kunwar Ratan Singh and Ghulam Murtaza Khan. He wanted to employ Akbar Ali Khan and Ratan Singh in the Department concerning correspondence with the Company's government and Ghulam Murtaza Khan in the Department of Accounts.45 But soon he changed his mind and summoned Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan to serve as his Minister. Hakim Mehdi Ali reached Lucknow on the 14th June, 1833 and assumed the reins of administration.46 He desired to reform the administration with the help of British functionaries and enquired of the Resident whether the Company's government would depute ten or twelve British officers for that purpose. The Resident told him that as the proposal did not come from the King with a confession that no other method than the deputation of the Company's officers would succeed in establishing law and order in Awadh, the Company's government would not grant it. He was further told that the Company's government would be better pleased to see the reform of Awadh administration effected by the King with the help of his own officers.47 But this did not daunt Hakim Mehdi who prepared a comprehensive plan

The plan envisaged an entire reform in the revenue management of the country, reduction of army then maintained by the

47. Foreign Political Letter to the Court of Directors, the 9th October, para 18. 1830, para 18.

<sup>43.</sup> F.P.C. No. 17, the 7th May, 1830.

<sup>44.</sup> F.P.C. No. 20, the 7th May, 1830. 45. Ibid.

<sup>46.</sup> F.P.C. Nos. 38-39, the 28th May, 1830. Also F.P.C. No. 28, the 2nd July, 1830.

#### KING NASIR UD DIN HAIDER OF AWADH

the

olely

The

ught

ssed

new

ldest

mer

He

part-

nent

But

han

on

He

itish

ny's

that

ome the

ning

not

nent

tion

this

lan

ge-

the

the

ber,

595 .

King of Awadh, resumption of jagirs held by the royal ladies. revision of the custom-house regulations, establishment of a fixed scale of expenditure for the King's household, privy purse, construction and repair of palaces and other public buildings. The plan was aimed at abolishing the system of revenue-farming in Awadh. Hakim Mehdi wanted the zamindars and the Talukdars to contract direct with the Government for the rent of their lands and receive from the Government pattas for a term of years. Since Nawab Saadat Ali's death every branch of Awadh army had been greatly augmented both as to its number and expense, and in 1830 A.D. more than 70,000 soldiers were being maintained at an annual expense of nearly 60 lacs of rupees. Hakim Mehdi Ali proposed to halve this expense by reducing the army to the number maintained by Nawab Saadat Ali. As for the jagirs held by the royal ladies, three of the King's wives, namely Mulka zamani, Taj Mahal and Muqaddar Aulia possessed big jagirs the income of which along with that of Badshah Begam's amounted to 26 lacs of rupees per annum. But their jagirs were wretchedly mismanaged, their agents being of the lowest origin and totally incompetent for the duty assigned to them. Hakim Mehdi proposed to resume their jagirs and to make suitable provisions for them.

The commercial treaty of 1788 concluded by Lord Cornwallis with the Nawab of Awadh had become obsolete by the year 1830. All its provisions in favour of British merchandize had been disregarded and duties had been levied on them in the King's name all through Awadh in open violation of the treaty. The government of Awadh had failed to prevent the zamindars from exacting whatever sum they pleased from the British merchants passing through their estates. Between Lucknow and Kanpur duties were illegally collected from the merchants by more than twenty landholders. The British merchandize arriving at Lucknow paid duties according to an arbitrary valuation which doubled the prices of British goods in the Lucknow market. Moreover, the commercial treaty of 1788 required some modifications. The partition of Awadh in 1801 A.D. had altered the frontier and many of the places fixed for chowkies by the treaty of 1788 had been included in the British Districts. Hakim Mehdi Ali proposed to remove these anomalies and prevent the zamindars from levying unauthorised duties from merchants passing through their domains,

596

It is not difficult to see that Hakim Mehdi Ali's scheme of reform referred to above was radical in nature and against the vested interests at the Court of Lucknow. With little chance of success, it was likely to make him unpopular. The Resident who was full of misgivings on this point doubted very much whether the Minister would at all launch his scheme. He even suspected the Minister's sincerity. "He is aiming at the Niabut (Deputyship) and till he arrives at that long cherished object of his ambition, will so govern his language and his actions as to satisfy the British government of his intentions to effect every measure which we have to recommend....." he observed.48 Whether the Minister sincerely wanted a reform in the administration is very hard to ascertain. But this much is certain that he had great difficulties in implementing the plan of reform. The arrears in the pay of all the royal establishments were huge. He had to raise funds for discharging the same and to relieve his master and himself from this pecuniary embarrassment.49 How he tided over this difficulty is unknown but he did not implement his plan of reform and contrary to its provisions gave some Districts in farm. 49a Hakim Mehdi Ali failed to usher in an era of good government immediately after he took the reins of administration when all his energies were directed towards the destruction of his sworn enemy, Aga Mir, the ex-Minister, then under duress at Lucknow. 49b

and open Reging ang Mustine in the Government of the government of

becar sent

and

the there Luck of m the r

to by
the a
due t
and t
exper
down
and c
finance

50. 51. 52. J. 37

A.D.

<sup>48.</sup> F.P.C. No. 41, the 23rd July, 1830.

<sup>49.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>a. The District of Banswara which yielded an annual revenue of 18 lacs was given in farm to Raja Bakhtawar Singh who already held all the castern Districts of Awadh and who in conesquence had become the sole revenue farmer of nearly half of Awadh having contracted for the payment of an annual revenue of nearly 55 lacs. The other big divisions of the kingdom held by Mendu Khan, the principal Risaladar in the king's service, were left in his hands. The revenue farmers of Derownabad, Fatehpur and Mahmudabad who were in pirson for non-payment of revenue, were freed and reinstated in their farms without any settlement of their accounts and with no prospect of the outstanding balances being extracted from them for reason unknown. The large district of Khairabad in the north western part of Awadh was likewise retained by Gobindan Das though he had not paid the previous year's revenue of six or eight lacs of rupees and though his imbecility and incompetence were well-known.

<sup>49</sup>b. F.P.C. No. 40, the 13th October, 1830.

In the interior of the country lawlessness remained as before. and violence and organized robbery were committed in the most open and audacious manner. Lt. Davis of the Company's 62nd Regiment of Native Infantry was attacked and plundered by a gang of 50 or 60 robbers on the road between Sitapur and Lucknow. Mufti Khalil ud din's residence at Kakori was raided by a gang of nearly 400 men resulting in the loss of several lives. A subadar in the Company's service sought redress for the murder of his children and plunder of his house by some marauders. Mr. Maddock, the Resident at Lucknow, wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government at Fort William, on the 30th September, 1830: "..... the police was never more inefficient than at present time.....In some parts of the country the authority of the government is barely acknowledged; bands of marauders fearlessly traverse the country and the most complete anarchy and confusion prevail."50

In addition to these evils, manufacturers of counterfeit coins became active in Awadh. They forged bad coins and regularly sent them to the Company's Districts for circulation.51

Anarchy and misrule in Awadh at last drew the attention of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. His Lordship, therefore, met the King and his Minister, Hakim Mahdi Ali at Lucknow and solemnly warned them that any further continuance of misrule in Awadh would be followed by direct assumption of the reins of administration by the Company's government.

Bentinck's remonstrance and warning were seriously attended to by Hakim Mehdi Ali and in right earnest he tried to improve the administration. He had already discharged the arrears of pay due to the troops, had arranged for regular periodical payments and had disbanded 8000 men in order to effect economy in public expenditure.52 He now made further retrenchment and brought down the number of troops to 42,000 men. Under his supervision and control the kingdom of Awadh became well-governed. The finances were enhanced and the total revenue for the year 1832 A.D. amounted to nearly Rs. 1,40,00,000/-. The government budget

e of the

ce of

who

ether

ected

outy-

his

atisfy

asure

r the

very

diffi-

the the

raise him-

this

form

m.49a

ment

ll his

emy,

8 lacs

east-

venue

of an

gdom

were Mah-

1 and

with

n for estern d not nough

b

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51.</sup> F.P.C. No. 25, the 2nd April, 1831, para 11.

<sup>52.</sup> Ibid., para 8.

showed a surplus of nearly Rs. 13,56,070/- over the total expenditure.53 But in the flush of success Hakim Mehdi Ali went out of his way and behaved in an indecent fashion. He forced some wealthy and respectable men of Lucknow to send to the royal harem women whom they had kept for several years as their mistresses under the pretence of their having been originally dancing girls, a description of persons who in Awadh were regarded as private property of the sovereign. Moreover, he monopolised the lucrative trade of supplying articles of luxury of every description required in the royal palace. The Hindus had been chiefly engaged in this profession; they were in consequence thrown out of employment. Hakim Mehdi Ali further alienated the Hindus by prohibiting them from attending the court with presents and "Gulal" during their spring festival of Holi and forcibly took from them arbitrary sums as Nazarana. Mr. Maddock the Resident at Lucknow, informed the Government at Fort William on the 14th March, 1831 that "the Holi a season of universal festivity which had always been distinguished at Lucknow for the gaiety with which it had been celebrated, had this year passed in comparativesilence, a sure indication.....that the Hindu inhabitants at least were neither happy nor contented but were filled with alarm and dissatisfaction at the measures of the government."54

Hakim Mehdi Ali resumed the jagirs belonging to the royal ladies which were wretchedly mismanaged under unscrupulous revenue-farmers. He himself wrote in his *Memoir*:

"The jagir appropriated to the support of the ladies of His Majesty's Muhal were made over in Amanee to Amils...and during the period of my administration the collections made therefrom were regularly paid to the parties entitled to them.....these tracts of country were before my coming to office, accustomed to be farmed out by the ladies of the Muhal to individuals who abused their trust by the greatest acts of tyranny and oppression towards the unfortunate ryots. In consequence of the measures adopted by me in making over these tracts.....as Amanee and giving triennial leases to each of the Amils I selected the jagirs began in a short time to assume a prosperous appearance."55

Bads King which of Is celel sixth eleve the calle by h lavis Ali d she of A lishe Luck brate dona

> 21st been moth

(Bac

aspin ud I in-la Saad Gene know the I were Moth blood

Prov

57.

<sup>53.</sup> F.P.C. Nos. 60-61, the 27th December, 1831.

<sup>54.</sup> F.P.C. No. 26A, the 2nd April, 1831.

<sup>55.</sup> Mufassil Akhbar quoted in Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its dependencies, December, 1833.

di-

out

me

yal

eir lly

rd-

sed

ip-

fly

out

lus

nd

om

at

lth

ich

ith

ive-

ast

nd

yal

us

lis nd

de

to

to

nal

of In

er

to

ne

Oľ.

He also curtailed the profligate expenditure of the zenana. Badshah Begam, the Queen Mother, was as much powerful as the King himself, if not more. She celebrated certain religious rites which were her own innovations and foreign to the original canons of Islam, being somewhat idolatrous in nature; for instance, she celebrated every year "Chhatti" ceremony of Imam Mehdi on the sixth day of his birth. She had procured and kept at the palace eleven beautiful Saiyad girls whom she designated as the wives of the eleven Imams (She was an elevener Shia), and who were called "Achootees" (i.e., persons too pure and sacred to be polluted by human touch and not allowed to marry.) 56 The Begam spent lavish sums for the comfort of these girls. Possibly Hakim Mehdi Ali curtailed these wasteful expenditures which offended her and she caused his dismissal from the ministerial office in the month of August, 1832. The Calcutta Courier of 18th August, 1832, pub-"Various letters from lished in its news column the following: Lucknow announce the disgrace and imprisonment of the celebrated minister...... The cause is reported to be some unpardonable offence to the dignity of the chief personage of the zenana (Badshah Begam)."

Another contemporary newspaper, John Bull, in its issue of 21st August, 1832, stated: "We understand that the minister has been displaced chiefly in consequence of the intrigue of the queen mother....."

After Hakim Mehdi Ali's dismissal several ambitious persons aspired for the Minister's office but it was filled by Nawab Roshun ud Dowla. Roshun ud Dowla was the son of Ashraf Ali (father-in-law of Nawab Wazir Ali who had been replaced by Nawab Saadat Ali and who had cut down Mr. G. F. Cherry, the Governor General's Agent at Benares, in 1799 A.D.). Heretofore he was known by the name of Mirza Nathu.<sup>57</sup> He was less competent for the Minister's office but shrewd enough to perceive that Ministers were made and unmade by the King at the dictates of the Queen Mother. In order to safeguard his position he decided to breed bad blood between the King and the Queen Mother, Badshah Begam. Providentially he was soon favoured with an opportunity. One of

57. Calcutta Courier, 1st September, 1832.

<sup>56.</sup> Tarikh Badshah Begam by Abdul Ahad, pp. 6-7.

the King's concubines namely Khudsia Banu Begam to whom he was deeply devoted misunderstood him and killed herself by taking arsenic. The King became extremely morose and abstained from food. He also ordered the members of his household to put on mourning. But Badshah Begam deemed it unjust and disgraceful to the legally wedded wives of the King. She would not allow them to obey him and tried to justify her stand by arguing in the following manner: "My late huband (Ghaziud Din Haider) also entertained large female establishment but always concealed them from me and it is well known to everybody that all kings and Viziers keep up the same establishment but they never allow any disgrace or dishonour to be reflected upon their khās mahals. '58

At this the King became highly displeased with the Queen Mother. His relationship with her became all the more strained when he desired to marry one of the concubines of his late father and the Queen Mother gave shelter to that unfortunate and fugitive woman disapproving of such a marriage. 59 The King naturally became furious. Roshun ud Dowla and his accomplices fanned the flames of his fury till he resumed the Begam's jagir of Salone asking her to vacate the palace she was occupying. But she was of no meek spirits. She refused to vacate her palace whereon the King adopted every nefarious means for her ejectment.60 Consequently she left the palace and took shelter at Almas Ali Khan's garden ten miles away from Lucknow. Soon she organised an army, demanded restoration of her jagir and intended to attack Lucknow. The inhabitants of Lucknow became panicky. But at last she was persuaded by the Resident, Colonel Low to dishand her men and give up belligerent motives.<sup>61</sup>

Awa ple. The ! of ad to hi mism powe that

F

the C defec exper sil A Don stripe own ( vants new 1 the p then agricu arrea be ex strict] the e Awad femal the fo educa gover ment

> 62, part II 63. 64, 65.

Decem 66.

<sup>58.</sup> F.P.C. No. 33, the 24th October, 1836.

<sup>59.</sup> Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register etc. April, 1835, pp. 237-38.

<sup>60.</sup> Strangers were posted on the roof of her palace to disturb her privacy. Impure objects and filth were thrown at her place of worship and at last food and week. at last food and water were prevented from reaching her palace. When in the agony of hunger and thirst her maids in attendance approached the palace gate in search of victuals, the King's sepoys from outside hurled brickbats at them. The aggrieved also threw bricks at the Sepoys who in the most unmanly manner fired their musket and the thirsty, hungry girls as the Begam hercelf as the Begam herself wrote, "drank the cold drink of death". (F.P.C. No. 33, 24 Oct. 1836) 24 Oct. 1836).

<sup>61.</sup> F.P.C. No. 30, the 24th October, 1836.

he

ing

om

on

ful

ow

the

lso

em

ind

8

een

ned

ner

gitu-

red

one vas

the

on-

n's

an

ick

at

nd

her and in the

led

in

rls

33,

During this internecine conflict the improvements made in Awadh administration by Hakim Mehdi Ali were lost to the people. Sedition and unrest increased in the interior of the country. The King spent his hours in revelry. His inattention to the work of administration finally forced Lord William Bentick to hold out to him the example of Mysore Raja who in consequence of the mismanagement of his territories had been stripped of all his regal powers. A solemn warning was also given to the King of Awadh that if no speedy improvement was visible in his administration, the Company's government would take similar steps against him.

Bentinck's warning at last awoke the King of Awadh to the defects of his administration. He decided to curtail his wasteful expenditure and put an end to his extravagant habits. The Mufassil Akhbar of 21st February, 1835, published in its column: "As Don Quixote would have expiated his sins by the self-inflicted stripes of his squire, so His Majesty is determined to repair his own extravagance by curtailing the allowances of some of his servants and dismissing others."62 Besides this, he desired to form a new ministry and abolished the custom of money-lenders' seizing the person of the debtor and those of his family members which then prevailed in Awadh. Household furniture, clothings and agricultural implements were no more to be seized in distraint for arrears of rent. Forced labour under any pretext was no longer to be exacted from individuals. Self-immolation of widows was strictly prohibited and four commissioners were appointed 63 for the enforcement of these regulations. Moreover, the King of Awadh prohibited the practice of kidnapping of male as well as female children and their sale as slaves.64 Order was issued for the foundation of a college at Lucknow for the spread of western education among the people.65 Finally he gave to the Company's government a sum of 3,50,000 rupees as a loan for the establishment of an hospital and a school of medicine at Lucknow.66 But

<sup>62.</sup> Quoted in Asiatic Journal & Monthly Register etc., September, 1835, Part II, pp. 11-12.

<sup>63.</sup> India Gazette, the 30th May, 1833.

<sup>64.</sup> Asiatic Journal & Monthly Register etc. October, 1833.

<sup>65.</sup> Delhi Gazette quoted in Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register etc., December, 1833.

<sup>66.</sup> Political Letter to the Court of Directors, No. 18, para 211, 1834.

this course of action could not be long pursued by the King who once again gave himself up to the pleasures of his harem. His Minister, Roshun ud Dowla and his friends began amassing wealth by measures tending to impoverish the country. The administration of justice totally broke down. Judges took bribes under the very eye of His Majesty. The revenue farmers in the country's interior rack-rented the zamindars and the ryots. The stronger zamindars refused to pay the high rentals, fortified their villages and gave armed resistance to the revenue farmers. servants and sepoys did not receive their salaries and eked out their livings through improper means.67 These deplorable things drew the attention of the Board of Directors in London who empowered the government at Fort William to place the kingdom of Awadh under the management of British officers if necessary.68 But Bentinck gave to the King of Awadh one more chance of improving his adiminstration and warned him that the authority thus given, would be acted upon without any further warning if he were to fail in improving his administration.69

The Court's directives and the Governor General's warining produced wholesome effect specially on the conduct of the King's Minister's who fearing that they would lose their lucrative posts under the management of their country by British officers, began to pay more attention to administrative work than they had done before. As a result the country again wore an orderly and prosperous appearance.70 But after some time the feeling of alarm wore off and the Ministers became lax in their exertion.

The King went on with his habits of dissipation and extravagance. Huge sums of money were spent from the hoard of treasures left by Nawab Saadat Ali over and above the country's revenue, and as the Resident pointed out, during a reign of not quite nine years King Nasir ud Din Haider squandered, in addition to the public revenue, six crores of rupees in cash,71 In one day he spent one

lack dres prop

"son of w caus

of lo socie Euro favo situa India with dece set a morr catio same neve quen Some mark

> Wom and ] pand child palac and r a res

asked

his d

72. 73.

74.

<sup>67.</sup> Delhi Gazette, the 1st July, 1835.

Foreign Political Letter from the Court of Directors, the 16th July, 1834.

<sup>69.</sup> Foreign Political Letter to the Court of Directors, the 19th February, 1835.

<sup>70.</sup> F.P.C. No. 92, the 6th March, 1837.

<sup>71.</sup> F.P.C. No. 62, the 26th September, 1836.

603

#### KING NASIR UD DIN HAIDER OF AWADH

lack of rupees — 50,000 on two head dresses and 50,000 in making dresses" for the celebration of the birth of some imaginary prophets."72.

Moreover, like the Queen Mother, the King too had established "some absurd ceremonies" which he called "Achhoota" the forms of which the Muslims of the city regarded as idolatrous and which caused a heavy expenditure.<sup>73</sup>

Nasir ud Din Haider had a strong predilection for the company of lowly persons. He never expressed the slightest desire for the society of respectable men. His most intimate associate, both European and Indian, were menials in his service. His principal favourite for a considerable time was Mr. Derusett who held the situation of his barber. There were also three or four Anglo-Indians-both male and female-who sat at wine with him, danced with him in masquerade dresses and committed all sorts of indecent follies. His revels and dinner parties began daily at sunset and generally did not terminate till 3 or 4 O'clock in the next morning when he was "led off to bed in a state of complete intoxication" from which he arose in the afternoon to recommence "the same round of dissipation." His love of wine was great and he never concealed this bad propensity. Accordingly he was frequently seen intoxicated "in his evening drives about the city." Sometimes, he even came on foot in a state of drunkenness to the marketplace, bought things of trifling value, articulated nonsense, asked ridiculous questions to the shopkeepers and sadly lowered his dignity by conduct totally unworthy of his situation.74

The worst trait in his character was his uncontrolled lust for women. He had already married ten or twelve girls of low birth and loose profession and still he was ever in search of them. The panders to his vices procured from the city fair-looking female children as well as young women and sent them to the royal palace. Consequently, many wives and daughters lost their honour and many a family its peace and reputation. He forcibly separated a respectable man from his devoted wife, turned him out of the

who

His

alth

tra-

the

ry's iger

ages

ng's

out

ngs

em-

of y.68

im-

hus

he

ing

ıg's

sts

gan

ne

os-

rm

aes

nd

rs

lic

ne

ly,

y,

<sup>72.</sup> F.P.C. No. 92, the 6th March, 1837.

<sup>73.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74.</sup> Ibid.

city and insisted on marrying his wife (then pregnant) without even waiting for a divorce. To him the young Anglo-Indian females were things of greatest attraction and the Christian female school at Lucknow was his target. In the early part of the year 1836, he enticed two Anglo-Indian girls away from their studies and enrolled them among his concubines. The system of procuring young girls was extended from the city to the country and finally to the British District of Kanpur. To

The effect of this continued debauchery by Nasir ud Din was bad for the country's administration and worse for his own physique. His strength and vigour ebbed out. He remained for some time an exhausted husk of a man and on the 7 July, 1837, sank into the grave.

75. Ibid.76. F.P.C. No. 62, the 26th September, 1836.

was
the who
polit
terri
Brit
The
Coun
ing
1807
feare
Fren

nista agair the achie in or mona stuar Civil abilit

jeopa

think

2. Secret

.1.

3. J. 3

## Elphinstone's Mission to Kabul

BY

#### Dr. S. R. Bakshi, Delhi

Situated beyond the North-Western frontier of India which was the expected route of Napoleon Bonaparte's advance towards the East, Kabul's strategic importance was realised by Lord Minto I who did not think it feasible to leave it out of the chain of his political missions sent abroad. The ruthless plan of military and territorial aggrandizement of Napoleon towards the East made the British Government in India conscious of the apparent danger. The presence of the envoy from France, General Gardanne in the Court of Persia and his diplomatic manoeuvres ultimately resulting in a Treaty of Alliance between the two countries on 4 May, 1807, were also seriously viewed by the British Government. They feared that Afghanistan like Persia might fall an easy prey to the French political snare and thus prove instrumental in injuring and jeopardizing British interests in India.

Lord Minto viewed the prevailing situation seriously and thinking that the establishment of the British influence in Afghanistan would interpose a strong barrier to the French manoeuvres against India, he decided to court the friendship of Shah Shujah, the King of Afghanistan by possible diplomatic measures. To achieve his objective, he decided to despatch a mission to Kabul, in order to negotiate a defensive Treaty of Alliance with the Afghan monarch.<sup>2</sup> The choice for this gubernatorial post fell upon Mountstuart Elphinstone,<sup>3</sup> a young talented member of the Company's Civil Service who had risen rapidly by giving proofs of his great ability and resources as British Resident at the Maratha Court of

J. 38

out ian

ale ear ies

arnd

as

si-

ne

ito

<sup>1.</sup> Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 7 Feb. 1808.

<sup>2.</sup> Persian Secy. to King of Kabul, 19 Aug. 1808. Foreign Department, Secret and Separate, 23 Aug. 1808, Con. No. 3.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid.

Poona. Besides, he was fairly conversant with the language, manners and customs of the native Princes.4

The mission reached Peshawar on 5 March, 1809. By this time, Shuja-ul-Mulk's position in Afghanistan had become critical. Though he was still the de jure monarch of Kabul, he had lost his hold over it. The British mission was received at Peshawar and not at Kabul, his lost metropolis, as a serious internecine conflict was raging between Kabul and Kandahar and further advancement of the mission into the mainland of Afghanistan was not without grave risks both to the British Mission and the interests of the reigning monarch.5

After a 'tedious' ceremony of introduction, the King accorded the British envoy a cordial reception. The British envoy apprized the Afghan monarch of the intelligence his Government had received regarding Napoleon's alleged programme of expansion towards India through his territory; and his diplomatic manoeuvres to seek the military co-operation of the Government of Persia in this adventure on the basis of the previous alliance6 with it. Napoleon was said to have promised Persia the whole of the Afghan monarch's territory and a part of India as the price of its co-operation with him in the conquest of the East. The envoy suggested to the King that in the face of a strong combination of this kind endangering both Afghanistan and India, he and the British Government should unite against the common danger and thus put a stiff resistance to the sinister designs of the French Proconsul.7

Shah Shujah evinced interest in British envoy's disclosure of the French designs in the East and frightened by the fear of a new impending danger to the integrity of his state, he responded favourable to Elphinstone's proposal for checkmating the French menace.8 Notwithstanding these outward appearances of an apparent desire of the King to agree to Elphinstone's proposals, the Court of Kabul entertained doubt and distrust in the British

plea Kh and mis adv

tone the grea allia fore obje on t the

Elph to a thus Abd ende assis rebe. of K mona of th Afgh and they him t Chie assist

be do

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 5 March, 1809, FDSS. 29 March, 1809. Con. No. 1.

<sup>6.</sup> Refer to the Treaty of Finkenstein, 4 May, 1807.

<sup>7.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 8 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 Apr. 1809, Con. No. 2.

<sup>9.</sup> Con. I

<sup>10.</sup> 11.

<sup>12.</sup> 13. 24.

### ELPHINSTONE'S MISSION TO KABUL

607

plea and apprehended British designs in Afghanistan.9 Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Sya, was most critical of the British objects and designs in Afghanistan. 10 These whisperings against the British mission crystalized into prejudices and the King was strongly advised to be cautious.

These prejudices could not remain long hidden from Elphinstone's notice. He discovered that of all the Afghan ministers at the Court of Kabul, Akram Khan, the Ameen-ool-Mulk wielded greatest influence, power and authority and no effective friendly alliance could be possible without his concurrence. He, therefore, approached him and after acquainting him with the aims and objects of his mission in a convincing manner, asked for his advice on the possible basis of the negotiations to be conducted between the two Governments.11

After meeting Shah Shujah and Akram Khan separately, Elphinstone began negotiations with the entire Court with a view to allaying doubts and suspicions in the minds of the ministers, thus furthering the cause of his mission. At one of these meetings, Abdul Hussan Khan and Moolla Jaffar, two prominent ministers, endeavoured to persuade the envoy to supply some pecuniary assistance to Shah Shujah to enable him to suppress the internal rebellion of Shah Mahmood, one of the contestants to the throne of Kabul who had strongly defied the authority of the reigning monarch and raised the banner of revolt against him.12 In support of this proposal, they impressed upon the British envoy that the Afghans were a powerful people to cope with all foreign invaders and in the event of a Franco-Persian attack on Afghanistan, they would not require British assistance.13 They tried to convince him that if Shah Shujah was replaced by another rebellious Afghan Chief before the probable Franco-Persian interference, British assistance to him "would cost the British millions, what might now be done for thousands."14 By way of elucidation, they stated that

is

1.

st r

1-

t

d

d

£ 1

S

<sup>9.</sup> Elphinstone to Edmonstone, 10 March, 1809, FDSS., 3 April, 1809, Con. No. 20.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, March 15, 1809, FDSS., Apr. 29, 1809, Con. No. 5.

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid.

608

the Franco-Persian invasion would by no means be formitable, unless aided by internecine divisions. They were also candid enough to admit that the war with these countries concerned them as much as it did the British. 16

Mountstuart Elphinstone had definite instructions from the Governor-General to confine his activities strictly to a Defensive Alliance with the Afghan King against the Franco-Persian move. He, therefore, did not show any inclination to deviate from the policy laid down for him and refused to take any part of the fratricidal conflicts of the Afghans.<sup>17</sup>

To achieve his end, he apprized the Afghan ministers of the vastness of the French military power and resources and of the danger to which their State would be exposed, if they remained unprepared to meet their 'artful and insidious policy'. These arguments of Elphinstone had only little effect on the minds of the Afghan ministers who continued to harp on their old tune, making it somewhat difficult to reach an agreed settlement.<sup>18</sup>

During the course of negotiations at Peshawar, virtually the entire Afghanistan became ablaze with internal rebellions that caused disorder and confusion everywhere. Shah Mahmood, Shah Shujah's son, Prince Camran and a number of other Princes of the Afghan royal family, made common cause with Fateh Khan, the Chief of a 'very considerable tribe,' and raised the standard of revolt against Shah Shujah at a time when more than half of his army had gone on an expedition to Kashmir. The remnants of the army at his disposal could hardly be a match for the rebels.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from his weak military resources Shah Shujah's position was unsound on account of the existing political pattern in Afgha-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ma the

nis

inl

all

mi lik

Or

COL

his

tica fin of

the

Th

cia

Mu Kh par two

Fre tan

rat

pre as

2

No.

No.

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

<sup>19.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 10 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 3.

<sup>20.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

nistan, a major portion of which practically belonged to and was inhabited by a congress of tribes. These tribes owed only nominal allegiance to their King to whom they were obliged to render military service and pay only a small revenue. They were a warlike people and by nature and temparament brooked no superior. Only a person stronger and more resourceful than Shah Shujah could have ridden rough-shod over them and kept them under his iron heels. This was the dismal picture of the tribal tracts which constituted the mainland of Afghanistan.

Another cause of Shah Shujah's weak position was that the major revenue-yielding areas of the Afghan kingdom which were the conquered parts outside the tribal land, had nearly thrown off his yoke and gone out of his control, making the King financially resourceless. Thus at this juncture of serious internal political disturbances, Shah Shujah found his position militarily and financially weak, the only ray of his hope being the possibility of the return of his main troops from Kashmir.<sup>21</sup>

On 16 March, 1809, Moolla Jaffar invited Elphinstone to spend the day with him in the tents, pitched in one of the King's gardens. The British envoy was accompanied by his advisers, Alexander and Strachey; and Moolla Jaffar by his colleagues, Cauzee Sher Muhammad Khan, Sheikh-ool-Islam and Meer Abool Hussan Khan.<sup>22</sup> At this meeting, the British envoy explained to the Afghan party the feasibility of a treaty of defensive alliance between the two Governments which would in effect checkmate the probable French advance towards the East and remove, with British assistance, the danger to which Afghanistan was exposed.<sup>23</sup> But the Afghan diplomats insisted on an alliance of offensive and defensive nature not only against France, but also against all their enemies.<sup>24</sup> This proposal did not find favour with the British envoy who expressed the inability of his Government to enter into such a league as the British Government did not want to embroil itself in the

ole,

did

em

the

ive ve.

the

tri-

the

the

ned

gu-

the

ing

the

hat

ah

of

an,

ard

of

nts

s.20

ion

na-

on.

on.

on.

<sup>21.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

<sup>22.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 19 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 6.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24.</sup> Ibid.

internal squabbles of Afghanistan, because it was not physically possible for the Afghan monarchy to afford its military assistance to the British in their wars in various parts of the world.25

Having gauged the moods and sentiments of the King and his ministers, the British envoy prepared the draft of a Treaty26 in which he stated in the first instance that friendship would subsist between the two Governments; secondly, the Government of Kabul would not allow passage to the French army through its territory; and, thirdly, the British Government would help the Government of Kabul in case of an attack on it by the French. When these proposals were presented to Shah Shujah, they did not meet with his full concurrence as they did not serve the purpose.

Moolla Jaffar also informed the British envoy that his proposals would not serve the purpose of his Government and asked him to introduce 'something more enticing' to his monarch than what he had offered.27 After the exchange of these views, he presented the draft of a treaty to Elphinstone in which he expressed his King's willingness to establish friendly relations with the British and his assurance not to allow passage to the French through his territory. With this preamble, he solicited British help both in men and money to quell the internal disturbances in Afghanistan.<sup>28</sup> But the British envoy objected to the last proposal and made it clear to Moolla Jaffer that it would be inconvenient, perhaps impossible, for his Government to assist Shah Shujah with troops. He, however, gave a vague verbal assurance of pecuniary assistance to Afghanistan, but did not collaborate it in another draft of the treaty which he presented to Shah Shujah at a later date under changed circumstances, when the danger of Napoleon's advance towards India became remote and the critical internal situation in Afghanistan enhanced the importance of British financial help to the Afghan monarch.29

His 1 than ed, c weak imme ened positi almo were

tance only grant heavy rupee gain the N of the Mekr Indus subjec

I

Hussa Sind two la tish er relatio

<sup>25.</sup> Translation of a letter from Elphinstone to the Afghan Council of Ministers, 11 April, 1809, FDSS., 27 May

<sup>27.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 19 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. .No. 6.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30.</sup> Journal 31. 32 33. No. 9.

<sup>34.</sup> 35. 36.

<sup>37.</sup> 38,

ELPHINSTONE'S MISSION TO KABUL

The subsequent events made Shah Shujah revise his attitude. His troops sent to Kashmir met with severe reverses. Not more than two thousand of them could return safely, though dismounted, disarmed and wholly disorganized. Taking advantage of this weak military position of the Kabul Government Shah Mahmood immediately resumed the offensive, occupied Kandahar and threatened the gates of Peshawar.<sup>30</sup> The King's army was not in a position to checkmate such an advance.<sup>31</sup> His exchequer was almost depleted and his means of mustering any considerable force were utterly deficient.<sup>32</sup>

In this crisis, Shah Shujah urgently solicited pecuniary assistance from the British Government as it was thought to be the only way to ensure the stability of his throne.<sup>33</sup> He asked for a grant of rupees fifteen lacs.<sup>34</sup> Considering this demand to be too heavy for the Company's resources, Elphinstone recommended only rupees three lacs.<sup>35</sup> By promising this financial aid, he hoped to gain certain advantages for his Government such as command of the Northern route from Persia to India; control over navigation of the Indus; British influence over the Chiefs of Seestaun and Mekraun and over the hilly tract between their States and the Indus. The Chiefs of all these places were, in different degrees, subject to the King of Kabul.<sup>36</sup>

Actually pressed by the need for more money, Meer Abool Hussan and Moolla Jaffar made an overture to Elphinstone offering Sind to the British Government in mortgage for a sum of rupees two lacs per annum.<sup>37</sup> But this proposal was rejected by the British envoy as its acceptance would have spoilt British Government's relations with the Ameers of Sind.<sup>38</sup>

 $ll_{V}$ 

ice

nis

in

ist

ul

у;

nt

se

th

ls

to

1e

d

's

is

7.

d

e

0

-

0

e

e

C

<sup>30.</sup> Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 20 April, 1809; Calcutta Monthly Journal, June, 1809, pp. 683-85.

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 22 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 9.

<sup>34.</sup> Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 20 April, 1809.

<sup>35.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 28 March, 1809, FDSS., 13 May, 1809, Con. No. 4.

<sup>37.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

But unhappily for Shah Shujah, events in Europe took such a turn that the policy of the British Government underwent a change. Napoleon had to suspend the execution of his designs upon India on account of his involvement in the Peninsular War. The danger of a French invasion having thus become remote, the British Government changed its mind and did not think it necessary to purchase the goodwill and co-operation of Shah Shujah at a heavy price, 39 as it could hope for no advantages from Kabul. This decision of the British Government was applauded by the Court of Directors 40 as the disbursement of the financial aid to the Afghan King might have unnecessarily involved the British in the internal complications in Afghanistan and jeopardized the chance of establishing friendly relations with the future Government of Kabul in the event of the subversion of Shah Shujah's authority.

Notwithstanding his disappointment at the marked change in the attitude of the British and loss of hope of extracting advantageous terms from them, Shah Shujah considered a friendly alliance with a big power as of some gain to him. He, therefore, became inclined to accept the terms which Elphinstone offered soon after. In these terms, it was stipulated that Shah Shujah would oppose the Franco-Persian march towards India through Afghanistan; that the British Government would defray the expenses of such opposition and both the parties would act on these articles till the Franco-Persian confederacy continued; that the contracting parties would not interfere in each others' internal affairs; that the Shah would not allow the French to enter his territories; and, that friendship and union would ever subsist between the two countries.

This treaty was intended to establish friendship between British India and Afghanistan with an assurance of complete non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. By it the British Government was assured of the co-operation of the Court of Kabul in checkmating the probable French advance towards India without incurring any reciprocal obligation to render assistance to Shah Shujah against his deadly internal enemies. The promise of the Afghan monarch in regard to the prevention

Brit From got although

of a

grea pow assis into gave dang

muc

General its r Shuj there in A to ta under consrisky Indu

41.

42. 43.

Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 20 April, 1809.
 Secret Letter from C. D., 6 March, 1812.

of any future French establishment in Afghanistan relieved the British Government of its constant headache on the North-Western Frontier of India for some time. Besides, the British Government got in Afghanistan a buffer state between India and Persia, although its potentiality and stability were uncertain. These were the solid advantage desired by the British from this Treaty.

But to Shah Shujah this treaty hardly proved to be of any great advantage, besides his friendship with the rising foreign power in India. It simply assured him of the British financial assistance against the apprehended Franco-Persian incursion into his country with the ultimate object of invading India. This gave Shah Shujah a partial sense of security against an external danger from the Western side.

The successful mission and the advantageous treaty were very much applauded in the British press. In India, the Governor-General put his signature on the treaty on 19 June, 1809. Before its ratified copy could reach Peshawar to be handed over to Shah Shujah, neither the King nor the British envoy could be found there to exchange its authentication. All of a sudden, the affairs in Afghanistan took a very serious turn. The King was obliged to take the field with the small disorderly army against the rebels under Shah Mahmood. In this critical situation, Elphinstone considered the continuance of his mission at Peshawar extremely risky and on the 14 June, 1809, he began his return towards the Indus, accompanied by his retinue. Soon after, he received the unhappy news of the reversal of the fortunes of Shah Shujah.

a

e.

ia

er .

V- .

r- .

y

1- .

of

n

al

**b-**

in

in

1-

y

e,

h

h

e e

e al

is

t-

h h il a e e

<sup>41.</sup> Elphinstone to Minto, 27 July, 1809, FDSS., 5 Sept. 1809, Con. No. 26.

<sup>42.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid.

J. 39

KH

bour raho of E Kan of th 200 Gup of th serv insp

> been whice Prake 1964 pero It is men

nece

two

dress artic and are s wom the a

pillo Fron

#### Reviews

KHAJURAHO, (A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society): By Vidya Prakash, M.A., Ph.D., 1967. Taraporevala Sons & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., 210, Dr. P. Naoroji Road, Bombay.

Any study of Khajuraho, with its rich variety of sculptures, is bound to provoke very keen interest. Now a small village, Khajuraho had, at one time, been the capital of the Chandella Rajputs of Bundelkhand who rose as the feudatories of the Pratiharas of Kanauj in the ninth century and continued in power until the end of the thirteenth century. Appearing on the scene of history from 200 B.C. it had its cultural efflorescence under the Sungas and the Guptas. Its artistic excellence reached its climax during the time of the Chandellas. The local temples in different stages of preservation have their distinctive features and their construction, inspired by the Chandellas must have spread over more than two centuries.

Particular aspects of the art and culture of this region have been studied in the past by recognised experts. The present work which is the enlarged version of the thesis submitted by Dr. Vidya Prakash for the Doctorate degree of the Lucknow University in 1964 attempts to give a complete picture of the materially prosperous social life in Central India during the period 800-1000 A.D. It is based on a critical study of sculptural representations, supplemented by that of inscriptions and literary works wherever necessary.

The author introduces us to the local temples; and deals with dress, ornaments, hair-styles, cosmetics; furniture and household articles; music, dance, painting; games and amusements; education and learning; and religious conditions of the period. No chariots are seen in the military scenes and though the presence of armed women is noticed one cannot say whether they used to serve in the army. We are introduced to a people who, with a remarkable knowledge of folding technique, used tables, bedsteads, foot-stools, pillows and cushions, flower vases, caskets and jewellery boxes. From the tenth century onwards some of the temples served as

int

of

hel

hir

his

ped

ser

fro

spi

are

tur

ple

110

att:

fer

art

cor

ear

PH

Cr

unc

wh

acc

pre

adv

duc

acc

elal

cha

clai

OW

centres of advanced education and there was training in arms and fine arts. Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism prevailed, the last being dominant. The co-existence of temples dedicated to different gods points to a period of religious toleration. Blacksmithing, goldsmithing, wood-carving, stone-carving pottery, weaving and tailoring, rope-making, and manufacture of cosmetics, oil and liquor were popular trades. Agriculturists, cattle-rearers, hunters, teachers, physicians, surgeons, barbers, washermen, domestic servants, labourers, musicians, government servants and others plied their respective professions. In short the sculptures reveal every aspect of social life to an observant scholar.

As for the erotic sculptures which have attracted popular attention most, they are in small number, hidden in inconspicuous corners. Were they intended to avert the evil eye? Or to attract the common man to the House of God? Or to test the concentration of the devotee? Or to arouse a feeling of disgust against the objectionable practices of the Digambara monks? Were they portraying the religious rites of some of the ascetics like the kapalikas? The author's attempt is to study these sculptures from a historical perspective. Indians, no mere philosophers, considered kama as one of the ideas to be pursued and never frowned upon it. Sex had its place in religion and literature, general and technical; woman and voluptuousness formed the theme of art to some extent. The artist, brought up in this tradition, could never have ignored sex. He adopted mithuna motif as a symbol of material prosperity and worldly contentment. The single sculptures depict the life of the upper strata of society while the mithuna motifs were inspired by Kamasutra. Just as the writers on erotics, the artists too emphasised uncommon bandhas "as if only through the unknown and the abnormal can sexual frenzy be fully conveyed" and through the unnatural they tried to "impart thrill and arouse curiosity." The mediaeval Indian erotic literature, the author adds, was more a pleasant reading, a pastime, than "a guide for married couples." He interprets that the portrayal of bandhas relating to animals might have been to show that the basic urges of animals and men are the same. Sex and religion were inter-linked from early times and in the early mediaeval period when moral degradation set in and royalty and nobility kept large harems and found drinking pleasant, when the Kamasutra and its interpretations served to satisfy the "jaded appetite" of the decadent age and when sexual

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

and

ast

ent

ng,

and

ers,

er-

ied

ery

lar

ous

act ra-

the

or-

as?

cal

ma

ex al; nt.

ed

of

ed

m-

nd

gh

y."

re

s." als

en

es

in

ng

to

al

intercourse got the status of a sacred ritual, the artist, the product of his age who developed a positive attitude to life, could not have helped portraying, without any inhibition, what he saw around him. "The artist was bound to carve them. His age demanded it; his society approved of it; his religion sanctioned it; he was equipped for it by his age-old artistic tradition...."

The author's interpretation, correct or otherwise, merits our serious attention. Independent and critical judgment and freedom from philosophical prudery, characteristic of those who stress India's spiritual other-worldliness to the utter disregard of the material, are refreshing features of the book. From the threads of sculptural details the young scholar has woven, for the first time, a pleasing fabric of mediaeval Indian social life in all its variety. 110 photographs and 350 line drawings make the work really attractive. As Nihar Ranjan Ray indicates in the Foreword, a reference to the grand economic resources that sustained much artistic activity over such a long period would have made the study complete. We warmly welcome the book, the product of very earnest effort.

P. K. K. MENON.

PHITSUTRAS OF SANTANAVA: Ed. by G. V. Devasthali, University of Poona, Poona, 1967.

The work under review has been issued as No. 1 in the class C publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Poona, under the general direction of Dr. D. N. Dandekar. This book which may be succinctly described as "a short manual of Sanskrit accentuation" naturally arouses great expectations as it has been prepared in an institution which "at present is concentrating on advanced study and research in the field of Veda and Vyākaraṇa."

The present edition is equipped with a comprehensive Introduction dealing with the abstruse theme of Phitsūtras and Vedic accentuation; a readable translation of the original sūtras, and elaborate and thought-provoking notes of a critical and exegetical character amply repaying careful perusal. It has been justly claimed on its behalf that it resuscitates, with novel features of its own, Kielhorn's edition of the same work brought out in 1866.

Whereas Kielhorn's edition included Bhattoji's commentary as found in the Siddhāntakaumudī, Nageśa's as found in the Laghuśabdenduśekhara, and a Vrtti by an unidentified author, the present work undertakes the edition of the text of 'Sāntanava's sūtras
only, based mainly on three MSS procured from the Curator of
the BORI, Poona. It may be noted that the text of the Phitsūtras
offered by Prof Devasthali has been determined with reference
not only to the three MSS mentioned above, but also to other works
like the Svarasiddhānta Candrikā, the Laghuśabdenduśekhara, the
Praudhamanoramā, the Svaraprakāśa, the Svaramañjarī, and the
Kāśikā. In the circumstances, it is doubtful whether any significant gains in regard to textual clarity would have been made by
collating other MSS of the Sūtras known to exist in MSS collections like those of the University of Kerala.

The aim of composition of the Phitsūtras, i.e., sūtras dealing with the accents of Phits or Prātipadikas, was to stem the deterioration and prevent the threatened disappearance of the phenomena of accents in the sphere of Vaidika and laukika Sanskrit. fact lends colour to the theory that Sanskrit in all its phases had been a spoken language in which accent played an important part. In upholding this view, Prof. Devasthali disagrees with Kielhorn who had remarked "that for 'Santanava the language was a dead (one), while for Pāṇini it was a living ones." The difficulties of elucidation facing the editor of the Phitsūtras may be appreciated from the fact that in 87 or 88 aphorisms the author has attempted to lay down rules relating to the accents not only of Pratipadikas or underived 'crude words' but also of Krdantas, taddhitāntas, and samāsas. Divided into four pādas or parts, the sūtras deal, as a rule, with antodattas, adyodattas, madhyodattas, and nityasvaritas. A certain amount of overlapping has, of course, been unavoidable, but the resulting confusion has been cleared up with exemplary thoroughness and notable acuteness by the present editor in his bold and copious comments on every one of these sutras.

As an illustration of commendable editorial work may be mentioned the critical examination of II. 17 (p. 99) where it is concluded that the expression viśesa occurring in the sūtra cannot be placed at its end as has been done by the Vṛttikāra. Again, as examples of useful comments may be commended the editor's remarks on sūtras II. 21 to II. 26 while his observations on III. 16

dis the it dir the scl

(p

the

list for tua (p.

of

der bri lon

TH

edi not ter (pp. 124 ff) bear witness to the thoroughness with which he has discharged his editorial duties. In fact the quality and sweep of the exegesis offered in this book may be gauged from the fact that it is based on a vast field of relevant grammatical literature including the Nirukta, the Mahābhāṣya, the Pradīpa, the Kāśikāvṛtti, the writings of Bhaṭṭoji and Nageśa as well as the works of modern scholars like Macdonell.

ıu-

re-

ras

of

ras

ice

ks he

he

ni-

by

ec-

ng

io-

na

nis ad

rt.

rn

ad

of

ed

ed

as

nd

a

s.

e, :y

is

is

1-

1,

s

Among the editor's more striking deductions may be listed the following:

- (1) Sāntanava had a gaṇapāṭha different from Pāṇini's;
- (2) He belonged to a school of grammarians different from Pāṇini's;
- (3) At least in one case the author has deviated from his avowed stand that Prātipadikas are avyutpannas;
- (4) The phenomena of accentuation were not confined to the language of the Vedas.

Besides the index of sūtras and the index of words, a small list of errata might also have been usefully included in this work; for, words like 'only' on p. 3 are redundant, and others like "eccentuation" (p. 5) 'hese' (p. 15), 'from' (p. 16), 'Premises itself' (p. 41), matā (p. 62), Vastasara (p. 69), Prayajanam (p. 82), etc., are wrongly spelt. The omission of the symbol KV from the list of abbreviations may also be rectified.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Prof. Devasthali has rendered a signal service to the world of grammatical scholarship by bringing out this volume on the subject of accentuation which has long, too long, been neglected by Sanskritists in India and abroad.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

## THE SPHOTANIRNAYA: Edited by S. D. Joshi, 1967.

This is book number 2 in Class C Publications of CAS, Poona, edited with Introduction, Translation, and Critical and exegetical notes by Sri S. D. Joshi. The edited text forms the XIVth Chapter of the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra of Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa traditionally considered to have been a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the cele-

brated author of the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā. The last 14 verses of Bhattoji's work tegether with Kauṇḍabhatṭa's comment on them have been singled out by Sri Joshi for translation, critical examination and elucidatory comments in the work under feview. The immediate inspiration for the work seems to have been the editor's conviction that, in view of the steadily increasing interest in the study of Indian semantics, "highly abstruse texts dealing with the theory of meaning — such as Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's work — require to be rendered into English intelligibly" (P. ii). The claim of this particular section of the Bhūṣaṇasāra for translation is grounded in the fact that "it is an excellent epitome on (sic.) the Sanskrit Grammarians' theory of language-meaning" (Ibid.).

The general Introduction in 91 pages attempts a critical and historical review of the inception, growth, and final ramifications of the theory of Sphota in the writings of outstanding Sanskrit grammarians. While the editor's attempt to set forth ancient Indian theories of expression and meaning through the medium of modern linguistic terminology is laudable, it may be pointed out that in several instances his understanding of the theories in question and some of his main conclusions may not find ready acceptance. For example, it is true 'that the later grammarians identify the significative level of language with the sphota concept' (P. 4); but it may not, by any means, be taken for granted that the earlier writers like Bhartrhari were unaware of the bearing of Sphota on the problem of meaning. From among these verses in the Vakyapadiya (V. P.) where this intimate bearing is brought out, one calls for special notice, viz., I. 44 — dvāvupādāna śabdeṣu, etc. Here is an indisputable reference to "the linguistic sign, the twosided entity, which has a Janus-like perspective in two directions" pointing to expression and content, sound and sense. (Vide Indian Theories of Meaning, pp. 118 ff, Dr. K. K. Raja, Madras, 1963). It is significant that Sri Joshi has not referred in his Introduction to this verse, presumably because the term Sphota does not find a place in it. But the relevant problem is the elucidation of Bhartrhari's concept of Sphota, and, therefore, all verses in the Vakyapadiya concerned with it merit equal attention.

Again, Sri Joshi emphatically asserts that "Patañjali never shows implicitly or explicitly any relation between Sphota and the single indivisible meaning-bearing word" (p. 20). The Editor's

opin bea to \$ that the yen the imp

tade

tatio beer hens to th the of l Vail On who spea Bha bein prin clusi tible prov

\*/5

book

CON

Natio

14

nt

cal

W.

he

est

ng

he

on

:.)

.

nd

ns

rit

nt

m

ut

S-

p-

fy

);

er

on

a-

ne

tc.

0-

s"

an

). on a

Ţ-

a-

ıd

's

opinion is that Patanjali does not regard Sphota as the meaning-bearing entity. It is true that Patanjali does not explicitly ascribe to Sphota the function of communicating the sense of words and that in his comment on Paninisūtra 8.2.18 Sphota is not used in the sense of meaning-bearer. But in his definition of 'sabda as yenoccāritena sāsnālāngūla ..... sampratyayo bhavati sa śabdaḥ the later notion of Sphota as meaning-bearer may be held to be implicit. Thus may be appreciated the relevancy of Nāgoji's remark 'idamekam padamekam vākyam iti pratyayah sphotasattve tadekatve ca pramāṇam' (Udyota, P. 18, MBhā. Vol. 1).

Apart from points such as these admitting of various interpretations and evaluations, it may be pointed out that no pains have been spared to make the Introduction and the notes as comprehensiive and helpful as possible. These bear eloquent testimony to the editor's familiarity with an immense stretch of literature on the subject, both in Sanskrit and English. Among the more lucid of his expositions are the remarks on the Prākṛta dhvani and Vaikrtadhvani (Pp. 25 ff) and those on kāraka 64 (Pp. 141, ff). On the other hand, inaccuracies in expression have not been wholly avoided. On P. 30 with reference to VP. I. 75, the editor speaks of 'the act of repeated perception of the sphota', while Bhartrhari is speaking of "distinctions in the manifesting sounds" being falsely ascribed to sphota. Similarly, notes on VP. 1.97, printed on pp. 32 and 33 do not easily make sense. Is colour exclusively inherent in the sense of vision? Are sounds imperceptible entities? The phrase pākānukūlaviklittyāśraya (P. 129) proves confusing, and may be a misprint for ".....krtyāśraya."

A list of errata as well as a list of abbrevations used in the book might have been usefully included.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

CONGRESS AND GONGRESSMEN IN THE PRE-GANDHIAN ERA (1885-1917): By Bimanbehari Majumdar and Bhakat Prasad Majumdar. Publishers: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta-12, Price Rs. 35.

Many books have appeared on the history of the Indian National Congress. The book under review seeks to provide an account of the Congress and Congressmen in the pre-Gandhian era.

J. 40

m

n

m

LC

C

lo

w

C

W.

vi

pa

lik

Cl

in

ce

ra

po

the

du

cat

a

ref

tim

the

obj

thr

use

we

as bro

obj

The year 1917 is taken as a landmark, because thencefor and Mahatma Gandhi dominated the Congress for these decades. It is undeniable that the dynamic personality of Mahatmaji converted the Congress into a powerful agency of mass movement.

Part I of the book contains 14 chapters which trace the genesis of the Congress and its progress down to 1917. The earliest epoch was an era of faith in and prayers to the British Government for the grant of various privileges. Lord Dufferin at first had welcomed the formation of the Congress, though later, he resented the demands made by the members. In July 1889, the British Committee of the Congress was constituted and an appeal was made to raise the age fixed for taking the I.C.S. examination, so that Indians also could have chances for entry into the service. On the whole, during its early career the Congress was content with a mendicant attitude praying for various privileges.

By 1906 the Extremists emerged with the valiant Bal Gangadhar Tilak as their permanent leader. The Moderates were for constitutional methods, and soon there appeared discord between the two wings of the Congress. With the Partition of Bengal and the consequent agitation, the Extremists assumed a formidable position. Many leaders were imprisoned. The services of the Extremists as well as of the Moderates are impartially assessed by the authors of the book. They write: "In every age and in every country the sympathy of the people goes to those who undergo sufferings rather than enjoy a life of ease and comfort. But it would be rank ingratitude to forget the services rendered by Moderate leaders in shaping public opinion in India and in preparing the country for the struggle for freedom." (p. 79).

A separate chapter is assigned for the consideration of the part played by the Muslims in the early stages of the national agitation. Sir Ahmed Khan was, from the outset, vehemently opposed to the Congress. He held that representative government was unsuited to India, because of the fundamental religious and social differences. But, in spite of him, many Muslims joined the Congress.

However the tension between the two communities ran high after the Partition of Bengal. The number of Muslim delegates to the Congress fell to 18 at the Varanasi session of the Congress in 1905. The creation of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with a majority of Muslim population and the encourage-

ment of the demand for special weightage for the Musilm community from persons in high authority in the Government of India made it possible to organise the Muslim League in 1906. But the League soon declared itself in favour of self-government, and the Congress warmly welcomed this move.

rd

It

ed

sis .

ch

or

el-

1e

n-

le

at

n

h

1-

r

n d

e

e

y

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was an enthusiastic member of the Congress, and in 1913, he proclaimed. "I say I am proud to belong to the Congress Party." It is, however, a great pity that he was not elected as President of the Congress. 1921, he left the Congress.

Part I contains also interesting details regarding the leaders who formed the inner circle of the Congress. In addition, it provides an account of the Indologists and Litterateurs who participated in the national organisation. The part played by persons like Ranade, Sachchidananda Sinha, Sarojini Naidu and Bepin Chandra Pal and above all by the members of the Tagore family is indicated.

The reforms suggested in the Congress included those concerning the improvement of education, freedom of the Press, separation of the Judiciary from the Executive and eradication of poverty. Part I of the book provides also an historical survey of the Congress, but there is a lack of cohesion among the Chapters.

Part II furnishes biographical sketches of the Congressmen during the period. The names are arranged alphabetically indicating the dates and the subject matter of their speeches. This is a valuable part of the book since it provides a source of ready reference regarding the role played by the various members.

Part III recounts the resolutions passed by the Congress from time to time and a short bibliography is provided at the end. On the whole the work is a successful attempt at presenting an objective history of the Indian National Congress during the first three decades of its activities. The authors have made a careful use of the annual report of the Congress memoirs, contemporary anti-Congress propagandist literature, journals and newspapers as well as unpublished diaries. But the work is incomplete so far as the history of the Congress is concerned. It should have been brought down to 1947, when the Congress achieved its primary objective.

K. K. PILLAY.

THE PARTITION OF INDIA, 1947: By C. H. Philips. Publishers:
The Leads University Press.

It is easy to be wise after the event; but, sometimes it is also possible to be unwise even after the event. If the Partition of India was an unfortunate blunder, the division of India into linguistic states within a decade of India's independence is a worse folly. If that were not complete for bringing about the disintegration of India, the present language muddle in respect of higher education can be expected to enact the final tragedy.

In the 24th Montague Burton lecture on International Affairs C. H. Philips examines the circumstances which led to the partition of India in 1947. He is inclined to hold that the failure to accept the 1935 Act earnestly and work it sincerely was the basic cause that led to the Partition. But he seems to forget that the safeguards provided for the minorities, the Services and the Princes were ultimately bound to lead to disastrous results.

The outbreak of the Second World War and its consequences, the resignation of the Congress Ministries in the Provinces, the advent of the Cripps Mission and later of the Cabinet Mission and their earnest efforts at an amicable settlement of the thorny problem are all described. The crux of the matter was that Gandhiji, with his high idealism and Jawaharlal Nehru, with his emotional approach to the whole question, were rather unsuited to negotiate with the astute Jinnah. "In negotiation Jinnah had time after time proved more than a match for the Congress, keeping it dancing around like a cannon on a dog's tail." (p. 26). In fact, it would seem that if Jinnah had been won over and had been made the chief leader, perhaps a division could have been averted at that moment. But it is extremely doubtful whether it could have been averted for a long time. The seed of separatism had been sown early and the plant had grown up vigorously.

K. K. PILLAY.

be Eu pa: trii hel org of

im

TI

and As accompliant the move suspense which and gle. this actic lead

the course tribut many found

the e

mur

found the destroy of a second of the second

TWO GREAT INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES: RASH BEHARI BOSE & JYOTINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE: By Uma Mukherjee. Publishers: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta 12, Price Rs. 15.

'S:

SO

of

g-

se

g-

er

rs

n

ot

se e-

S

d

1

e

Commonly the account of the Indian struggle for freedom has been associated with the leaders of the Indian National Congress. But outside its ranks there were several champions of freedom particularly in the early part of the present century. They contributed to the rise of a revolutionary movement which indirectly helped the cause of Indian freedom. Apparently it was not well-organised, and hence this movement was localised. But, in respect of the cumulative effect of the forces which quickened the minds of thinking Indians, the Revolutionaries have made their own important contribution.

This monograph traces the role played by Rash Behari Bose and Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee in the revolutionary movement. As an introduction to the study, Chapter I provides an historical account of the Indian revolutionary movement which started originally as the Secret Society of Bengal. After the suppression of the Manicktola conspiracy the first phase of the revolutionary movement in India terminated. The Anusilian Samiti which was suspected to be the inspiring force behind the revolutionary movement was crushed by the Government. But the revolutionary spirit which had been roused by the movement could not be obliterated and several men of fiery spirit secretly revived the political strug-Rash Behari Bose and Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee represent this second phase of the revolutionary movement. Their plan of action was much more comprehensive than that of the earlier leaders. They did not think of mere political dacoities or isolated murders, but they organised a planned rising against the British.

Their principal plan of action was to secure the support of the Indian army and to mobilise the help of anti-British powers outside India. Naturally they had to encounter severe trials and tribulations, and though they had to put up with frustration at many stages, their efforts did not prove ineffective. In fact, the foundations they laid were responsible for the organisation of the Azad Hind Fauj in East Asia during World War II. Moreover, the efforts of these revolutionaries made their own contributions to the ultimate liberation of India from foreign rule. Unfortu-

nately neither of these two fiery leaders lived long enough to witness the final fruits of their labours. Jyotindra Nath died in 1915 and Rash Behari Bose in 1945.

The book is in the main based on original sources and records, both official and non-official. Wherever there are conflicting views in the assessment of events, a judicious view has been taken, weighing in the balance all the available sources.

Though in several places of the book mention is made of Subhas Chandra Bose, an account of the Revolutionaries should have been widened in order to include a full treatment of that great figure. In several respects he stands out pre-eminent among the stalwart heroes of modern India.

K. K. PILLAY.

BRITISH BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN INDIA 1793-1837: "The History of Serampore and its Mission: By E. Daniel Potts. Publishers: Cambridge University Press. Price: 57s. 6d. net in U.K.

This is an account of the activities of the founders of the Baptist Mission, William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward at Serampore in Bengal during the period, 1793 to 1837. The book is based on the sources available in the Baptist archives and libraries.

The founders of the Mission at Serampore were remarkable men, though they were of humble birth. William Carey had started life as a shoe-maker, Joshua Marshmam as a school teacher and William Ward as a printer. Perhaps their humble beginnings helped them to undertake social reform earnestly as a preparation for the introduction of Christianity.

It is undeniable that the social conditions and moral standards were deplorable in India at the time. It is equally true that England of the 18th century was notorious for its corrupt politics, outrageous penal laws, grave economic injustices and most deep-rooted religious and social bigotry. But the Indian conditions were much worse, as admitted by writers like V. A. Narain and Nemai Sadhan Bose. However, it is unfair to state, as R. C. Majumdar has done,

the

of .

tha

all

the Misthe The has bee

ing it i

to t

ed

Rer

tion Gov at t uph wit

and

Gov

lent

in t

not did. fact on smire by o

Miss their that missionaries criticised Indian social wrongs without being at all 'provoked by similar abuses in their own society and religion'.

to

in

rds,

ews

en.

of

uld

hat

ong

AY.

he

tts.

net

he

am

he

res

ole

rt-

nd

gs on

ds

 $^{\mathrm{ad}}$ 

e-

 $_{\mathrm{ed}}$ 

ch

ın

e,

The expansion of the Missionary activities in Berhampore and the winning over of converts is described, followed by an account of the noble services done to the cause of education, journalism, and publication and translation of mostly religious works. By far the most important activity was in the field of social reform. Missionaries did tangible service in trying to discredit and remove the practices of Sati, slavery, infanticide, self-torture, exposure of the sick and the dying and the aggressive exclusiveness of caste. The real motive of the Missionaries in attempting social reforms has been often discussed. Primarily the object could well have been to win over converts by drawing lurid pictures of the existing social evils and trying to remove them. Even if this is granted, it is absolutely undeniable that the ultimate result was beneficial to the people. One has to admit that these Missionaries germinated the seed of social reform and helped the advent of the 'Indian Renaissance.'

A seperate Chapter is devoted to the examination of the relations of the Baptist Mission with the Government of India. The Government of the day at first co-operated with the Missions, but at times had to restrain their activities, when they felt that social upheavals might follow. For instance, Wellesley was concerned with the effects of the Baptists' Biblical publications. But by and large, the Missionaries maintained cordial relations with the Government. Lord Hastings officially visited Serampore and often lent moral and financial support to Serampores' work, especially in the field of education.

Finally, the question is considered as to why the Baptists did not succeed in converting much larger number of people than it did. The inborn conservatism of the people was an important fact. Secondly, both Hinduism and Christianity rested their claims on superficially much the same grounds: revelation supported by miracles, the accounts of which were handed down in books and by oral tradition. The habit of drinking wine, the failure of some Missionaries to move freely with the people and the severity of their criticisms of the social and religious practices were other causes. The most important fact was that some Hindu reformers,

628

influenced by the work of the Missionaries, tried to effect some desirable changes in the old customs and belief. "Without a Rammohan Roy, Christianity very probably would have made much more rapid formal progress than it did". (p. 227).

There have been several categories of Missionaries in India. They have done some good work in their cause; but, quite often, too, they were tempted to abuse their privileges and transgress their limits. However, the author's estimate that the Baptists were 'the architects and builders of a richer, broader concept of a missionary work' than the preceding and contemporary Missionaries, seems unsustainable, at least with reference to South India.

K. K. PILLAY.

pe

SC

cc

OI

0

K

of tv

Ra Se is

(4

th

of

re

kũ

bh

su

sai

the

vie

ins

VI

ins

poi

Bu

dhe

De

wh

PANJAB, PAST AND PRESENT, Vol. 1, Part 1, April 1967: Edited by Ganda Singh. Published by the Panjab University, Patiala-4. Price Rs. 5/-.

This Journal, intended to be bi-annual, is edited by the wellknown scholar, Ganda Singh. The Panjab, the cradle of Indian History, is taken to denote the "geographical unit, the inheritor, in fact a synonym of the Sapt-sindhu and not the Panjab of the medieval ages or modern times with its boundaries changing with political upheavals". The objective of the Journal is to study the history and culture of the Panjab in all aspects and of all ages, by analysing the socio-political factors that decided great military issues in the past, the religious movements that profoundly influenced the people and the freedom struggle of the Sikhs who practically have made the Panjab of today. Apart from scholarly articles, a delightful feature of the Journal is the publication of a number of rare historical papers which are not easily accessible to research scholars and the existence of which might have been forgotten by the present generation. The journal will evoke considerable interest and the series, in course of time, would serve to offer ample useful material for reference and research. congratulate Ganda Singh on his sincere venture and heartily welcome the new publication.

P. K. K. Menon.

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. IV, by V. V. Mirashi, published by Tara Publications, Varanasi, 1966; pages 239 (with Index) and 18 Plates; price Rs. 20.00.

1-

h

1,

SS

e

The work includes twentytwo papers (previously published in periodicals) from the erudite pen of one of our most distinguished scholars. The matter has been divided into two Sections, the first consisting of articles on Sanskrit literature and the other of those on ancient Indian history (mostly on Epigraphy and Numismatics). Of the nine papers in the first Section, two deal with the date of Kālidāsa (who is believed to have lived in c. 400 A.D. at the court of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, 376-413 A.D.) and another two with the location of the Rāmagiri (identified with modern Ramtek near Nagpur). Among the articles included in the second Section, the biggest is the one dealing with the Ganga era which is supposed to have started in the expired Saka year 420 (498-99 A.D.).

The papers on epigraphic records include those dealing with the Ahraura rock inscription of Aśoka, Pawni pillar inscription of 'Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma', Devnimori casket inscription of the reign of Rudrasena (Year 127), Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī grant of Rāṣtra-kūṭa Avidheya and Gwalior Museum inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu. In the article on the date of Nahapāna in the second Section support is given to the view that the dates in the records of the said ruler are to be referred to the Śaka era.

The papers included in the volume are well-written and thought-provoking, though we had occasions to differ from the views expressed in some of them. Thus, while editing the Ahraura inscription of Aśoka in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXVI, Part VI, April 1966, pp. 239 ff., we referred to Mirashi's paper on the inscription appearing in the Bhāratī, Part I, No. 5, pp. 135-40, and pointed out that the words oin maince Budhasa (yat mañcam Buddhasya) had been wrongly read by him as Sammamsambudhasa (Samyaksambuddhasya). Likewise, our views on the Devnimori and Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī inscriptions were published elsewhere.

There are some points raised in the articles included in the present volume, on which we had no occasion to offer any com-J. 41 ment previously even though we do not agree with the learned author. One such point of disagreement is offered by the Pawni (Bhandara District) pillar inscription of Rupiamma. Mirashi correctly reads the inscription as—

Sidham Mahakhattava-kumārasa Rupiammasa chāyā-khambho (siddham Mahākṣatrapa-kumārasya Rūpyammasya chāyāstambhah), but wrongly interprets it as referring to the memorial pillar of Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma and speaks of his rule over Vidarbha. In our opinion, Rupiamma was clearly a Mahākṣatrapa-kumāra (i.e. 'the son of the Mahākṣatrapa') and not a Mahākṣatrapa himself and, since the pillar merely shows that he breathed his last at Pawni, it offers no clear evidence regarding the inclusion of the Pawni region in the Saka dominions of Western India, because the prince's visit to the place may have been the result of a Saka expedition against the Pawni region or matrimonial relations with the local ruler's family or some other reason.

D. C. SIRCAR.

THE CHRONICLE OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA, 581-960 A.D., by Jan Yün-Hua, published by Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1966; pages 189 (with introduction, bibliography, indexes, etc.); price Rs. 20.00.

The work under review contains the author's translations from Monk Chih-p'au's Fo-tsu T'ung-Chi. It is divided into four fascicles dealing with the periods of the Sui (581-617 A.D.) and T'ang (618-906 A.D.) dynasties as well as of the rulers who flourished in 907-59 A.D. Besides a small introduction (pp. 1-10) and bibliography (pp. 119-26), there is an Index of Chinese characters. The notes to the translation are generally erudite and instructive. The author and the publishers deserve congratulations for bringing out this valuable work which is of special importance because the Sui-T'ang age represents the Classical or Golden Age of Chinese Buddhism.

The learned author says that several of his Indian friends helped him in making his English readable. But there is still some scope for improvement in this field. Thus the sentence "Wang

INL

Ye

in

de

du

ter

Śik

Śik

hist

of the The evolution 700 A by a 21 second the t

subje happy

like ]
Ojha':
ed in
publis
Nume
mī an

by Bü

ni

hi

10 n-

al

er

1-

t-

d

lt

Yen-Ching, the ruler of the Min kingdom, who had long believed in Buddhism" (p. 114) suffers from the absence of a verb. The defect could have been rectified by deleting the word "who". In the sentence "There had an inscription [which recorded]: 'Made during the sixth year of Ch'ui-kung (690 A.D.?) age at the monastery of Ching-fu-szu' (p. 115), at last 'had' is a mistake for 'was'. There are also misprints not included in the 'Corrections'; e.g., Siksānanda (p. 45, line 28) and Siksananda (p. 47, line 4) for Sikṣānanda.

The book is a valuable addition to the list of works on the history of Buddhism published from our country.

D. C. SIRCAR.

INDIAN NUMERALS: By Shobhana Laxman Gokhale, published by the Deccan College and Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1966, pp. 48+16 (index and bibliography) and 23 charts; Price Rs. 20.00.

Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Laxman Gokhale's monograph is No. 43 of the Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series. The work is meant to trace the chronological as well as regional evolution of the numerals during the period between 300 B.C. and 700 A.D. There is a brief introduction (pp. 1-3), which is followed by a discussion on the forms of the Brāhmī numerical signs in 21 section. The first of the sections deals with 1-3, the following sections dealing with the signs for the unit figures from 4 to 9, the tens from 10 to 90 and the hundreds from 100 to 500. The subject is extremely interesting and its choice by the authoress is happy.

The Brāhmī numerals have been treated in well-known works like Bühler's Indische Palaeographie (published in 1896), G. H. Ojha's Prācīn Bhāratīya Lipimālā (the 2nd edition of which appeared in 1918) and J. Filliozat's chapters contributed to the recently published L' Inde Classiuge edited by L. Renou and himself. Numerals in epigraphic records and manuscripts, written in Brāhmī and its derivatives and discovered outside India, not discussed by Bühler and Ojha, have been dealt with by Filliozat. Dr. (Mrs.)

Gokhale has made an attempt to add new forms to those previously recognised by Bühler and Ojha from a study of the epigraphic records not known to those authors but published at later dates, the latest volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* consulted by her appearing to be Vol. XXVI (1941-1942). Some of the new forms noticed in the book under review are quite interesting.

While recommending the book to the students of Indian palaeography, we request the young authoress to make it more comprehesive whenever an opportunity to revise it for another edition offers itself to her. In order to make the book more useful to the students of the subject, the learned authoress may kindly follow the lines indicated below.

In the first place, the published epigraphic and numismatic records should be assiduously examined so that no important item escapes attention; cf. the form of 4 occurring in the Orissa State Musuem plates of Sainyabhīta II Mādhavavarman (one of whose records is dated in the Gupta year 300=619 A.D.) published in Ep.Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff. and Plates (text line 46). The same sign also occurs in other records like the Jangalpadu plates of Śatrubhañja (see ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 250-51).

Secondly, numerals in the documents in Kharoṣṭhī and those in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī found particularly in Central Asian sites should be paid the attention they deserve. Likewise, fraction symbols as found in the charter (592 A.D.) of Viṣṇuṣṣṇa (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXX, pp. 163 ff. and Plates) should not be ignored. Thirdly, the errors and inaccuracies that have crept into the present edition should be eliminated as far as possible; cf. the sign for 8 wrongly represented as that for 80 (p. 36, No. 10); the publication of the Gadhwa stone inscription of Candargupta II wrongly referred to 'EI, XVI, 15' (p. 35, note 264) instead of CII, III.37; confused discussion on the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī forms of 4 (p. 4); address of the Indian Historical Quarterly wrongly quoted as 'Oriental Press 9, P. O. Lane, Calcutta' (p. xi) in place of 'Calcutta Oriental Press, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta-9; etc.

D. C. SIRCAR.

S

n In

a

th

D

SE

m

a di

a

ar

Si

la

ci

m

ex

Śa D

its

va

co

po

mi

th

va

br

vā

of

tha dw

ins

### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

THE SAKTI CULT AND TARA. Edited by D. C. Sircar. University of Calcutta, 1967. Price Rs. 10.00.

ly

ehe

ng

in

0-

e-

on

ne

W

ic

m

te

se

in

ıe

es

se

es

1.

ie

n

y

le

O

3-

Seminars, when properly organised, enable scholars to study a chosen topic from different angles. At the second series of seminars organised in April 1965 by the University Grants Commission Centre of Advanced Study in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, the Origin and Evolution of the Cult of Sakti and Iconography of Tara were the two subjects chosen for discussion. The Cult of Sakti, as Dr. T. V. Mahalingam observes, was the result of "fusion of several cults with their local ramifications, but based on similar mythological conceptions." Dēvī, says A. K. Bhattacharya, "is a composite conception of the adorable female principle in which different ethnic and regional ideas and beliefs have combined in a manner in order to make it acceptable to both the Non-Āryan and the Aryan population of the country". According to D. C. Sircar who read the paper on "Sakti Cult in Western India", the later phases of Buddhism do not appear to have influenced Tantricism there in any appreciable degree whereas in East India Brāhminical Tantricism and the late phases of Buddhism became "inextricably mixed up." The link that connected Vaisnavism with Saktism, says B.C. Raychaudhuri, came from the conception of Dāvī as Yōga Nidrā of Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇavism desired to ally itself with the Durga cult. The remaining papers deal, among others, with the Sakti cult, its origin and evolution and its prevalance in different parts of India as well as the Ardhanarīśvara concept as depicted on a Tripura coin.

K. K. Dasgupta's paper deals with the Iconography of Tārā, popular goddess in the Buddhist Pantheon, adopted from the Brāhminical concept of the Dēvī. N. N. Bhattacharya writing about the Chinese Origin of the Cult of Tārā expresses the view that the vamācāra practices connected with the worship of Tārā were brought from China. Two papers deal with the Mahāmāyā Vijayavāhinī and Trailōkyavijayā concepts. D. C. Sircar refers to Tārā of Candradvīpa, worshipped in eastern India considerably earlier than the date of the Ellora sculptures while A. K. Bhattacharya dwells on Tārā as a serpent deity and its Jain counterpart, Padmāvatī. On the whole the papers read are interesting and instructive.

P. K. K. MENON.

633

634

#### REVIEWS

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUNJAB: By Ganda Singh. Published by the Punjabi University, Patiala, 1966.

This work was started as early as 1919 by the author who collected a large number of volumes from England and other European countries and travelled throughout India, Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan in search of rare manuscripts, books and periodicals stored in important libraries and research institutions and written in English, other European languages, Persian, and some of the Indian languages. The author has not ignored the proceeding and transactions of learned bodies but made use of them to the extent possible. Valuable material now obtainable in West Punjab and that which lies in the custody of ignorant and superstitious owners could of course not have been fully included. The list of work, on the Punjab is arranged authorwise under different languages with mention of the names of publishers and places and dates of publication. In the case of manuscripts, the accession numbers and the particular section in the libraries where they are preserved are also given. More details are given of Mughal and modern periods. The topical treatment of the subject would have been more convenient to the research scholar but it would have perhaps implied duplication and consumed more space. If Ganda Singh's useful book serves as a source of inspiration to similar concerted efforts in regard to other regions in India he can congratulate himself on that account as well.

P. K. K. MENON.

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18. 19.

20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.

# Our Exchanges

- 1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
- 2: Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.
- 3. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
- 4. Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
- 5. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.
- 6. Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.
- 7. Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
- 8. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London.
- 9. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- 10. Folklore, Calcutta.
- 11. Indian Archives, Delhi.
- 12. Indian Review, Madras.
- 13. India Quarterly, New Delhi.
- 14. Indica, Bombay.
- 15. Indo Asian Culture, New Delhi.
- 16. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
- 17. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- 18. Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
- 19. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- 20. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- 21. Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
- 22. Journal of United Provinces Historical Society, Lucknow.
- 23. Political Scientist, Ranchi.
- 24. Studies in Islam, New Delhi.
- 25. University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Birmingham.
- 26. University of Ceylon Review.
- 27. Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur.

Printed by S. Ramaswami, at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum

11.0051

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridway

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

भह दुस्तक वित्तित व की नाय NOT TO BE ISSUED

REPRENCE BOOK

Compiled 1099-2009

